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EXPOSITIONS

OR

NIYAMA-DIPANI

By

LEDI SAYADAW MAHA THERA, AGGAMAHAPANDITA.

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Translated From The Pali

By

BENI M. BARUA, D. Litt., M. A.

WITH THE RESIDUUM

Translated By

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THE

ICAL, COMPARATIVE, AND HISTORICAL METHOD

OF

INQUIRY,

as applied to Sanskrit Scholarship and Philology and Indian Archeology,

ing a lecture read at a Public Meeting held under the auspices of the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay on the 31st of March, 1888

BY

RAMKRISHNA G. BHANDARKAR M. A. D.
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BOMBAY.
-SAGARA PRE

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NIYĀMA-DIPANĪ.

OR

Expositions.[1]

By LEDI SAYĀDAW MAHĀ-THERA

(*Translated from the Pali by* BENI M. BARUA, D. LITT. M. A.

and revised and edited

by C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS D. LITT. M. A.)

I

OF THE FIVEFOLD NIYAMA (*Cosmic Order*).[2]

Honour to the Exalted One, Arahant Buddha Supreme.
Honour to the Norm, honour to the Order.
Honour to the Teachers.
And may they e'er before me stand
And commune with me as I go.

HIM who was made perfect by the cosmic order, him who taught that law, him the Lord[3] thus honouring, I shall now expound that law.

[1] These Expositions, written in Pali, and with Burmese characters were sent to me about two years ago, a sum of about £11 being sent at the same time to the office of this Review, from the pupils of the author, as a contribution towards the expenses of publication in English in the *Buddhist Review*. A supplementary essay on the subject of the first Exposition followed shortly after. It has been a cause of much regret to me that so long an interval should have elapsed before the accomplishment of the task became possible, and I was the more relieved when Mr. B. M Barua very kindly, amidst his arduous studies made time to send me a draft MS. translation of two of the six Expositions. We trust to publish the remainder in two or three subsequent issues. Unwillingness to be involved in further delay makes us venture to publish without guarding our translation by the author's revision. He has made no stipulation for anything of the kind, and we feel deeply the responsibility laid upon us by his confidence. If on seeing the translation, he should discover, through an interpreter, that we have misrepresented him, we trust that the Editor of this Review will permit us to publish his corrections. It may interest readers to know that the honorary title of Mahā-thera has recently been conferred on the learned author and popular preacher by the Government of India. The original MS. was transliterated by Mr. Marr Murray.—ED.

[2] On Niyāma, or Niyamas—"that which fixes," "fixity," see my *Buddhism* (London, 1912), p. 119, and pp. 378f. in *Points of Controversy* (the *Kathāvatthu*), *by* S.Z. Aung and myself (P. T. S. 1915).—ED.

[3] *Nātho.*

The expression "made perfect by the cosmic order" means that this order includes laws of cosmic order for Buddhas, whereby the state of Buddhahood is completely brought to pass and achieved. These laws bring about the attainment of Bodhi[1] by the great Bodhisats—namely, the ten Perfections, each of three stages, the five great Renunciations, the Threefold Duty, and, at the end of the days, the grappling, while on the Bodhi-seat, with the law of causality, and the perceiving, while in Jhāna-concentration with controlled respiration, the genesis and evanescence of the five aggregates [of individuality]. By these things the Buddhas win Buddha-hood, hence such matters are called the things of the cosmic order for Buddhas. Hereby we indicate that not by chance or accident are Buddhas made perfect.

"Who taught that law" means that he taught this and that way of applying the law of cosmic order, taught the one cosmic order of the five series of that order.

The Fivefold Niyāma is as follows:—

(1) *Utu-niyāma*: The Caloric Order.
(2) *Bīja-niyāma*: The Germ Order.
(3) *Kamma-niyāma*: The Moral Order.
(4) *Citta-niyāma* The Psychical Order.
(5) *Dhamma-niyāma*: Natural Phenomenal Sequence.[2]

(1) *Utu*[3] is that which manifests, brings forth, generates what is ungenerate, develops that which is generate. But what is it? It is the specific quality [we know as] heat; the bare primary quality of fire. In this connection let us consider the four "great essentials" of matter.

Each of these exhibits three forms, namely, by the first essential quality[4] we understand either (i.) that constant "extended element," adaptable and pliant, which functions as the basis of the other three—fluids, fires, airs—or (ii.) soil, or (iii.) rock. The second essential element has the salient mark of binding together, but there can be no binding without the wherewithal to bind. Nor in the third essential can there be heat without food, without fuel. Nor as to the fourth essential can there be mobility without some moving base. Hence whatever material phenomena we take—liquid, fiery or gaseous, even the

[1] Enlightenment: Buddha-wisdom.

[2] Mr. Barua prefers Philosophic order, or causal order. We have no word to fit *dhamma's*. The rendering used is Mr. S. Z. Aung's.

[3] Cf. *Compendium of Philosophy* 161 n. 4.

[4] *Pathavi*—in popular language "earth" or "solid-matter."

smallest atoms—the element called *pathavī* in the supporting condition of all of them by its function of serving as "basis" to all.

By the second essential quality we understand either (i.) that constant "cohesive element," adaptable and pliant, which functions in solids, fires, winds as that by which they cohere; or (ii.) the "viscous," the moisture that is for instance in bodies, in trees, etc.; or (iii.) the more obvious fluid *āpo* manifested in this or that liquid.

(ii.) The "viscous" form of *āpo* denotes, as has been said, moisture in organic form, such as in an unwithered tree or an undried body. (iii.) The "fluid," such as waters and juices, is obvious. Whatever conglomerated or organic bodies are found in this material universe, even in the least atoms, all are impossible without the function of cohesion. It has therefore been said that *āpo* is primarily the variable internal cohesion of solids, fire and air.

By the third essential quality[1] we understand either (i.) that constant element of heat, adaptable and pliant, which as "hot" and "cold" functions in solids, etc., as that which generates and as that which brings to maturity; or (ii.) glowing heat, or (iii.) flaming heat. It is due to the action of this element that all material things when they have reached maturity are reproduced, and make for growth or for maintenance.

By the fourth essential quality[2] we understand either (i.) that constant element of mobility, adaptable and pliant, which functions as fluctuation (or oscillation) in solids, etc.; or (ii.) compressed or tense atmosphere; or (iii.) atmosphere in motion—for instance and respectively air in a pair of bellows and air inhaled and exhaled. The mobile element (i.) constitutes the element of force, of resistance in co-existent essential forms; hence all material things through this force and resisting power carry out their respective functions.

[1] *Tejo.* [2] *Vāyo.*

Furthermore, all these elements, whilst persisting under the stated conditions, increase in magnitude when there is an efficient cause for increase, and decrease in magnitude when there is an efficient cause for decrease. How may such a cause arise? In the case of solids the cohesive element may obtain fluidity, and the solid substance begin to melt. In the case of water, heat may grow into a flaming fire, while the cohesive element can merely exercise the property of cohesion. It is on account of their intensity and magnitude that they are called the "Great Elements."[1] Their intensity and magnitude reach the climax on the eve of the destruction and disintegration of the world-systems.

Heat in its primal form is the germinator of all material phenomena. And this element [or primal form] of heat is just *utu*. Conversely, as was said above, *utu* is the primal form of fire. Now to return to the "Caloric Order."

The Caloric Order is the fixed process that determines the fourfold succession of evolution, continuance, revolution (*i.e.*, dissolution), and void of the universe. It is the process that determines the ordered succession of the three seasons – winter, summer, and the rains. It is again the same process that determines the specific season in which trees, creepers, shrubs, and grasses bring forth flowers and bear fruit. And all this order has been made and created by no "maker" whatever whether human, celestial, or divine.[2] Inasmuch as it is accomplished entirely by the fixed [or *natural*] order that we know as "*utu*," it is called the *Utu-niyāma*, or Caloric Order.[3] Thus we read in the Pali [texts]: "There comes, Vāseṭṭha, a time, when, sooner or later, after the lapse of a long, long

1 *Maha-bhutani*. *Cf. Compendium of Philosophy*, P.T.S., 1910. pp. 154 f. 268f.

2 Lit. by *deva;* or Brahmā [deva].

3 "It is not change but the changing, and the changing is fire; . . . this order [*kosmos*] which is the same in all things, no one of Gods or men has made, but it was, is now, and ever shall be an ever living fire kindled and extinguished in due measure.—Heraclitus. *Vide The Development of Greek Philosophy*; by R. Adamson, pp. 44, 45.—Tr.

period the world-system passes away . . . . In the course of time, Vāseṭṭha, the radiance of those celestial beings vanishes. Their 'self-radiance' having thus vanished, the moon, sun, planets and stars come into existence: nights, days, months, half-months, and the year with its seasons appear, etc."[1]

(2) *Germinal Order.*—Germ [seed, *bīja*] is that from which trees, etc., spring and grow in varying forms. But what is that? In its common acceptation the word "germ" denotes the five kinds of *bīja*—"root," etc. From the philosophical point of view it is just a form of "caloric energy" [*utu*]. Thus the generating and growing agency of the vegetable kingdom, embracing trees, etc., "seedlings and plants"[2]—a form of "caloric energy," which tends to manifest itself in plant-life—is called seed or germ.

The Germinal Order signifies that the sprouts, shoots, trunks, branches, twigs, leaves, flowers, and fruits which spring from, say the "rose-apple seed" [*jambu-bīja*] do not cease to be of the rose-apple species, type or family. This explanation applies to all trees, creepers, shrubs, and grasses. This, too, is not made, nor created by any maker whatever. Inasmuch as it is accomplished entirely by the fixed [or natural] order that we know as germinal, it is called the *Bīja-nīyāma* or Germinal order. Thus we read in the Pali-texts:—"There are, Bhikkus, five classes of seeds, to wit, those which are propagated from roots, from stems, from joints, from shoots,[3] and from the seed proper."[4]

The subject is treated in detail in the commentary on the Vinaya, in the section devoted to behaviour towards plant-life.

(3) *The Moral Order.*—*Kamma* [action] is that by which men execute deeds, good or evil, meritorius or the opposite. What is it? It is volition [*cetanā*], moral or immoral. We are told in the Pali texts: "By Action,

[1] *Digha-Nikaya* iii. 84, 86.

[2] An ancient Pitaka phrase. *Samyutta-Nikaya*, iii. p. 54.

[3] Lit. "from the top" (*agga.*)

Bhikkus, I mean volition. It is through having willed that a man does something in the form of deed, speech or thought."[1]

Here volition [or conation] is the act of willing [voluntary, or conative action]. In carrying something, good or bad, meritorious or the opposite, into effect, it deliberates and decides upon the steps to be taken, as the leader of all [the mental functions involved in so doing]. It provides the tension [of those functions towards the desired object].

The expression "as the leader of all" implies that, in doing its own works, as well as the works of all the other psychic processes involved, volition becomes the chief and supreme leader in the sense that it informs all the rest. Volition, as such, brings other psychical activities to tend in one direction. This is the explanation of our statement: "*Kamma* [action] is that by which men execute deed."

It should, however, be borne in mind that the conative process informs other psychical processes only in the case of one's own works, not in the case of the works of others. Accordingly, the latter cannot be brought within the definition of "volition as the act of willing." Hence B.'s actions cannot be called A.'s *kamma*, since there is as much difference between voluntary and nonvoluntary actions as there is between a goat and a sheep. Voluntary action alone is entitled to the name. And therefore was it said: "By *kamma* [action], Bhikkhus, I mean volition."

In all acts the word *kamma* denotes (*a*) that which all deeds have in common, and (*b*) a disposition to exertion. And once well formed in the present, through either a good deed, or again through a bad deed, such a disposition serves later to call forth the co-existent aggregates [psycho-physical states], when the deed is repeated. It is due to the reawakening of those aggregates that a man is said, *e.g.*, to be liberal, or given to violent deeds. In its persistence this disposition serves to produce [the

[1] *Anguttara-Nikāya* iii. 415 (VI. 6, "Mahāvagga Nibbedhika)".

[2] *Padhāna-byāpāro.*

factor that leads to] the concatenation of existence by way of re-birth in a life to come. It is due to the origination of such a factor that a man, having bestowed gifts or killed living beings, is reborn into a state of bliss or of woe. This sort of disposition is therefore described in the Mahāpatthāna as the relation of co-existent *kammas*, and, again, of *kammas* at different points of time.

The distinctive basis in different lines of action[1] is attended with great consequences. Once made and established, in one place and at one time, it continues to be the cause of some peculiarity with regard to the body or the mind or both. For this reason, as regards our religion, perseverance in reflection upon the order of things, or, in worldly matters, perseverance in reflection upon such bases, yields great fruit and reward.

Of the various forms of such bases, two are attended with greater consequences in their adjustment and re-adjustment than in their natural order. Of these one is the conative basis of subjective experience, and the other is the caloric basis *[utu]* in things external. As to subjective experience, the variety in conative tendency is accountable for the variety in consciousness. As to external life, the difference in variety of *utu* is accountable for the difference in mobility.

By the Moral Order we mean the necessary, fixed, undesirable result of an evil action, the necessary, fixed, desirable result of a good action. The course of evil action results in re-birth into a state of woe. The way of meritorious deeds belonging to the world of sense leads to re-birth into a state of bliss belonging to the realm of sense. The way of moral deeds belonging to the realm of "Rūpa" leads to re-birth into a state of purity belonging to the realm of "Rūpa." Furthermore, it is said in the Pali texts: "The result of killing life is to make a being short-lived, and abstinence from killing leads to longevity. Jealousy begets many sorts of quarrels, while humanity begets peace. Anger robs a man of beauty, while forbearance enhances beauty. Enmity begets

[1] *Dhatuvikatinam dhatuvikaro nama.* On *vikaro; cf. Compendium;* Pali Index

weakness, while amity brings strength. Theft begets poverty, while honest labour brings wealth. Pride ends in loss of honour, while modesty leads to respectability. Association with a fool causes loss of wisdom, while knowledge is the reward of association with a wise man."[1] This is the significance of the Moral Order.

Here the expressions "The act of killing life makes a being short-lived" implies that when a man has once killed a human being, or a being of lower order, the act of killing furnishes the cause of his re-birth in various ways into a state of suffering. During the period when he returns to the state of man, the same act as a "life-killing factor" makes him short-lived in many thousands of re-births. This is the explanations of the statement: "The act of killing life makes a being short-lived." The explanation of the rest is analogous. In many hundreds of other Suttas, various instances of fixed moral sequences are to be found. Such is the Moral Order.

We read in the Pali texts: "There is no place, Bhikkhus, no room [in the conception of the moral order of things], for a bad action to produce desirable, agreeable and delightful results, etc."[2]

An "action" produces two kinds of result: that which is uniform [inevitable], that which is diverse [exceptional]. Here the order of moral principles is given with reference to the first kind of result. When we come to the "diverse kind of result," we find that a man may pass his days happily with ill-gotten riches. But after death, according to the uniform kind of result, he undergoes a doom of suffering all the more.

Men inspired with pious thoughts and religious ideals forsake all worldly success, perform acts of merit, walk in the Norm, and undergo many kinds of privation. But according to the uniform kind of result, after death they rejoice in heavenly bliss all the more. Such is the fixed Moral Order.

(4) *The Psychical or Psychological Order.*—Thought [*chitta*] means "one is thinking" [the act of thinking], the meaning being one cognises an object. It may also mean: investigates or explores an object. Furthermore,

1 *Cf. Majjhima-Nikaya* Cūla-kammavibhanga-sutta "), iii. 202 f.

2 *Anguttara-Nikaya* i 28 (" Aṭṭhāna-vagga ").

thought is [figuratively] called "the varied" owing to the varying forms of thinking of objects.[1] Accordingly it is said in the Pali texts: "I see, Bhikkhus, no other thing which is so very varied as Thought [mind]. I see, Bhikkhus, no other group [*nikāya*] which is so very varied as beings of a lower order [beasts, birds, etc.]. The beings of lower order are varied only by mind.[2] But thought is said, O Bhikkhus, to be still more varied than those beings."

Thought becomes more varied with regard to immoral things than to such as are moral. It is said "mind delights in evil." The beings of lower order that are made and created by mind are therefore more varied than all other beings. How is that? It is said in the Pali texts: "I will declare, O Bhikkhus, how the world originates, and how it ceases. What is the origination of the world, O Bhikkhus? Conditioned by the eye and objects arises visual cognition. This trio [union of the three] is called 'contact.' Because of contact, feeling; because of feeling, craving, etc. Such is the origination of the entire body of ill. Conditioned by the ear and objects . . . by the nose . . . by the tongue . . . by the body, etc. . . . conditioned by the sensorium and things arises mind-cognition. This trio is contact. Because of contact, feeling, because of feeling, craving, etc. Such is the origination of the entire body of ill. This, O Bhikkhus, is what is called the origination of the world.

"What is the cessation of the world, O Bhikkhus? Conditioned by the eye and objects arises visual cognition. This trio [union of the three] is called 'contact.' Because of contact, feeling; because of feeling, craving, etc. Because of the complete cessation of that craving, grasping ceases; because of the cessation of grasping, becoming ceases, etc. Such is the cessation of the entire

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The word *citta* (pronounced *chit-ta*) means both consciousness, cognition and also variegated manifold. In this sense it is spelt *citra* Hence the author's play on the word. "Thought" should here be understood in the widest sense as "being-aware-of." "conscious of."—ED.

[2] *Citten' eva cittikata. Samyutta-Nikaya*, iii. 152.

body of ill. So with regard to ear and other senses. This. O Bhikkhus, is what is called the cessation of the world."[1]

Here the expression "conditioned by the eye and objects arises the visual cognition, etc.," indicates that in this world the consciousness and thought-procedure of foolish average folk vary from moment to moment and become the cause of their re-birth in different forms of future existence. Admitting this, [it will be found that] the different forms of their future existence are made and created by the mind in their present life. Because of the variation of consciousness perception varies. Because of the variation of perception their natural desire varies and because this varies, action (*kamma*) varies. Some maintain also that because *kamma* varies, the re-births in the animal kingdom vary.

Now the phenomena, termed in the philosophic[aspect of] truth *kamma* and mind, become in conventional standards of truth[2] "soul" (or "being") and "person." According to the latter, just as men by manifold thoughts make divers and manifold things in this world, and just as gods[3] by manifold thoughts create divers and manifold things, so actions(*kammāni*)and the results of actions, diversified by thought, are endowed with various forms of thinking, as if they were "beings"and "persons." Hence although neither action nor mind has the nature of Atman,[4] who [it is asked] knows how to make? who is able to make? "Beings," "persons": they know, they can make all things. But whether there is any special Being or Person making this infinitely varied world-picture or not it is impossible [for them] to say.

By Psychical Order we mean the fixity or law of the sequences of thoughts [or consciousnesses], varying in function and in occasion. It is treated of in the *Patthāna*

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1 *Samyutta-Nikaya*, iv 87.
2 *Cf.* Exposition II.
3 *Deva*; it must be remembered, include all "spirits" inhabiting either the heavens as angels, gods, or this earth as "fairies, etc."
4 *Atta*, or Self, implies superphenomenal nature. *Cf.* "Anattalakkhana Sutta, *Vinaya Texts*, i. 100f.—Ed.

in the chapter on "the Relation of Succession or Sequence."[1]

(5) *Natural Phenomenal Sequence dhamma-niyāma.*— A *dhamma* is that which bears (*dhāreti*) its own nature, *e. g.*, its own hardness to the touch, its specific, individual mark as well as its universal characters, to wit, growth, decay, dissolution, etc. The *dhammas*, categorised under the causal relation, "bear" the function of that relation, and those categorised under 'effect" 'bear" the function of result or effect. This meaning applies to all *dhammas* as treated of in the Suttanta and the Abhidhamma Pitakas. It also embraces the things enumerated in the Vinaya Pitaka under the name "the body of precepts" (*sīlakkhandha*). Why? Because they are not outside [the given definition of *dhammas*].

The principal treatment of the order of these *dhammas* and of all other *dhammas* [as such] is in the text of the Mahāpatthāna. Among the Suttanta texts, the whole of the Mahānidāna-Suttanta, and of the Nidana-Saṃyutta is devoted to the Dhamma-Niyâma; so, too, are all other Suttantas which throw light on the conception of cause and effect. In one Sutta this Niyâma is referred to as "the establishing, the fixity of things as effects" (*dhammatthitatā dhammaniyāmatā*): "'Because of ignorance [comes] *Karma*':— now whether, O Bhikkhus, Tathagatas arise, or whether they do not arise, this element (*dhatu*) stands, to wit, the establishment of *dhammas* as effects, the fixity of *dhammas* as effects. Because of *Karma* . . . and so on [through all the links of the causal formula]. '[2] It is also referred to in the dictum: "All conditioned things [*sankhāras*] are impermanent, full of ills, and of the nature of 'not self' . . . "[3]

In some passages, this Niyâma is called *dhammatā*: "It is *dhammatâ*—the rule, or order—Bhikkhus, that when a Bodhisat(future Buddha)having fallen from the

1 This will be included in the forthcoming P. T, S. edition of the *Tika Patthana*.—Ed

2 *Samyutta-Nikaya*, ii, 25; *cf. Points of Controversy* 187, 383 f,

3 *Theragatha* (*Ps. of the Brethren*), ver, 676—678.

Tusita-group, enters into a mother's womb, a splendid radiance appears throughout the world, including the worlds of gods and Brahmâs . . . and the ten thousand world-systems tremble and shudder and quake . . .'"[1]

In some passages it is alluded to under the category of *possibility* and the opposite: "It is impossible, Bhikkhus, and out of the question that the person endowed with sound views should consider a conditioned thing in the light of something eternal. Such a thing can in nowise come to pass, etc."[2]

But the character of the Dhamma-Niyäma is best summarised in [the formula]:—"When that exists, this comes to be. From the arising of that, this arises. When that does not exist, this does not come to be. When that ceases, then this ceases."[3]

Or again:—"These, Bhikkhus, are the three characteristics of a conditioned thing: perceivable is its growth perceivable is its decay, perceivable is its changing whilst it lasts. These, Bhikkhus, are the three characteristics of the unconditioned: growth is not perceivable, decay is not perceivable, changing amid duration is not perceivable."[4]

It is the *dhamma* of birth that is born, the *dhamma* of decay that grows old, the *dhamma* of dying that dies. And herein is another Niyama: that of birth. For it is said in the Pali texts:—

> "Then: 'O Vasettha!' said the Exalted One,
> 'To both of you will I discourse upon
> The question of the breeds of living things,
> In order due, e'en as it really is.
> By breed, in sooth, they differ mutually.
> Grasses and trees ye know; albeit ye may not
> Discern it, birth-made is of each the type.
> By breed, in sooth, they differ mutually . . . '"

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1 *Digha-Nikaya*, ii. 12 (*Dialogues*, ii. 9) "*Dhammata*" is the abstract noun formed from the concrete "*dhamma*" as if we should say "normness." *Cf. Pss. of the Brethren*, p. 29, n. 2, 190 etc.

2 *Anguttara-Nikaya*, i. 26.

3 In the *Vasettha* Sutta common to both works. ii. 198 and ver. 600 f. respectively

4 *Anguttara-Nikaya*, i. 152 ("Culavagga," 47).

and so on, in several verses, in both the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the *Sutta-Nipāta*.[1]

Here "Type" (*linga*) means variation in appearance, "Differ mutually" is; different one from another.

In these verses [the Master] spoke of the generic order of trees, etc., and of animals. Such an "Order of Birth" obtains also among men. Men are also seen to be of different birth and breed, different clans, families, and descent. But, in this Sutta in order to eliminate the false notion that "the Brahmin is the best of all in the world" [the Brahmin, *i. e.*, by birth only], he first shows that types, among the multitudes of human actions and efforts, are wrought by present actions (not merely by birth), and finally describes the ideal Brahmin. *Kamma* is shown, in this Sutta as the criterion of the inferiority or excellence of beings. It is *kamma* that distinguishes beings with respect to worth. Outward appearance is due to breed-variety in the parents. Born of bovine breed, one has the bovine shape and appearance; similarly as to horses. Hence in the Birth-Niyama a different procedure is called for when treating of animals (*pānā*) as distinct from higher beings (*sattā*).

II

Of the Two [Standards of] Truth (*Dve Sacchāni*).[2]

Our task here is to define the two categories under which all truths may be included:—(1) The Conventional [*Sammuti*]; and (2) the Philosophic (*paramattha*[3]) standard.

(1) *Conventional Truth.*—By this is meant a truth or fact, generally received as such by the common consent

[1] *Majjhima-Nikaya*, ii. 32 (79th Sutta); *Samyutta-Nikaya*, ii. 28, etc; *Anguttara-Nikaya*, v. 184.

[2] This is placed in the author's MS. as No. 4, but I have translated it before the others, because the two standards are referred to in Exposition I.—Tr.

[3] Literally, having the supreme or ultimate matter.—Ed

of mankind What are the modes of conventional expression? These are "self" "soul," "being," "person," woman, man, body, head, hand, leg, hair, of the head, down on the body, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, nerves, sinews, bone, etc.; the names of such external objects as tree, creeper, shrub, house, chariot, carriage, bed, seat, etc.

None of these are names of such "really existent" *dhammas* (facts, phenomena, attributes) as mind, contact extension, cohesion, etc. They are all names which denote as well as connote only some physical appearance and its persistence as such. These names and their connotation, therefore, having but a conventional significance, are called modes of conventional expression (*i e.*, terms in common use).

What constitutes the achievement or predication of Conventional Truth? "The self is (exists)"; "the living soul is"; "a being is"; "the person is"; etc. By adopting such words in common use a man becomes a [conventional] truth-speaker. And these are to be regarded as a correct mode of stating such truth. Why? Because otherwise constant disputes would result (from want of a common language and common notions).

This is what is termed "Conventional Truth."

(2) *Philosophic Truth.*—This is a fact or truth recognised from the philosophic point of view. What are the modes of philosophic expression? These are: "mind," "mental factor," "matter," "Nibbana," "aggregates," "sense-spheres," "elements," and so on.

These are not merely common or collective names, but imply something which really as such [*sabhāvato*], exists. These are called the modes of "highest, or ultimate matters," inasmuch as any import beyond that which they possess is inconceivable.

What constitutes the achievement or predication of philosophic truth? "Consciousness exists"; "contact exists"; "feeling exists"; "extended quality exists"; "cohesion exists"; "Nibbana exists"; and so on.

By expressing things as they exist in reality, a man is

a Truth-speaker.[1] Such speech is also to be regarded as a correct mode of stating truth. Why? Because it helps us to avoid falling into the errors of recognition, sense-consciousness and illusory opinions.

This is what is termed "Philosophic Truth." It should be noted in this connexion that "Conventional Truth" provides a safeguard against falsehood, and "Philosophic Truth" guards against hallucination. Thus when a man, from the conventional point of view, states, "The self, the soul, the being, the person exists," etc., he is not to be considered as uttering falsehoods, whether the *import* of what he affirms is really true or not, whether it rests upon valid speculation or self. Why? Because, in such a case, there is no fraudulent motive. But it comes within the province of hallucinations. Why? Because in these cases the things that are of the nature of 'not self' are taken as of "self."[2] and stated as such. From the philosophical point of view there is nothing of "self." There are only *dhammas*. And none of these is of the nature of "self," They are, on the contrary, of the nature of "not-self," etc., etc. And when a man speaks like this his words show neither falsehood nor hallucination. So we read in the Pali texts: "These, Bhikkhus, are the four cases of hallucination. What are the four? The impermanent is taken as permanent" This is the first point involved in hallucinations of recognition, sense-consciousness and illusory opinion. "That which is ill is taken as weal. That which is not-self is taken as self. The ugly and offensive is taken as beautiful and beneficial." These are the remaining three cases of the hallucinations of recognition, sense-consciousness and illusory opinion.

Here the expression "The Impermanent" implies the psychical and physical facts and conditions that are summed up in the term "name-and-form,"[3] and which are by nature imper-

1 *Saccavadi*, applied *par excellence* to the Buddha. *Cf. Pss. of the Sisters*, 121 n. 1, and elsewhere.

2 *Atta*, Sanskrit atman. On the implications in this term, see Exposition I.

3 Approximately equal in sense to mind and body.—ED.

manent. The expression "that which is ill" implies the facts of common experience that are categorised under "the Truth regarding Ill." The expression "the not-self" implies all that which is of the nature of "not-self." And the expression 'the ugly and offensive" implies the psycho-physical conditions that fall under "the Truth regarding Ill" and are, therefore, (*a fortiori*) considered to be "ugly and offensive."

By viewing "name and form" in the light of "being," "person," a man takes what is impermanent as permanent. Why? Because 'being" or "person" is nothing but a concept. And a concept, as we know, has not the attribute of passing away or moving about.

On the other hand, when it is said that a being, on coming into a form of existence, is himself born, that at the end of life he himself dies, that even before he took on to himself the present form of existence, he had come from this or that form of first existence, and that after death he would be re-born into this or that form of future existence, it shows that the being is viewed as engaged in "going"

It is for these reasons that, by viewing "name and form" in the light of 'being" "person," a man takes what is impermanent as permanent.

By holding dear and agreeable that which is merely a mental and bodily phenomenon liable to the facts of misery, a man takes that which is ill as weal, that which is ugly and offensive as beautiful and beneficial.

"Being" is a mere "concept." There is no corresponding thing in Nature. When such a really non-existent is regarded as really existent, the result thereof is that mere name and form is made the essence of a being. And by holding that it is the self of a being; nay, the being himself, a man takes what is not self as self.

It is said that a man sees objects through his eyes. Here seeing means the visual cognition. The gaze is fixed upon a material form as the object of that cognition. And the form is a visible and tangible phenomenon, and neither the being nor the person. A man having seen such a form, contemplates it in his

mind as a being, a woman, a head, a face, a tree, a chariot, a carriage.[1] This is the error of cognitive consciousness originating from seeing. A similar explanation can hold true of such an error as originates from hearing etc. But the question as to the error that originates from the mind co-ordinating sensations is rather intricate, though of pressing importance.

According as an object is discerned by the mind, it is marked, or fixed by recognition. Later on it may cause bewilderment and confusion. This is what is called the hallucination of recognition.

According as a man apprehends a thing through the understanding, he speculates upon it:—"Beings, etc., have a self." "It is like this and that." "There is a living soul." "It is such and such." This is what is termed the hallucination of illusory opinion.

In the Pali texts the hallucination of recognition as being very obvious is mentioned first, But it my follow the hallucination of opinion. And these three forms of hallucination are rooted in "ignorance," that is to say, they originate from it. Of these, the first two forms fo hallucination have a bearing upon the immoral type of worldly consciousness. Craving, conceit, and false notions spring from them. By taking his stand upon philosophic truth, a man can discern the nature of hallucinations; and having ascertained wh t that is he can give them up for ever.

[1] "They (*i. e.*, the surface views of sense perception) do not bring us to understand the true underlying principle or law; nay, they rather disguise that from us. It is perhaps not too much to say that the senses tend to give us the notion of the fixity of things, and therefore to hide the truth that the law of all things is change: there is no permanence in things save only . . . the law of all change."—Heraclitus. *Vide the Development fo Greek Philosophy*, by R. Adamson, p. 44.—Tr.

Expositions.

III

Of Great Periods of Time.

We shall now expound [our system of] the five timeperiods called *kappas*.[1] They are distinguished as (1) a great *kappa*, a cycle or æon; (2) an incalculable *kappa*, four going to each great *kappa*; (3) an included *kappa*, falling within one of the preceding; (4) a life-*kappa*, or one life-span of any given being; and (5) a cataclysm-*kappa*, or age of doom.

(1) *A "great kappa."*—This is a notion of a given time [historically] cut off, so to speak, and divided into some periods in which many events happen [in a certain order, and which repeat themselves]. It would follow from this that a "great *kappa*" is but a notion of time itself. To a *kappa* as such is given the name "great" on the ground of its having been conceived as the greatest in duration. How long, then, is the duration of a great *kappa*?

In order to form an idea of its duration, let us imagine

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1 Sanskrit: *kalpa*.

a mountain, which is a single cube of rock, one league[1] in length, in breadth, and in height. If a person were to rub it with a piece of cloth once at the lapse of every hundred years, the time that such a mountain would require to be completely worn away would not be so long in duration as is a great *kappa*.

How long in duration has been the succession of great *kappas* in the past?

It is said in the text: "Undetermined, Bhikkhus, is the beginning of this world: the past extremity (*pubbakoti*) as to the running on of beings in rebirths under the hindrance of ignorance and bonds of craving is not manifest."[2]

Here the Pali word for "undetermined" is *anamata*, which is the same as *a-mata*, the syllable *an* being euphonic, *Amata* means that which is unknown, unascertained. So it was said: "the past extremity" [or beginning] is not ascertainable by calculation. Or, it may perhaps mean that which, like the "eel-wriggling" of the Sophists,[3] sets itself no limit.

In turning back to the proposition "the past extermity . . . is not manifest," it is indeed suggested that here the words, "is not manifest" mean "does not exist" in the same way as, in the passage, "If there be, Ananda, no birth, are old age and death manifested? Verily they are not, venerable sir";[4] the word "manifest" means "exist," and "not manifest" means "does not exist."

Whether the one or the other be meant, we may conclude that the proposition "the past extremity . . . . is not manifest," means that the past extremity as to the succession of great *kappas* in general does not exist, while taking a *kappa* in particular, this may be said to have its beginning, its middle, and its end.

Those who fancy that there was actually a past extremity

1 A *yojana* a classical division of length, its exact extent not known-ED
2 *Samyutta-Nikaya*, ii ,178
3 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i, 39 f.
4 *Op. cit.*, ii., 52.

to the succession of all great *kappas* in general have certainly no other reason for it than their own fanciful thinking. Those who reject the Ariyan mode of interpretation called "The Theory of Causation," commit themselves to the error of the assumption of the uncaused, or to that of Theism.

So much as to the nature and extent of a great *kappa*.

(2) *Incalculable Epochs.*—Such is the name of a *kappa* that is not capable of being definitively enumerated, enumerated even by taking hundreds of thousands of years as a unit. These are four kinds, to wit:—

(i.) The Enveloping Epoch;
(ii.) The Enveloped Epoch;
(iii.) The Developing Epoch;
(iv.) The Developed Epoch.

It is written in the *Anguttara-Nikāya* (iv., 156; or vol, ii., 142): "These are the four incalculable epochs . . . . (*They are enumerated as above.*) The epoch, Bhikkhus, when there is a cosmic envelopment, is not easy to reckon as so many years, centuries, tens or hundreds of centuries." Here "the Enveloped" is that which relapses, is destroyed. The world-system having once relapsed, while [the world-stuff] remains in a state [of dissolution], it is said to remain enveloped. "The Developing Epoch" is a period of restoration, of evolution. Having once been reinstated, while the worldsystem continues to be in that state, it is said to be Developed.

Of these epochs, again, the first is distinguished as of three kinds, viz.:—

That which is brought to pass by heat, *i. e.*, by the action of fire;

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1 The translator had selected "Re-absorbed" "Re-evolved," and "Persisting as such." The Pali is literally "rolling together" and "unrolling": *sam-vatta, vi-vatta*, the Indo-Aryan root being *war, wart. Cf.* our "-vert" (ad-, in-vert, &c.), I have substituted Leibniz's "enveloppements, developpements," as being an interesting approximate coincidence in Eastern or Westernterminology. The "rolling together" is a lurid idea that has also shaped itself in the Christian poetic fancy, namely, in the verse of the *Dies ira:*

When shrivelling like a parched scroll,
The flaming heavens together roll . . .

—Ed.

That which is brought to pass by water, *i. e.*, by the action of a deluge; and

That which is brought to pass by wind, *i. e.*, by raging storms that hurl away a world-system.

In the event of the first type of Envelopment fire consumes the realm of matter, both in the lower material heavens and everything that is below. In the event of the second type of Envelopment water [submerges] the realm of matter in the next higher material heavens, together with all that is below; and in the event of the third type of Envelopment wind [unhinges] the realm of matter in the highest material heavens, together with all that is below.

It should be noted now that four incalculable epochs are together equal to a great *kappa*. Hence when we speak of an incalculable period, we should understand thereby just one-fourth of a great *kappa*.

It is not for us to speculate whence come those three great destructive agencies. Suffice it for us that we live in a universe of a certain configuration, and that everywhere we discern the agency of fire, water and wind. When, for instance, fire burns one house, its flame strikes on to another, and burns that too. While the flame is yet in the second house, it causes the element of heat to grow up in yet another house and burn it. Evidently in the last case the flame of the second house does not directly burn the third one. This remark holds true of all. Thus it would follow from this that this broad earth and universe are ever filled with those elements which are ever finding opportunity of transforming and disturbing them. And whenever they obtain adequate opportunity, they destroy the earth, just as fire can destroy this or that mountain, in which it resides. There is no question of agencies passing over into the universe, but only of series of internecine concussions and counteractions.

(3) *An Included Era.*—This denotes a *kappa* which appears to fall within one of the incalculable epochs, called the Developed. In the beginning of an [incalculable] epoch men live to an exceedingly great age.

This state of things exists until subsequently, as the conditions of immorality develop, their life-term decreases by degrees through a succession of many hundreds of thousands of such periods till it reaches the minimum of ten years. From this again with the conditions of morality developing among them, their life-term goes on increasing and increasing till at last it regains the maximum of exceeding longevity. This is what is termed an included era. Of such eras sixty-four are together equal in duration to one incalculable period:— so it is said in the Commentaries.

If that be so, the length of an included era can only be decided by a knowledge of the duration of an incalculable epoch. And we may add that, if a man were to count the numbers of years by grains of sand, picked up one by one from one league of the Ganges, the sands would be exhausted sooner than the years of one included era were all counted.

(4) *life-spans.*— When we say, "Through a succession of many hundreds of thousands of life-spans," we mean the life-span of men. There is no definite term of life as regards brutes, "Petas," demons, infernal beings, and earthly gods. Among the higher grades of celestial beings, the life-span allotted to each of the twenty Braham-worlds is different in each case.

(5) *Ages of Doom or Cataclysm*—In the world of men events happen at times that affect human life, and are termed disasters. These are of three kinds: war, famine, and pestilence. We read in our texts: "A Brahman said to the Blessed One: I have heard it said, venerable Gotama, of the Brahmans of old, of teachers, and the teachers of teachers, that in former days this world was . . . pervaded by men: within 'the flight of a cock' were situated the villages, the inhabited districts, and the royal capitals. Now what is the cause, what is the reason that, at tht present time, the numbers of men have dwindled, so that their paucity in numbers is apparent, and that villages appear to be no villages,

towns appear to be no towns, and inhabited countries appear to be uninhabited?

"The Blessed One said: Now Brahman, that men are attached to immoral passions, overpowered by lawless greed, and victims to false ideals, they with sharp weapons kill on another. This verily is the cause, this is the reason why the numbers of men have now dwindled, so that their paucity in numbers is apparent. And furthermore, Brahman, for them who are grown morally debauched, the sky does not pour down sufficient rain the result of which is the outbreak of famine, on account of which many people die.

"And yet again, Brahman, for men who are grown morally debauched the Yakkhas let loose ferocious non-human pests, in consequence of which many people die."[1]

Here the expression "within the flight of a cock" signified that villages and towns were so closely connected that cocks might leap from the boundary of one and alight near that of another. . . . "Victims of false ideals" means that they have given themselves up to false ideals and ceremonies, by which are meant covetousness, ill-will as well as various, sacrifices accompanied with the slaughter of animals.

"Many people die" implied that, at times, in consequence of some matter of administration, or from atrocities perpetrated by thieves, etc., a commotion arises in the country, many people lose their lives, many properties and means of sustenance are destroyed, and many villages, districts, towns and royal capitals are on that account burnt by fire. And this sort of fear arises sometimes every three years, sometimes every five or six years. sometimes every ten or twelve years. Then comes a time when war breaks out between one country and another, between one kingdom and another, and many people die in consequence. This is called a "doom-era" of anarchy and war.

"The Yakkhas" meant the commanding beings, placed by the four great rulers of the four cardinal

[1] *Anguttara-Nikaya*, iii, 56, or vol. i., 159 f.

points as commanders of such beings. "The ferocious" meant wicked, savage, non-human beings, devils and goblins of terrestrial, aquatic and ethereal origins.

"In consequence of which many people die" meant that the non-human pests, having got the opportunity came upon the walks of man in many hundreds and thousands, from seas or forests. They having caused many diseases to prevail and to seize upon the living bodies, devoured fat and blood. Hence they are designated as "blood-sucking" and "blood-thirsty." If they failed to seize upon men, they were said to devour fat and blood of cows and buffaloes, goats and sheep. When this kind of pestilence prevailed once in a country, it prevailed there even for six or seven years, causing enormous mortality among the young in men and beasts. The remedies used for such a pestilence were the potent formulas of spells and incantations, or offerings to the Yakkhas. In this connection might be cited the story of Sakabodhiraja of Ceylon, in the book of the Great Chronicle.[1]

This is called the doomful period of pestilence. Many other types of eras of doom also appear in this world. We have been taught, for instance, that in former days, through demoniac agency, the kindoms of Dandaka, Majjha, Kalinga and Mûtanga ceased to be kingdoms. Even in these days, in countries, towns and villages, where destruction of life goes on on a large scale, many creatures meet with death from great earthquakes or from great tidal waves, or from hurricanes, from floods of rain, from volcanic eruptions, from shipwrecks.

When do these three eras of disaster mainly come to pass? From the time when the life-span of men is five hundred years. We read in the Cakkavatti Sutta:[2] "Upon men who live to an age of five hundred years, Bhikkhus, three things come to full florescence: unrighteous passions, lawless greed and false ideals."

1 The *Mahavamsa* P. T. S. translation, p. 260 f.
2 *Digha-Nikaya*, iii, 70

IV

Of Unthinkable Things (*Acinteyyāni*).

These we hold to be four in number, to wit, the range of a Buddha, the range of *iddhi*, or supernormal power, the nature of the result of action (*karma*), the origin and reality of the world.

As it is said in the texts: "There are four things which are unthinkable, which should not be thought about, thinking upon which tends to unhinge the mind and injure [the system], namely, the range of a Buddha, the Jhāna-range of one in Jhāna [or mystic rapture], the result of *karma* and thinking of the world."[1]

Here "unthinkable" means "which cannot be thought about by average folk; things that lie beyond their intellectual ability, and with which it is therefore not meet they should occupy their thoughts." By "thinking upon which" we mean endeavouring strenuously to grasp, with the determination: "Whether I am far removed from, or stand near to the matters belonging to Ariyans, to saintly persons, I will realise these for and by myself, solely by my own intellectual insight." "To unhinge the mind" — to bring about loss of mental balance. "Injure"—to cause mental misery. "*Jhāna*-range" we have called "range of *iddhi*."

The range of a Buddha.

These are the fourfold assurance, the six modes of super-intellect. and the ten powers. The only [adequate] criterion of these gifts is the insight of a Buddha himself, not that of Ariyans (or eminent followers), or of other beings human or celestial fit to rank beside them. As to the nature of those powers they should be studied in the testimony of the Buddhas. In so doing a disciple can fulfil his duty; otherwise his efforts are but misdirected, and would tend to his ruin; or, as it is said, "unhinge the mind and injure the system."

[1] *Anguttara-Nikaya*, iv., "Apannakavagga" (vol. ii., p. 80)

This would hold true for other inquirers, intelligent yet not adherents.

If this criterion be admitted, the further question arises; "How can one who is a Buddha, *i. e.*, 'Awakened.' Enlightened, Omniscient—be known to be such?" The reply is: By the vastness of his intellect: in other words, by omniscience. But how can omniscience be known? By the contents of his teaching. And by his teaching (in the case of our Buddha) we mean the eighty-four thousand *dhammas* constituting the body of his doctrine.[1] It is by the possession of this intellectual superiority (*buddhi-mahatta*) that a person becomes "Buddha"; it is not only by possessing supernormal gifts as such that he can attain to a state of perfection. A Buddha of a truth becomes a true saviour of multitudes in virtue of his greatness in descent, in merit, in morals, in power of concentration, in supernormal power, in intellectual endowment—in all of these qualities.

If it be insisted on the contrary that it is by virtue of mere supernormal faculties that a Buddha becomes a true saviour, [our contention is that] should a man, himself blinded by the supernormal faculty in matters which can only be illumined by intellect (right understanding), try to save many, it would do many foolish people great harm. Indeed, in the absence of genuine intellect, the supernormal faculty, whether small or great, serves as an instrument by which to practise the art of cunning, crafty talk, and deception. Those who attach weight to supernormal faculty as such are as children, while those who attach weight to intellect are wise indeed. This truth is brought out in the section called "Sīla," of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, in the Kevaṭṭa-sutta.[2]

Here one might object by saying that, for that matter, superiority of intellect should mean superiority as to supernormal faculty. If so, our reply to him would be that, should a man be capable of doing all possible good to the world by virtue of his superiority

1 *See Psalms of the Brethren*, Ananda's verses, verse 1024
2 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i., 276 f.

as to supernormal faculty, it would follow from this that, in his case, there is no duty to carry out in the moral kingdom, by virtue of his capacity for teaching. If so, it would further follow that in his case there is also no duty to perform by virtue of his superior intellect. If this is so, it should further be inferred that, in his religion, the functions of teaching and of intellect are far to seek.

Concerning this statement, that by virtue of his superiority in supernormal faculty a man is capable of doing all possible good to the world—"is capable" means of course a public, well-attested capacity, visible at any time no less than moon or sun in the sky. Otherwise the foolish person who draws conclusions from the loud-voiced professions of impostors gaining their living by such cunning and crafty talk, will in the end find himself sprawling in empty space under the delusion that he is on broad earth. But superiority of intellect can be absolutely relied upon, and he who, in great and profound matters, does not seek it is foolish both by nature and in the eyes of the world.

The range of iddhi.

By *iddhi* we understand supernormal faculties developed by special exercises. In ancient days, when life was long, recluses and brahmans outside the pale of Buddhism reckoned five kinds:—(i,) supernormal will-power (*iddhividhābhinnā*); (ii.) hyperæsthesia of sight; (iii.) hyperæsthesia of hearing; (iv.) discerning the thought of another [thought-reading, telepathy]; (v.) hypermnesia, or reminiscence of one's own past history. These five, together with the insight known as the conviction of one's self being free from the four "intoxicants" (*āsava-kkhayâbhinnā*), are recognised among the disciples of the Buddha as six kinds of supernormal faculties as such.

By supernormal powers of will recluses and brahmans claimed to go the worlds of gods and Brahmās above, to the infernal regions below, and even beyond the limit of the farthest zone of the world-systems.

By supernormal powers of sight and hearing they, standing here, could see objects and hear sounds there, at distant places.

By supernormal powers of thought they could read thoughts, and by supernormal powers of hypermnesia they could recollect events that happened in the past, many hundreds of births ago, even many periods of envelopment and development of the world-system.

While going above, below or about, they thus began to observe: "In travelling in this manner, in a single moment we have measured so many leagues." In so doing various configurations and many leagues in the systems of the world, in the course of a cosmic epoch would become visible. Having realised through this the perniciousness of sensual desires, they renounced the world, became dwellers in the woods, practised meanwhile such things as meditation on the nature of [material] things and cultivation of the divine Brahma-life — of good-will, compassion, appreciation and equanimity--by which a man can attain to the Brahma-world, and mastered five supernormal powers. From that time on they had nothing further to do for themselves. At this stage they, while living in this world, sought for many hundreds, many thousands, many hundreds of thousands of years to do good to the world. In so doing there would be revealed to them very many kinds of various arts and sciences.

As to these recluses and Brahmans we are told in the Brahmajāla-sutta:[1] "There are some recluses and Brahmans who theorise with regard to what was before the æons of time, and who speculate on what *will* be after the æons of time, etc."[2] From this we can see that their speculations did not come into the range of their fivefold *iddhi*. Hence as to a matter within the range of their *iddhi* their knowledge, and not that of average men was to be regarded as the true measure. And it was the business of the latter to learn to comprehend those

1 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i., No. 1.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

points as they were given by those recluses and Brahmans. As it is said in the Dasavatthuka-sammāditthi:[1]

"There are in the world recluses and Brahmans who, being in the right path, having made progress by right methods, have discerned and realised the nature of this world as well as of the world beyond, and declare what they know."

Here one might say: I do not belive that there are recluses and Brahmans who have possessed such great supernormal powers. Why? Because now for certain no such men are ever to be seen or heard of in the world.

You are right in saying, "now for certain no such men are ever to be seen." The reason is that now you are born too late, at the closing part of a period of decadence. This is also true that you say: "no such men are to be heard of." The reason is that you are born rather too late in a non-Ariyan land, far removed from religions and texts coming down in unbroken succession from the beginning of an æon. But you should investigate the matter thus: In former days this world was exceedingly rich in all respects; men lived to a very great age, even past reckoning was one span of life. What then might not this world of men have been like in those days? To what can we of to-day liken the saints and recluses of those times?

The nature of the result of action (karma).

This is of two kinds: that which takes effect in the life- experience of an individual, and that which comes about afterwards in a life beyond. Here "result" is that which matures, that is to say, bears fruit, secures a distinct end. For instance when a man, having earned a *kahāpana* (old Indian coin) by some job he has done, enjoys thereby things that he desires, it is then, [and then only] that his work secures a distinct end, that is, reaches the object sought by the labourer. In the same way is the point in question to be viewed. Carried once

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1 A tenfold exposition of *Sammaditthi* "right views," in the "Mahācattarīsaka Sutta," *Majjhima-Nikaya*, No 117.—ED.

into effect an action[1] runs its course as such, and as long as it does not mature, so long it cannot be said to have reached its distinct end. Its sequence may run through hundreds of thousands of periods. Thus does a powerful *karma* of immoral nature secure its distinct end in states of woe, and thus does a powerful *karma* of moral nature become effective in lives of bliss.

Again, [the course of] the result of *karma* is taken to be twofold: as *drifting* (affecting the individual), and as *overflowing* (affecting others.). Of these the former implies prosperity, or adversity experienced by a man in this or that existence as an individual being, in consequence of his meritorious or demeritorious deeds. Under this aspect the result of *karma* affects the doer of the deed only. But in his existence as an individual being, owing to the heat and power of his *karma* promoting his happiness, or causing him misery, there arise conditions of prosperity, or adversity, with respect to persons other than himself. This is called the overflow of the result of *karma*. Under this aspect the result of his *karma* is shared by others.

The drifting course of the result of *karma* may be illustrated by the prosperity of King Mahāsudassana's life in the Mahāsudassana-sutta.[2] Moreover, owing to the power of the meritorious deeds of the king, various conditions of prosperity in the lives of other persons arose, some together with his own condition, some coming from this or that source. This may be taken as an illustration of the overflowing course of the result of *karma*. It may even promote the happiness of the inhabitants of other continents[3]

As regards evil deeds, the story in which the whole kingdom was ruined in consequence of the overflowing course of King Nālikera's act, persecuting

1 Readers should note that *karma* (Pali, *kamma*) means literally action, act, deed. Thus "job" is literally *hattha kamma*, hand-action, manual-labour.—ED.

2 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii., No. xvii.; *Buddhist Suttas* (Sacred Books of the East), xi., p. 247 ff.

3 *Dīpa*. This may conceivably mean "worlds."—ED.

five hundred sages,[1] and such other stories may be related.

Again, it is written: "A person, Bhikkhus, may be so born as to promote the well-being of many men, the happiness of many men, the interests of many men, the well-being and happiness of many gods and men. A person, Bhikkhus, many be so born as to increase the ill of many men, the misery of many men, the ruin of many men, the ill and misery of many goods and men.[2]

It not only affects beings (animals as well as men), but it also permeates the realm of space, and the (whole) organic world. Thus we read in our texts:—

"It is the rule, Bhikkhus, that when the Bôdhisattva having fallen from the Tusita-heaven enters his mothers womb, then there appears throughout this world including the celestial worlds an infinitely splendid radiance surpassing in splendour the divine radiance of gods, and then the ten thousand world-systems tremble, shake and quake."[3] Such is the overflowing result of a Bôdhisat's acts of fulfilling many perfections.

When men become exceedingly sinful in thought and deed all the overflowing course of their *karma* rushes from this extensive earth up to the orbits of moon, sun and stars, agonising even the whole realm of space, and the whole organic world of trees, etc., undermining by degrees the cause of prosperity and strengthening that of adversity. It is then that the life-span, beauty and health of men, inhabiting and living in both of these worlds, undergo diminution.

Now-a-days men and trees appear exceedingly small. But we are told, in the *Buddhavamsa*, that, in the days of longevity, the body of a Buddha was eighty cubits in length, while according to the Sixth Book of the Anguttara the height was ninety cubits. The *Dhammikavagga*[4] tells us that in ancient times the King Korabya of the kingdom of the Kurus had a banyan

1 *Jataka* (transl.) v., pp. 72, 76.
2 *Anguttara*, i., p. 33.
3 *Dialogues*, ii., 9.
4 *Anguttara*, iii., 369.

tree, named Suppatittha, twelve leagues in circumference, its fruits of the size of big rice-jars. . . .

When men become virtuous in thought and deed, it has been similarly declared how the life-span of men goes on increasing. The whole of the Aggañña and Cakkavatti-suttas should be referred to in this connection.[1] Again, in the Pattakammavagga, of the *Anguttara-nikāya*,[2] we are told: "At the time, Bhikkhus, when kings and their sons become unrighteous, unrighteous become also the Brahmans and householders, and the people who live in suburbs and countries. Then the moon, sun, stars and planets move irregularly. At the time, Bhikkhus, when king and their sons become righteous, righteous become also the Brahmans and householders, etc. Then do moon, sun, stars and planets move regularly." This is the overflowing consequence of the collective *karma* of men. Such a consequence affects even the whole realm of space and the whole organic world.

It must be borne in mind that here by "result of *karma*" is meant something "born of the result of *karma*"—for instance, the supernormal faculties, included under the category of the unthinkable, became possible through the *karma* of past lives.

The faculties as such are of many kinds; each realm of beings having its own supernormal powers.

As regards the supernormal powers of the Brahma-gods we are informed, in the Sankhārupapatti-sutta,[3] of the presence of one thousand to ten thousand Brahmās: that of these one thousand Brahmās permeate one thousand world-systems with their radiance, two thousand Brahmās permeate two thousand world-systems, and so on. These are the Mahābrahmās living on the plane of the first stage of Jhāna-rapture. Now the gods and men who live beneath this plane imagine and recognise this or that Mahābrahmā to be the maker

1 *Digha-Nikaya*, iii., Nos. xxvi., xxvii.
2 Vol. ii., p. 74. f.
3 *Majjhima-Nikaya*, vol. iii., No. 120.

of the whole world, the lord of the whole world, omnipresent, immutable, eternal saviour of the world. It is said in the Mūla-pannāsa,[1] the first sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya: "He [*i.e.*, an ordinary thinker who is not familiar with the Ariyan mode of thinking] apprehends Brahmā as Brahmā. Having apprehended Brahmā as Brahmā, he fancies him to be the Brahmā, conceives [attributes] in the Brahmā, fancies [that the world is] from the Brahmā, imagines that the Brahmā is his, [and] extols the Brahmā as such. What is the cause of it? I say, it is because this matter is not truly understood by him."

Here the meaning of "apprehends Brahmā as Brahmā" is: he apprehends the god just as people commonly do in ordinary speech. And the phrase "he fancies him to be the Brahāma" implies that he imagines him (*a*) according to his unregenerate desires, thinking: "Lo! this Great Brahmā in all his beauty!" (*b*) according to his fancies as to values (*māna*), thinking: "He is the supreme, the most high in the world;" (*c*) according to his speculative opinions, thinking: "He is the unchangeable, immutable, eternal, stable and enduring, for ever."

The expression "he conceives [attributes] in the Brahmā" implies that he conceives such and such light, such and such splendour, such and such supernatural powers in him. The expression "he fancies [that the world] is from the Brahmā" signifies that he thinks that this world is born of [*i. e*,. emanates from] this Brahmā, comes into existence only in relation to him. The expression "imagines that the Brahmā is his" implies that he considers the Brahmā to be our master, lord, and refuge. "Extols the Brahmā as such" means that he praises him by saying, "Ah! how majestic is he! Ah! how powerful is he!" The expression "Because this matter is not truly understood by him" means that it is not discerned by the threefold mode of discerning: [In the first place] he does not investigate it in

1 *Majjhima-Nikaya*, 1st Sutta, called "Mūla-pariyāya," in the first fifty suttas called collectively Mūla-pannāsa, or "Root-fifty."—Ed

the light of such an axiom of knowledge as the Brahmā as such does not exist, the only existing things are the psychical and physical facts and conditions classed as "name-and-form," [mind-and-body]. [In the second place] he does not investigate the matter by the light of higher reason, which judges that psychical and physical facts and conditions as such are by nature impermanent, involve ills, and are accordingly not of the nature of soul or deity.

[And in the third place] he does not investigate the matter by the light of a felt necessity of abandoning, once for all, craving, imagined values, and false speculation which are rooted in erroneous apperception. These were indicated above in connection with our explanation of the expressions "He apprehends," "He fancies," "He extols." This lack of knowledge, indeed, is the cause of his apprehending and imagining and praising after this sort.

As regards the remaining faculties, such as those which are peculiar to the gods, etc,. they are made manifest in the Deva, Sakka, Brahmā, Yakkha, Nāga, Supanna, and Lakkhana Samyuttas [in the *Samyutta-nikāya*], as well as in the *Peta-vatthu* and other texts.

These faculties are not seldom found among men. But common people do not know and see them, although they are lodged in their own bodies. The recluses and Brahmans of great supernormal power in the past, or those who cultivate occult lore, alone know and see them. Those supernormal faculties, born of the result of *karma*, are outside the mental range of average folks and should not be studied.

Nevertheless these faculties are really common, speaking generally, to all beings. For all beings, during their continual journey in this endless series of lives, may travel from the nethermost purgatories to the topmost scale of existence, through all those that are intermediate. They may attain then to the state of gods, to that of Sakka, Brahmās, Mahābrahmās, and so on. Again from this highest scale they may be reborn into the states of

woe. He who is to-day the king of gods or a Brahmā, endowed with majestic powers, may become to-morrow a dog or a hog, and so on in rotation.

Other unthinkable results of *karma* are such as come into effect among infra-human beings. Besides, in the bodies of men and of the brute creation there are physical conditions of the sense-faculties, resulting from past *karmas*. These, too, are of a nature unthinkable. For when in the case of a dead body, or a dead organ of sense, a man thinks "I will bring it to life again!" he only runs the risk of losing his reason, or of ruining his health by his thoughts and efforts. And why? Because he is striving against the inexorable working of another's past deeds.

Unthinkable thoughts about the world.

In the Mahāvagga-Samyutta, in the section dealing with the Four Truth,[1] the ten speculative views, maintaining that the world is eternal, that it is not eternal, and so forth, are called technically "world-thought" (*lokachintā*). But here we are using the term in a more comprehensive sense for all world-lore to be found in ancient texts under various names, for cosmologies conceived by the recluses and Brahmans of supernormal powers, by their pupils and pupils of pupils, or by Atthaka, Vāmaka, and such other recluses and Brahmans. The Vedāngas, for instance, are said to be derived from, and dependent upon, the contents of the three Vedas of the Tri-Veda Brahmans, The sciences meant medical science. The mantras denote spells for conquering the earth, winning wealth etc., "World-thought" is also applied to the Manikā and Gandhāri-cults, mentioned in the Kevaṭṭasutta.[2] The Manikā-cult is like the "supernormal thought called discerning the thought of another," a telepathic device. And the Gandhārī-cult is like the "supernormal powers of will," a device for executing various feats of supernormal

1 P. T. Sed., vol. v., p. 447 f.
2 *Dialogues*, i., p. 278. *Cf.* footnotes there.

character, such as floating through the air, etc. The latter is manifold, viz.. root-cult, incantatory, numerical, and metallic. The root-cult is that which is rendered effective through medicinal roots; the incantatory cult is that which is brought into play through formulas of spells; the numerical cult is that which is brought into play through eight and nine series of numbers; and the metallic cult is that which is brought into play by means of metals like iron and mercury. And in the *Patisambhidāmagga* we read: "What are the feats of jugglery? A juggler having recited his spells exhibits an elephant, a horse, a chariot, infantry, and various arrays of the army in the sky, in the firmament." In the Upāli-sutta of the Majjhima-pannāsa we read; "What do you think, householder? Is a recluse or a Brahman, who is endowed with supernormal faculty and has obtained mastery over will, able to reduce Nālandā to ashes by a single curse? He is able venerable sir."[2]

Here the clause "who is endowed with supernormal faculty" means who is said to be gifted with synergic *iddhi* applied to thought about the external world.

Among the four unthinkable matters the powers of a Buddha stand highest in rank, *iddhi* proper comes next, and the supernormal faculties born of the result of *karma* come last. This being the case, those who are in the higher worlds gifted with supernormal faculties born of the result of *karma*, whether they are kings of gods or Mahābrahmās recognised as the supreme rulers of the world, become in the world of men attendants to Buddhas or their disciples, possessing majestic powers [of intellect and will]. And the same is the case with those recluses and Brahmans who are outside our religion, but have reached the climax of the supernormal faculties of gods in the higher world. Why? Because those faculties which result from *karma* obtain among the beings of lower order. And [secondly because] they are equipped

1 P. T. S. ed., ii., 213.
2 *Majjhima-Nikaya*, i., 377

with the moral, reflective, and intellectual qualities that are extant [amongst us].

Among witchcrafts concerned with mundane thoughts, those who attain to success were called Vijjandharas. The gods of lower orders and all demons and goblins served as messengers to the Vijjandharas. There were formulas of incantation and spell which were very powerful. They served to crush those gods, demons, goblins, etc,

Men who have supernormal gifts are seen sometimes in our own country (Burma). They repair to a forest, and having handled regularly the occult formulas and prepared themselves for days and nights, and achieved success, many begin to tour in villages and districts. Wherever they go, they provide instantaneous relief to those who are ill and come to them for help. They also exhibit many other feats of wonderful magic, and account for this or that (fateful) event in the life of men. But the rulers prohibit these occult practices, fearing lest they might give rise to violent commotions in the country.

Expositions.

V.

Of the Three Worlds.

Here we expound our system of the world under three headings.

(1) Physical Universe,
(2) Thing, and
(3) Being (*i. e.*, Person).

(1) By Physical Universe[1] is meant the world conceived in spatial relation (*okāsa-loka*),—as something in which things and beings have their existence. Thus heaven is the physical universe as regards celestial beings, earth is the physical universe as regards men, brutes, and things in general; and purgatory is the physical universe as regards infernal beings . . .[2]

(2) The term Thing is used in the sense of conditioned things in general (*saṅkhāra-loka*). Things in this sense include plants: trees, creepers, bushes, shrubs, etc.;

1 The translator has omitted, partly from lack of space, partly from lack of leisure, the greater part of the detailed disquisition on the physical universe, as well as a part of the corresponding exposition of section 2. As representing the 'natural philosophy" of a very learned Burmese religieux of our day, who owes nothing to the scientific culture of the West, the excisions abound in interest, and it is to be hoped that an opportunity may be found for completing the translation.—Ed. Now, in the present reprint of the Exposition, the translation has been completed by U Nyana, See Addenda

2 See Addendum i.

metals, such as gold, silver, etc.; in short, all the natural sources we draw from and enjoy; the objects fashioned therefrom by men, such as houses, chariots, carriages, etc.; and lastly, the things of intellectual creation, e.g., categories such as aggregates, senses, objects, etc.

(3) By beings (*satta*) or persons (*puggala*) we understand creatures generally:- infernal beings, animals, spirits, demons, men, gods and Brahmās. There are beings terrestial, aquatic, and aerial, oviparous, viviparous, moisture-sprung, and beings reborn without earthly parentage; beings without feet, bipeds, quadrupeds, and beings with many feet. . . .[1]

(1) We shall now explain the mode of existence (*santhiti*) in the physical universe, According to our theory, earth rests on water beneath it, water rests on air, and air rests on open space (*ajatâkāsa*). This open space is infinite below and on all sides. It is filled with air without motion, which supports the great volume of air (atmosphere) above it; this supports in its turn the great volume of water; and that supports this great earth. It is said in the text: "This great earth, Ānanda, is established on water, water is established on air, air on space. A time comes, Ānanda, when a mighty wind blows, this blowing causes commotion in the waters, and the waters being in commotion cause the earth to quake" (*Digha-Nikāya* ii., 107; *Dialogues* ii., 114).

Next we deal with the comming into being and the ceasing to be of the physical universe. The co-inherent quality of heat is the cause of birth, decay, and death of the physical universe, the cause of its origination and cessation. As it is said in the Pali: "What is the element of heat? It is that which heats, that which causes things to decay, that which consumes, and that through which things reach an entire change" (*Majjhima-Nikāya* i., 188, 422). Accordingly it is the co-inherent heat which is ever causing co-existent things to burn, to decay, consuming them, changing them, and making them pass from one condition into another. . .[2]

The world is considered by us as a system or order in

1 See Addendum ii.
2 See Addendum iii.

which everythihg happens according to the laws of causality.[1] . . . Without a known beginning, and without end, the world or physical universe continues the same whether World-Lords appear or not. Not made, not crēated by any such, not even a hundred, not even a thousand, not even a hundred thousand World-Lords would be able to remove it. By the law of heat, by the law of natural causation, the order of the physical universe is maintained.

(2) The Organic World of Things. By this are implied trees, etc. The vegetable life is broadly distinguished into seedlings and growing plants.[2] . . .

The term seed or germ (*bija*), in its ordinary popular sense, implies various seeds—roots, and the rest—as described before. In the higher sense, however, seed or germ is to be regarded as a form of heat—caloric energy (*utu*). If this is so, a mango-stone, which, in the former sense, is called a seed-proper, cannot, in the latter sense, constitute the wholē seed. For in that one mango-stone there are these eight component elements (qualities. primary and secondary): extension, cohesion, heat, motion, colour, odour, taste, and nutrition, Of these, heat carries out the gērminating function. Hence it alone is radically entitled to the name. of sēed or germ. The remaining seven elements are complementary to heat; they do not directly pērform the germinating function.

Moreover, thē form of heat (or caloric energy—*utu*), which is specifiēd abovē as seed or gērm, is the same heat or ēnergy in kind as that which is considēred to bē thē gērminating factor of the universe of a given pēriod of timē – an aeon. . . .[3]

(3) Thē World of Beings (*satta-loka*). To understand the nature and life[4] of a *satta*—a being, person, individual—is an exceedingly deep and difficult task. It lies at

1 *Dhammata*, i. e., *dhamma-niyamo*. The *Manoratha-purani* (Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Anguttara-Nikāya) explains the latter term (See Expositions I. (5) vol. vii, p. 251 of this *Review*) *karana-niyama* or causal order.—Tr. See also Addendum iv.

2 See Addendum v

3 See Addendum vi.

4 "Nature and life": in the author's Pali *pavatti*, a staple term in the dynamic philosophy of Buddhism, meaning on-rolling, or procedure.—Ed.

the basis, at the bottom of all philosophical speculations. We shall approach it from the two standards of truth: the conventional (*sammuti*) and the philosophic (*paramattha*).[1]

By "a being" conventional usage understands a *nāma-rūpa*—[a compound organism] mental (*nāma*)and physical (*rūpa*). By this it means a certain appearance (*santhāna*) and a certain continuum (*santāna*), which it terms a being or person or individual.[2] Philosophic usage sees in "a being" a mental and material phenomenon or datum (*nāma-rūpa-dhamma*). For it the appearance and continuum are just a mental construction and its verbal expression.[3] But the phenomena of mind and matter [out of which beings are constructed] are the data or subject-matter (*dhamma*) of philosophy. As if man having dug out clay should reduce it to powder, and by kneading that with water should make a jar. Jar, in that case, is the name given to the physical structure of the thing in question, while the powder or clay is the material or substance. This physical structure called jar appears only at the time when the potter shapes it in this particular fashion. When the jar is smashed to pieces, the structure to which the name, jar, was given disappears, while the powder or clay as material remains. Here the physical structure of the jar is comparable to the organic form of a being, the name 'jar," to the name "being," or "person," the powdered clay, to the phenomena of mind, matter.

By "continuum," or continuity in time, is generally understood the continued life of a being passing from one form of existence into another. But since this being is a mere concept of our mind, we cannot ascribe to the mental fiction the modes of physical origination and cessation. On the other hand, mind and matter, as

1 See Section II., "Of the Two Standards of Truth," p. 13, of this Exposition.—Ed.

2 *Satta*, etymologically, is "being." When animals are included, the more usual term is *pana* or *bhuta*.—Ed.

3 *pannatti* means both concept and term. See S. Z. Aung in *Compendium of Philosophy*, iv., 264.—Ed

real facts, can be conceived as springing into existence, and undergoing dissolution.

A being is said, from the conventional standpoint, to be born to decay to die, to fall from one state of existence, and to be reborn into another. Taken in this sense, a being is born, during his whole life-term, just once at the time of birth and dies once for all at the time of death. Mind and matter, on the contrary, come to birth, undergo decay, die and break down many hundreds of thousands of time, even in one day. . .[1]

And just as conventional usage affirms that there is infinite space in the universe, so does philosophy maintain that space has no real existence. But this "exists" of the one standard, "does not exist" of the other, present on genuine mutual antagonism. How is this? Because each statement is from a different standpoint.

Similarly by "a being" is implied some sort of individual consciousness and intelligence. That this exists and persists in transmigrating:—this is admitted as a truth from the conventional point of view. In Abhidhamma-knowledge, or philosophical truth, however, such a being is not recognized, does not exist. Only mental and material phenomena exist. And they do not persist in a series of transmigrations. They are perpetually dissolving, now here, now there. Yet here again between the "exists" and the "does not exist" there is no real antagonism. How is this? Because of the distinction drawn between a being (conventional view) and a phenomenal compound of mind and matter (philosophic view).

If by adhering to the belief, that a being persists in transmigration, we hold that mind and matter do the same, then this is the eternalistic error (*sassataditthi*). And if by adhering to the belief, that mind and matter do not persist in transmigration, but break up and dissolve, now here, now there, we come to hold that a being does the same, this is the annihilationistic error

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1 See Addendum VII.

(*ucchedadithi*),[1] To maintain the eternalistic view is to shut the gate of Nibbāna. How so? Because if mind and matter transmigrate, then it is to be inferred that transmigration itself is eternal. And to maintain the annihilationistic view is to shut the gate of heaven. How so? Because the working out of Karma is thereby suspended. Moreover both of those views maintain that the living personality is a soul. And since the soul-theory is at the root of all false opinions, we shall find ourselves lodged at that root. Wherefore, avoiding those two extreme views, and adopting the distinction in standpoints discribed above, let us stand holding open every gateway to heaven and to the final Release.[2]

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1 See Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i., 27 f. (trans of the "Brahmajāla Suttanta").--ED.

2 See Addendum VIII.

Expositions.

VI.

Of Causal Genesis.

From the standpoint of ultimate, or philosophic truth the order (or procedure, *pavatti*) in the world of rational individuals (*satta*) is by way of causal genesis. Hence we state the law of that order in terms of the formula called Causal Genesis (literally "happening-because-of": *paticca-samuppāda*):—Because of ignorance, actions; because of actions, consciousness; because of consciousness, mind-and-body; because of mind-and-body, the six sense-spheres, (senses and objects); because of the six sense-spheres, contact; because of contact, feeling; because of feeling, craving; because of craving, clinging; because of clinging, becoming; because of becoming, birth; because of birth, decay, death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, misery, and despair. This is the genetic process of the entire body of ill.

(1) Ignorance, nescience (*a-vijjā*). Let us here take the positive form, knowledge, first. Knowledge is

1 Pronounce *ca* as *ch* in church. The translation condenses, or excises, here and there, and is at time less a reproduction than a digest.—Ed

cognising, knowing. Knowing what? The knowable. What is the knowable? Facts (called truth). What is truth, or fact? That which holds good at all times, and is a fact (*lit.*, has come to be), which is "thus" which is not "not-thus," is not otherwise and not self-contradictory, is called Truth. How many aspects (*vidha*) of truth are there? There are four:—the Fact itself, its Cause, its Cessation, the Means to its Cessation. For example, in the Four Ariyan Truths concerning Suffering or Ill:—The Ariyan Fact of Ill, the Ariyan Fact of the Cause (or Genesis) of Ill, of the Cessation of Ill, of the Means (or Path) leading to the Cessation of Ill. "Ariyan" truth here is equivalent to immoveable (achâlâ) truth.[1]

Now, what is the fact of Ill? In the Pâli we are told that the five aggregates, or the six organs of sense are synonymous with the fact of Ill.[2] But why should the matter-group be comprised under the Ariyan fact of Ill? Well, are not the factors of the body, even though the body be an angel's or a god's, subject eventually to birth, decay, death, sorrow, mourning, pain, misery, and despair? Now this quality "subject to birth" includes liability to (re-)birth in purgatory, or as a beast, or in such evil planes of life as those of Petas or Asuras. It includes the being involved again and again in passions, in wrong-doing, in diseases and infirmities. Hence rebirth in any material shape is a state of perpetual peril and liability to suffering.

The second Ariyan truth is described as the Cause, or Origin of Ill. Here by the word origin (*sâmûdâyâ*) is implied that which gives rise to, or develops Ill. What is that? Craving (*tanhâ*, or unregenerate desire). Whoso does not put away such desires begets and fosters all the ills characterising the life of a mental and bodily organism.

The fact of the cessation of Ill is known as the third

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1 No etymology is here intended. It is simply a method of ancient edifying exegesis.—ED.

2 *Eg.*, *Samyutta*, iii., p. 23 f.; iv., 2, *etc.*, *etc*

Ariyan truth. We conceive cessation as two-fold, namely, the cessation of what has already arisen, and the cessation of what has not yet arisen. When we include under cessation the cessation of cravings not yet actual, we are really referring to ills that are not yet felt, since cravings are their cause or root. Hence the task of making to cease is immediately concerned with cravings, not with suffering. And by cessation we mean not temporary removal, but final non-reappearance. Of two men who each cut down a poisonous tree, only he who cuts away the root ensures the impossibility of regrowth.

In the fourth Ariyan truth, again, the means or course referred to is in reality the Path leading to the cessation of Craving, and thus of Ill; of those ills, namely, associated, as we saw, with mental and bodily organic life. Doctrinally, the Path generally denotes the Noble Eight-fold Path which consists of Right View, Right Resolve, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Contemplation, and Right Concentration.

These fall into three groups: insight, concentrative practice, and moral conduct. Under insight come Right View and Right Resolve; in the moral group are Right Speech, Right Action, and Right Livelihood; and in the concentration-group are Right Effort, Right Contemplation and Right Concentration.

It is worthy of note that by the Path we understand, from another point of view, the carrying out of the act of comprehension (*pariññā*). The work of comprehension is three-fold, namely, penetrating insight into the nature of reality and laws of things; investigating comprehension of the three characteristic marks of phenomena; and the comprehension which abandons hallucinations attaching to things of temporal sequence thus inquired into. More strictly, the term Path is taken to signify the fullest exercise of the last-named work of comprehension. For it is through work of comprehension that we get rid, first, of belief in a soul; secondly, of inherent craving for sensuous pleasures; and thirdly, of inherent craving for rebirth.

Here it should be noted that, instead of a negative name, such as Cessation of Ill, we might give a positive name, such as Attainment of Happiness, to the third Ariyan truth. Happiness is of two kinds, to wit, pleasure as experienced by the gods and average men, and the blissful tranquillity reached only by those who follow the Ariyan Path. Pleasure is the experience of those who are victims to craving, while the experience of blissful tranquillity is only for those who are masters of knowledge. This realm of bliss we call Nibbāna, where the nutriment for craving is wanting.

To sum up: Knowledge is the act of knowing, the knowing what ought to be known, *i.e.*, the four Ariyan truths. If this be so, and if Ignorance be rightly understood as the opposite of knowledge, then it necessarily follows that Ignorance is the act of not knowing what ought to be known, *i. e.*, the four immutable Ariyan truths.

(2) Actions (*sankhārā*). These are the plannings, the activities, "puttings-together," in virtue of which living beings accomplish something, to wit, that of which the moral consequence is either good or evil, meritorious or the contrary, attaches to this life or has bearing upon the life that is to follow upon the present one. In our phraseology, we take *sankhārā*, to signify all those actions by way of deed, speech, and thought, which determine the modes of our existence now or in time to come or both at present and in future. Actions so conceived fall into three grades (or kinds)—the demeritorious, the meritorious, and those of an unoscillating nature (*āneñja*). Of these, demeritorious actions are bad deeds, words and thoughts; meritorious actions are good deeds, words and thoughts belonging to the *kāmā* planes of life;[1] the third kind are acts of the mind, involving merit, done in the *rûpa* planes of life,[2] and goods acts of the mind done in the *arûpa* planes of life.[3] But how is it that because of ignor-

1 *I.e.*, Life from purgatory up to the lower heavens.
2 Life in the higher material heavens (Brahmā-world, etc.).
3 Life in purely mental heavens. See *Compendium of Philosophy*, 81 *n*, 2 188 f.—ED.

ance, actions come to pass?" They who do not understand, do not know the four Ariyan truths; for them the three types of hallucinations as to their mind and body, thus conditioned by ignorance, come into existence. The hallucinations in their development form what we called craving-materials, and these materials in their development form the modes of our existence now or in time to come. It is thus that because of ignorance, actions come to pass.[1]

(3) Consciousness (*viññāna*). This is our term for knowing (*i.e.*, coming to know) in a variety of ways. It includes awareness or cognition through sense and cognition through work of mind. For example, we cognise objects by way of sight; sounds by way of hearing; odours by way of smell; sapids by way of taste; the tangibles by way of touch; and the cognisables by way of thought. Accordingly we distinguish cognition into six modes—visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and mind cognition.

Visual cognition is the mode in which the process of consciousness takes place in (connection with) the eye, etc. By mind-cognition we understand the mode in which the process of consciousness takes place in connection with thoughts (as distinguished from sense-perception).

Again, cognition is distinguished into two kinds, according as it leads to moral or immoral results.

Our main question is, How is it that because of actions consciousness comes to be? It is worth noting that in this case, actions are but a name for the element of volition (*chetanā-dhātu*) given in a process of consciousness. The term consciousness, too, is used in a limited sense for what is called resultant rebirth-consciousness (*i.e.*, consciousness in a newly-conceived embryo). Hence the expression 'Because of actions consciousness"

1 "Come to pass" is not in the text here or above. The reader will have noted that the formula of Causal Genesis at the head of this section is a series not of propositions but of correlated *terms*; "because of-ignorance actions," etc.—ED.

signifies that the rebirth-consciousness results, or emerges from the volitional effort in the previous birth.

It may be asked, How is it possible that, the action done in the previous birth ceasing to be, the rebirth-consciousness should now emerge from it? Here we ought to clear up the ambiguity that attaches to the expression "ceasing to be." In accordance with our conception, cessation implies the completion of an act. There are three stages—the will to act (*kamma-chetanā*), the impulse and *vim* of the act (*kamma-vega, kammânubhāva*), and the resultant state (*vipāka-bhāva*). Let us take an illustration.

Suppose a man were to sow a mango-seed. He does so with a view to obtain mango-fruits. Obviously, then, his action is purposive. The seed thus sown engenders a mango-tree. But nobody can say until the tree bears fruits whether the seed was sound or not. In the course of time the tree bears fruits, It is then, and only then we judge, that what was so far merely potential in the seed, is now actualised in the fruits. Between the potential and the actual or resultant there is the intermediate process, the stimulation and development of the potential into a living force, represented in this illustration by the growth of the mango-tree. On this we are entitled to say that the seed contained in some mysterious way both the end to be realised and the active process that is essential to it. Thus if we say that the seed ceases to be in engendering the tree, we mean thereby only that it has developed into a living force, so as to reach its end.

Now we conceive volition to be the germ of rebirth, a motive force in our conscious activity which brings rebirth-consciousness into play. Our underlying postulate is that fruition marks the cessation or completion of an act of volition. The Blessed One, too, declared to the effect: "I declare, bhikkhus, that no voluntary actions reach a termination without making the accumulated fruits and results to be felt" (*Anguttara-Nik.*, v., 292).

(4) Name-and-Form (*nāma-rūpa*).

Name is that which bends towards (*namati*) objects

and Form is that which undergoes change (*ruppati*), is transformed as conditions vary. Under name are grouped sensations, perceptions and mental properties. Form includes matter and material qualities[1] "Because of consciousness, name and form":—by this we mean that rebirth-consciousness is the seed or principle of change as to name and form. In the series of causal genesis, name and form denote no more than mind and body in a developing man. We must note that *rūpa* (rendered here loosely as form) denotes also a living body, an organism capable of development from a seed or germ into a living, thinking individual.

(5) The six sense-spheres (*satāyatanāni*).

The term *āyatana* ("going to") is applied to the six organs of sense, because they serve as places (*thānāni*) in a living body, where six external objects, coming from this or that source, strike (produce stimulus), and thereby set up or occasion (*i. e.*, bring into play), presentative functions (*ārammana-kiccāni*), and where the mind and mental properties, with their six inward-turning doors, coming from this or that seat or basis, set up receptive, or "object-seizing" functions (*ārammana-gahaṇa-kiccāni*). The six sense-spheres are the eye, the ear the nose, the tongue, the body, and the mind. Here the sphere of the eye denotes the sensitive material quality of the organ of sight; ear denotes the sensitive material quality of the organ of hearing; nose that of the organ of smell; tongue that of the organ of taste; body that of the organ of touch; and mind denotes the organic consciousness (*bhavanga-cittam*).

The six sense-spheres are termed also the six sense-doors, or gates, because they serve as so many sensitive media, through which the six external sense-objects and the six internal thought-processes (*vithi-cittāni*), entering and leaving the six doors, mix as objects and subjects (*visaya-visayi-bhāvena*), "door" meaning sensitive medium, and not physical aperture.

Of these, the organic consciousness, being radiant as a

1 Hence mind-and-body is the better rendering for most purposes.—Ed

pure diamond, is not mērely a sensitive medium. As it was said: "Radiant, indeed, is consciousness, O bhikkhus."[1]

In the case of moisturē-sprung and congenital beings, the sense-spheres are rather dull, but in the case of beings of "apparitional birth," they are of a divine nature, —shining and burning. . . .

But how is it that "because of name and form the six sense-spheres" come to be? The answer is to be found in the laws of embryological growth. In viviparous beings the senses and sense-organs develop, as the embryo develops in the womb. The specific senses and sense-organs develop at various stages through which the embryo passes.[2]

(6) Contact (*phassa*).

Contact is the act of touching. Consciousness cognises each several object. But contact must be distinguished from such a sense-cognition. For contact implies that "concussion" which alone brings the functional activity of the senses into play. As commonly understood, contact may be a mere physical collision or juxtaposition of two things. But in *abhidhamma* (or philosophy) touching denotes only stimulus (*sanghattana*). Otherwise all material things would be called tangible objects. But the force of the term "stimulus" is that there must be union, meeting, acting together of all things connected with the stimulation. It is by reason of this acting together that various sense-operations take place. . . . In the Pāli we are told: "Due to contact, and conditioned by contact, feeling, perception, and active complexes are manifested" (*SamyuttaNikāya*, iii., 101 f.).

Contact is regarded also as one among the four kinds of nutrition. Taken in this sense, contact is of six kinds: visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and mental.

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1 *Anguttara-Nikaya*, i., p. 10.

2 The translator has cut this section short, for the reasons given previously. The author enlarges on the account of embryological growth given in the Comy. on *Kathavatthu*, xiv, 2 (See *Points of Controversy*, 283 f.) .. ED.

But how is it that because of the six sense-spheres contact comes to be?

In the Pāli we read: "Because of the eye (organ of vision) visual cognition arises with regard to visible objects. The conjuncture of these three is contact. The same holds true of the other special senses." This means that, based upon the sense- organ, and depending on the sense-impression (*nimittam*), sense-apprehension comes to pass. If so, the intensity of impression, in the case of each special sense, varies with the stimulus.

(7) Sensation, Feeling (*vedanā*). *Vedanā* means experiencing: the enjoying of the essential property (*lit.* taste, *rasa*) manifested in the object by the contact-stimulus. That essential property is either pleasant and agreeable, or unpleasant and disagreeable. Further, regarded in this aspect, *vedanā* is distinguished into six kinds, corresponding to the six-fold contact, namely, sensation born of visual contact, that born of auditory contact, etc.

Vedanā is also applied to feeling, distinguished into these three types: joy, grief, and hedonic indifference. According to yet another classification, *vedanā* is five-fold: pleasure, pain, joy, depression, and indifference. We hear also of these three kinds of experience: infernal for infra-human), human, and celestial or divine (super-human). The lowest form of infra-human experience (such as that of hellish beings) is one of unmitigated misery. Average human experience is of a mixed character, while the highest form of divine experience is one of absolute bliss. But the difference is that of degree. . . . We have now seen that the phrase: "because of contact, feeling," means: contact or stimulus is the necessary antecedent of feeling.

(8) Craving (*tanhā*). This implies hankering, thirsting always after things one does not possess. Craving, so regarded, involves naturally worrying and pondering over things. For instance, a man thus broods over the past: "The things I had before I now, alas! have

1 See *Majjhima-Nikaya* i., III f.

not"! He calculates thus about the future: "Should this happen in time to come, it would be for my welfare!" He may worry as well over the present: "The things I have now, I shall not afterwards obtain! "

Craving is six-fold—for sight, for sound, for smell, for taste, for touch, and for things cognisable or intellectual (*dhamma's*). . . . In the Satipatthāna-Sutta we read: "Sight is (looked upon) in this world as pleasant and agreeable. If Craving arises it arises in seeing and settles there. And so, too, with regard to sound, smell, taste, touch, and cognisable objects."[1]

Because of feeling, craving comes to be. This means that feeling (or, sense-experience) is the necessary antecedent of craving.

(9) Grasping (*upādāna*). This means adopting, laying a firm hold on. Negatively, it implies the inability to shake off a thing, even after experiencing great pain due to it, and perceiving its many evil consequences. Grasping, so conceived, is said to be four-fold: sensuality (*kāma*), dogmatism (or, orthodoxy, *ditthi*), belief in works and rites (*silabbata*), and the belief in soul (*attavāda*). Of these, sensuality denotes an intensified form of craving for all pleasant, agreeable, and sensuous things.

By dogmatism is to be understood that orthodoxy which leads a person to think: "This alone is true, and everything else is false."

By belief in works and rites is meant the fixed view, that the man is able to purify himself, to free himself from pain by means of external, outward rules, or by means of self-mortification, self-torture, instead of religious meditation and philosophic contemplation.

The belief in soul is described as the theory of animism, as the doctrine of a permanent ego, or the postulate of Being (*sakkāyaditthi*). He who is in the grip of this view, considers this ever-changing world in the light of a permanent substratum or unchangeable essence (*sāra*).

Now "because of craving, grasping comes to be"

1 *Digha-Nikaya*, ii. 308 (cf. *Dialogues*, ii., 340.)

means that in our system craving is regarded as the necessary antecedent of sensuality, dogmatism, belief in works and rites, and belief in soul.

(10) Existence (*bhava*). By this we understand becoming, or the attainment of individuality (*lit*, : self ness, (*attabhāva*). Existence is conceived by us under two aspects—(*a*) action, (*b*) result. (*a*)The active side of existence is for us the life of action(*kammabhava*), the present life in which a man performs various actions by way of thought, speech and deed, moral and immoral, pious, spiritual and intellectual, determining thereby his character (*saṅkhāra*). or shaping the nature of his future existence (*upapattibhava*). Thus the term "action" (*kamma*) includes, first ten immoral actions: —the killing of living beings, the taking of what is not given (*i.e.*, not one's own), inchastity, falsehood, slander, harsh language, idle talk, greed, hate, and erroneous views. Secondly, the ten moral actions: —abstinence from killing, from thieving, from inchastity, lying, calumny, harsh language, and idle talk, absence of greed, absence of hate, and right views. And thirdly, the points of pious duty (*puññakiriyā vatthūni*): —liberality (*dāna*), conduct(*sila*), contemplation (*bhāvanā*), civility, hospitality, the giving of what has been won (distribution of merit), appreciation (*anumodana*), and correction of erroneous views of others.

In judging each immoral action, we consider these four "fields of Karma": -- (1) as one's own act, (2) as instigating another, (3) as consenting to another's instigation, and (4) as commending the act.

In like manner, we judge each moral action, according as (1) it is one's own act, or as (2) one inspires another to do it, or as (3) one consents to another's instigation, or (4) one commends the act.

Again, moral actions are distinguished as (1) worldly (*vattanissita*),[1] and (2) unworldly (*vivattanissita*). Worldly moral actions are those which are done with the object of bringing fame and reputation in this life, and of securing high rank and fortune in the life beyond.

And those which are unworldly denote these moral

1 *Lit.*: dependent on the Round (*i.e.* of rebirth, of lives)—ED.

actions which are done with the desire that they may lead to the extinction of craving in future, and not with the object of bringing fame and reputation in this life, or of securing high rank and fortune in the life beyond. This last mentioned type of moral actions is further distinguished as (1) those which are preliminary (*pāramīpakkhiyo*), and (2) those which are perfective (*bodhipakkhiyo*).

(*b*) Existence as [resultant] rebirths (*upapatti-bhava*). These are said to be nine-fold (including two[1] systems of classification). According to the first system of classification the lowest in the scale are rebirths in the worlds of sentience (*kāma-bhavo*); the next higher are rebirths in the heavens of form (*rūpabhava*); those higher still are rebirths in the formless heavens (*arūpabhava*); yet above these are placed the heavens called conscious (*sannī*), the unconscious (*asannī*), and the neither-conscious-nor-unconscious (*nevasannī-nâsannī*). According to the second system of classification, these six grades of existence are divided into three:—those endowed with one "mode" (*ekavokāra*), those endowed with four modes (*catu-vokāra*), and those with five (*panca-vokāra*). Here those with five modes include the sentient and corporeal beings, endowed with five aggregates; those with four denote those unconscious beings who are endowed with four aggrēgates; and those with one denote the unconscious beings who are endowed with one aggregate. . . .

But how does existence (rebirth) come to be "because of grasping"?

Those average or worldly persons, who have not put away the four forms of grasping or clinging, by the right means or Path, indulge in each of the four forms in their deeds, words and thoughts. All their activities are in one way or another prompted by their clinging to sensuous desires, to opinions, to the efficacy of habits and rites, to their belief in a soul. Activities thus accompanied by clinging inevitably bring about, at death, some form of

1 The nine-fold existence is classified under three systems and not under two as remarked by the translator. The first three are classified according to planes, the second three according to perception or consciousness, and the last three according to constituent aggregates. U NYANA.

rebirth, some re-instatement of *khandhas*, or constituent aggregates.

(11) Birth (*jāti*). This expression is applied to the generation of beings, to the manifestation of *sankhārās*, that is to say, the appearance as individuals of what the nine above-named modes of existence are potentially. Sentient existence is divided into these four types of beings – (*a*) the oviparous, *e. g.*, birds; (*b*)the viviparous, *e.g.*, men, cows, buffaloes, etc.; (*c*) the moisture-sprung, *e.g.*, fish, worms, etc.; and (*d*) *opapātika* birth (apparitional, without physical generation). All the gods of the six *kāma-planes*, and all the infernal beings are said to be of the last kind. In the Developing period,[1] men were thus born, and so, too, were animals, spirits, and earthly gods. Subsequently men appear to have been viviparous, and even oviparous and moisture-sprung. The same holds true of animals in general. All corporeal and incorporeal Brahmas are of apparitional birth.

But how does birth come to be "because of Becoming"? In this way: — the life of action determines the type of future existence, and that type of existence becomes manifest by way of birth.

(12) Decay and Death (*jarā-marana*). (*a*) Decay. Corresponding to the nine grades of existence, referred to above, decay is said to be nine-fold. But it is considered also under these two heads — mental (*nāma-jarā*) and physical (*rūpa-jarā*). Each of these two kinds of decay is further distinguished into that which is momentary (*khanika*) and latent (*apākata*), and that which is prolonged (*santati*) and patent (*pākata*). The latent is to be known (inferred) from the patent. For were there no momentary change, there would be, *a fortiori*, no change of a more prolonged duration

But how does the fact of prolonged mental decay (*i.e.*, change, (*parivattana*) become evident (or intelligible)? It becomes evident through the occasion of sensations in the body, pleasing or painful; through feelings of joy or

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1 See *Expositions, II.*

grief in the mind; through the perception of sight, sound etc.; through such higher functions of the mind as reflection, discursive judgment, etc.; or through such functions of the understanding as (cognitive or intuitive) insight, hearing, etc. Here the meaning of the expression *sankanti*, "pass on," is that the the old stream (of consciousness) disappears, and a new stream makes its appearance. But without *a priori* admitting decay (*parihani*), it is impossible to conceive such a disappearance. Besides, one must admit, the mind changes very quickly. The Master said: "I do not see, bhikkhus, a single thing so quickly changeable as mind. And it is not easy to find an analogue for this quickly changing mind."[1] Obviously, by the expression "quickly changeable," in the quoted passage, is meant the passing on of the flow of consciousness. Thus the quick change of the mind being realised, we are the better able to conceive its decay and death.

But how does the fact of continuous physical change become intelligible? It becomes intelligible through bodily movements. For instance, in the time of walking, when the first step has been taken, then we can take the second step. And it becomes evident from all natural changes, such as the seasons of the year, the months the fortnights, the nights and days, and the great periods.

(*b*) Death. Corresponding to the nine grades of existence, this is also to be nine-fold. Death is distinguished again into these four kinds: that which is due to the expiration of the term of life; that which results from the extinction of karma; that which results from both of these two causes; and premature death. Premature death may be due either to the action of past life, or to that of present life; either to the drifting result of action, or to the overflowing result of action.[2]

It may be asked, why these three—birth, decay and death—are included among the factors of the Causal Genesis? They are no other than the three characteristics of compound things. Are they not, therefore, of

1 *Samyutta Nikaya*, ii, 95.
2 See *Expositions*, II.

slight importance, of slight consequence? No, we must not speak thus. For of all phenomena of life, these three are of the greatest importance, of the greatest consequence. For these supply the necessity for the advent of Buddhas. In the words of our Master: "If these thee factors did not exist in the world, no Buddha would have been born. But because these exist, Buddhas are born." That is to say, it is in understanding, penetrating into the root-causes of birth, decay and death that the knowledge and mission of the Buddhas consist.

The Master himself declared: "Those recluses and Brahmans who do not know the causal genesis of decay and death, do not know what the cessation of decay and death is. It is impossible that they, overcoming decay and death, will remain [for ever the same]."[1]

Thus it is evident that our whole conception of the causal genesis (*paṭiccasamuppada*), or the causal order *dhamma-niyamo*)[2] has this end in view: to understand, to penetrate the cause of birth, decay and death. The knowledge of a learned, Ariyan disciple (who has gained an insight into the law of causal genesis) is self-evident (*apara-paccaya*); "There being ignorance, there is karma; there being karma, there is rebirth-consciousness; . . . there being birth, there are decay and death. Where ignorance is not, there karma is not; where karma is not, there rebirth-consciousness is not; . . . where birth is not, there decay and death are not."

In conclusion, this causal genesis, this causal order is the basis, the fundamental conception of our system, the penetrating wisdom of the Ariyans. It is the Norm which serves as the door of Nibbāna, the gate of "the Ambrosial." That is to say, it is the path which leads to the abandonment of all views of individuality, all theories of soul, all forms of dogmatism and all kinds of craving.

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1 *Samyutta-Nikaya*. ii, 46

2 On *dhamma* as meaning "effect," cf *Points of Controversy*, p. 387

NIYĀMA-DĪPANĪ.

OR

Expositions,

THE RESIDUUM[1]

TRANSLATED BY THE PATAMAGYAW U. NYANA.
OF MASOYEIN MONASTERY,
MANDALAY WEST.

Addendum I

To be read after the words " infernal beings " in Section V, pages 38.

It comprises the great earth, the great ocean, the circumjacent mountains,[2] Mount Sineru in the centre,

1. Ledi Sayadaw having learnt from the Editorial Note(vide infra p ,38 of this Expositions),that his Expositions have not yet fully been presented to the Bnddhists of the West or rather to the English-reading public desired me to complete his work by translating the passages left untouched, owing to some accounts, by the first learned translator, Mr. Barua. The exisions,—as the editor has justly extoled—abounding in interest, should not therefore be left at large. So in order to drive them home for the sake of those who might be anxious to know what they would be and as well as to please the Mahathera who had painfully laboured with the expressed purposeof handling the ideals of Natural Philosophy of the Eastern Thinker to the Western investigators, I have recast the two, *i e.*, Mr. Barua's translation and the original Pali manuscript and now translated the Residuum to the best of my ability.

2. Cakkavala pabbata which forms the boundary of the globe, is situated circumlittorally in the extrem epart of the globe, and it is said that the hight is 82000 leagues above the sea level.

round which seven successive ranges of mountains intervened by the seven successive oceans of intense cold, the four great islands, many other smaller ones, and the six abodes of Devas, and the twenty abodes of Brahmas in vertical positions. Such is termed one Spatial Universe or a Circular Globe (*Cakkavāla*). There are many other smaller globes innumerable in number in all the eight directions of the present one.

We also find in the *Tika-Aṅguttara* at the *Ananda-vagga*, the three kinds of World-System, namely: (1) Small-thousand-world-system (*Cūlasahassi*) which comprises one thousand *Cakkavālas*, (2) Medium-thousand-world-system (*Majjhimasahassi*) which comprises one million *Cākkavālas*, (3) Great-thousand-world-system (*Mahāsahassi*) which comprises one billion Cakkavālas.

There are also three other kinds of world-system, to wit, (1) Ten-thousand-world system which is called the Realm of Existence (*Jātikhetta*) and its means the Realm in which the Buddhas appear and all the Devas and Brahmas therein form the audience of the Buddhas, (2) Great-thousand-world-system which is called the Realm of Influence (*Anākhetta*) and it means the Realm where the influence of the *Parittas*[1] and the regime of the Buddhas pervade, and all the Devas and Brahmas therein accept it, (3) Infinite-world-system which is called the Realm of Object (*Visayakhetta*) and it means the one which serves as the object of the knowledge of the Buddhas.

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1 *Parittas* are the hyms especially compiled for the sake of winning protection and general prosperity, such as *Ratana-Sutta-Paritta Metta-Sutta-Paritta*, etc.

There are three others also, to wit, (1) Sensual Plane (*Kāma-dhātu*(, (2) Material Plane (*Rūpadhātu*), Immaterial Plane (*Arūpadhātu*). The first comprises eleven Realms of *Kāma*, the second sixteen of *Rūpa*, and the third four of *Arūpa*.

Four Stages are also expounded, to wit, (1) Sensual stage (*Kāmabhūmi*), (2) Material-stage (*Rūpabhūmi*), (3) Immaterial-stage (*Arūpabhūmi*), (4) Transcendental-stage (*Lokuttarabhūmi*). The first three respectively comprise the Realms of *Kāma*, *Rūpa*, and *Arūpa*; and the last comprises the four Ariyan Paths, the four Ariyan Fruits and the Nibbāna, the Unconditioned.

Addendum II

To be read after the words "beings with many feet" in Section V page 39.

.....beings with form and beings without form, beings having perception, and beings having no perception, and beings having neither-perception-nor-no, perception. The world of Space and the world of Creatures are both included among the world of Things. But the things when classified distinctly and seperately under the names of Realm and Creature have the special names assigned to them, such as the "World of Space", and the "World of Creatures".

Addendum III

To be read after the words 'from one condition into another" ~~beings with many feet~~" in Section V page 39.

The cold-therm (*Sita-tejo*) also determines the same effects in these matters. And it is now not necessary to say anything of the hot-therm (*uṅha-tejo*). It is quite clear.

As it is said in the *Dhammasaṅgani* in the chapter of Matter: "That which is the growth of (sense-) spheres

is the development of matter, and that which is the development of matter is the continuum of the same. Birth may be classified into four divisions, to wit, birth, growth, development and continuum. Of these, birth means the first appearance of the conditioned things. Growth means the first start of development of appearing things. Development means the gradual extension of the developing things. Continuum[1] means the continuance of the developed and accumulated things. That is to say things continue in such quantity as they have developed and they neither increase nor decrease. After that, these matters together with the element of fermenting heat (*jiraña-tejo*) which cause the coexistent things to decay, gradually deminish at the stage of decay, and disappear away at the final stage of death.

Addendum IV

To be read after the words " causality " in Section V page 40.

Because the great earth is being all the time heated, burnt, decayed, and matured by the twofold coexistent heat [I have elsewhere rendered it as coal-therm (*Sita-tejo*) and hot-therm (*unha-tejo*),] so it cannot overcome the six stages, i- e. birth, growth, development, continuum, decay, and death. So are the Mount Sineru, the circumjacent mountains, etc. Therefore in the Developed Epoch, all the earth, mountains etc. that come into being and appearance pass gradually from the beginning through the four stages, i e. birth, growth, development and continuum That is to say, they rise, grow, develop and continue for a long time till at last they arrive at the stage of decay in which the influence of all the heat will overrule all others. From that time onwards all the unessential things among them will at first be destroyed and the essential ones alone will remain. Then even the essentials will be consumed up in the long run of process and only

1 It is better known as "inertia" in Physics.

the more essentials will remain. Thus continuing for an indefinite time, everything will at last arrive at the most extreme point of degree at which combustion may easily take place like the gun powder, the munition of the king's army, which is apt to combust at the sudden contact with a spark of fire. Then this Developed Epoch will be destroyed by the action of fire in the manner said in the Satta Suriya Suttanta. There it is said: "Just as, bhikkhus, there is no trace of ash nor of carbon perceptible, after the butter or the oil is burnt up, so also there, bhikkhus, will no trace of ash nor of carbon be discernable after the earth, Sineru, the king of mountains, have been burnt up. Thus, bhikkhus, all the conditioned things are inconsistent, and unstable. It is advisable, bhikkhus, to disgust with all the conditioned things, it is expedient to detach them, and it is suitable to break free of them. Here, who would know, who would believe that this great earth and Sineru, the king of mountains will be burnt up, will be destroyed, and will relapse into void, except those who have realised *Nibbāna*?"

Here the words "who would know" mean "who could know by himself"; "who would believe" mean "who would believe the words of him who knows"; and "except those who have realised *Nibbana*" mean "except those Ariyan disciples who have realised *Nibbana*, That is to say they alone will believe."

It is said that the flames of the burning fire reaches as far as the realms of Brahma. This world-distructive fire burns up everything that exists between the mass of water below and the first realm of *Jhāna* above, without leaving a single atom of things behind. When the rock-earth (*Sila-pathavi*) is burnt up there in its place only remain the caloric energies (*utu-dhātuyo*) which will again become the germinal status of the rock-earth. Similarly when the dust-earth (*paṁsu-pathavi*) is burnt up there also remain the caloric energies which will again become the germinal status of the dust-earth. So the caloric energies which are

the remaining dynamics of fire fill up the whole sphere. And the fire itself entirely extinguishes away. It is the Enveloping Epoch. And the one that continues in an enveloping state as has been just explained, is called the Enveloped Epoch. The duration of each of these Epochs is equal to that of sixty four Included Eras (*antara-kappa*, see section III p, 21). What has been now said is the exposition of the twofold enveloping Epochs

In the second epoch, these caloric energies are carried about by the excessively cold atmosphere and they remain in such condition as they have been. But when they arrive at the matured, proficient, and adaptable state for re-action, that is to say become hot, then they transform into rolling clouds laying in great heaps and volumes. After that they transform again into great epoch-reinstating rains and power down all over the places where fire had burnt up in the Enveloping Epoch. The rain-drops coming into contact with very cool air, generally form into masses. And the water thus conglomerated slides into the infinite space as long as the air which is going to support the universe is not strong enough to do so. But as soon as the air below is capable to do so, it at once checks the fall of water and supports it. All the rain-water becomes implemental in the establishment of the new epoch. That is to say they form into constituents of the universe such as rock, dust, water, etc. All these things occur according to the laws of caloric process (*utu-niyāma*) and are not created by any World-Lord. During the establishment of the constituents of the universe, the natural phenomenal process (*dhamma-niyâma*) plays an important part By natural phenomenal process we mean the proportionate and disproportionate procedures (*Sama-dhārana*) and (*visama-dhârana*) of the elements of extension, etc. And again proportionate procedure should be understood as the natural process and disproportionate procedure as the unnatural process. Hence when the natural process goes on the proportionate proceedure takes place, and

if the unnatural cause happens the procedure becomes disproportional. Among the forms also, roundness is the natural form. Therefore through the proportionate procedure of elements, all the constituents of the universe establish in the round-about shape as if they were manufactured from the machines. The great earth, the great ocean, the circumjacent mountains, Sineru, the central mountain, the glacial oceans (*sita-samuddā,* and *sitantarika-* glaciers in the hollows of mountains) and the circular ranges (*paribhanda-pābbata*) all established in the round-about shapes. It is the contribution of natural phenomenal process.

Here indeed something should be said of the proportionate and disporportionate procedures of elements. Of the forms, the hight of a person is said to be proportional when it is equal to his own span just as a proportionate banyan tree whose hight is equal to the diametre of its circumference, otherwise it is said to be disproportional. In short, the repletion of 32 marks of an eminent person (*mahā-purisa-lakkhana*) is proportional and their difficency is disproportional. The good mindedness is proportional while the evil-mindedness is disproportional. Of the forms other than those of living beings as trees, etc, the symmetry of some of the banyan trees is proportional and the reverse should be understood in the other way. It is also the same way with all the trees, stems, branches, small branches, sprouts, leaves and fruits. In fact, all the infinite varieties of forms, etc, which appear in the world owe their causes entirely to the variation of elements, To have a full understanding of these procedures is within the province of the knowledge of infinite and various elements, of the Omniscient Ones. Those who do not know the various functions of elements look for the World-Lords, In fact there are no other World-Lords but elements and the word 'World-Lord' is merely the outcome of their fancy.

Now to return to our subject, among the caloric germs, some densely accumulated ones become rolls of cloud, other finely accumulated ones become

volumes of water in their respective places. And through the influence of kamma of all creatures, there at the inception of the universe appear uninhabited abodes and celestial mansions for both men and devas, and also lunar mansions, such as the mansions of the Moon and Sun. In the higher abodes of devas and in the first Jhâna planes there also appear uninhabited abodes and mansions for devas and Brahmas.

Here the word "*Sunnani*" means having no owners, and the owners only come down from the higher planes of Brahmas after they have spent their life-terms there, and they occupy their alloted abodes. It is said in the Text; "In such period, bhikkhus, and for such immeasurable length of time, the world develops. And while it is developing, uninhabited mansions for Brahmas are established."

Here also one should not display wonder how all these abodes and mansions come into existence from the caloric germs through the influence of kamma of the creatures. Among the three worlds, the world of beings is predominant and superior to the other two which are merely the subservience to the former. This great earth forms itself for the sake of the creatures, so are the Mount Sineru, etc. and therefore it is not necessary to expound why and how those mansions are established. Mind and its qualities (*citta-cetasika*) known as norm which belongs only to the world of beings, are termed mental elements. They are very powerful and progenitive (lit; luminous and thrilling), and the fourfold unknowable springs out from them.

And at the time when men's life-span falls to a decad the influeuces of the good deeds done by the people who are frightened at the outbreak of the world-destroying wars, pervade the whole world and raise the life-span again to the innumerable age.

In the passage "Through the influence of kamma of all the creatures," by "kamma" it includes all the good deeds performed during the whole enveloping Epoch in order to reach the higher planes by all the creatures who are frighten-

ed at the destruction of the world, and also all those good deeds performed during the two innumerable kappas by those who are reborn in the Brahma planes. Therefore one should not think about as to how the formation and establishment of those abodes and mansions are brought about[1].

These celestial mansions are made of, and decorated with, all kinds of gems but they are as light as the bodies of the celestial beings (*opapātika-satta*) and situated on the motionless air like the heaps of cloud in the sky. The mansions of the Moon and Sun and some other lunar mansions, however, move about. How? There are two currents of wind in the sky. The one from the Mount Sineru and its surrounding mountains blows out and the other from the circumjacent mountains blows in. These two currents of wind, coming into contact, form a great whirl-wind and turn incessently round the Mount Seneru very swiftly keeping it on the right. The lunar mansions are seen moving about as they are carried away by these encircling winds. Some of them are light and some are lighter. Therefore slowness and swiftness of their movements are observed. The force of the two currents are proportional at one time and disproportional at another, and so we observe the different courses in which the mansions are carried away backward and forward by the encircling winds. Some of the planets and mansions of the celestial devas situated below the course of the wind do not

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1 Ledi Sayadaw here intends to indicate the reinstatement of the developing Epoch or the reorganization of the new world with abodes of men and marvellous mansions for devas, by two causes, i. e., material cause and efficient cause. By the former he means the material or stuff out of which the world or the world of things organised That is the primitive matter known as caloric germs or *utu*. And by the latter he means the force or agent through which the material phenomena are put together in various and marvellous shapes, forms, and sizes. That is the mental force known as action or will or kamma. For instance, in the case of a house, the wood, iron and bricks of which it is built up are the material cause; and the carpenter who designs and builds it, is the efficient cause. Now the wood, etc. are comparable to *utu* the material cause of which the world is constituted; and the carpenter is comparable to the mental force, the efficient cause by which it is designed. Tr.

move. What has been said is the developing epoch.

From the appearance of the sun and moon to the beginning of the enveloping epoch is the fourth incalculable developed epoch and its duration may be calculated as equal to that of the sixty four included eras. So much for the exposition on the two constructive epochs.

In this fourth developed epoch of the four incalculable ones, the greater is the vastness of the world-stuffs, the more will be the violence of the world-destructive-fire in the first enveloping epoch. And the greater is the violence of the world-destructive-fire, the more will be the immensity of caloric-stuffs in the second enveloped epoch. And the more is the immensity of the caloric-stuffs, the greater will be the voluminousness of rain-water in the third developing epoch. Again the more is the voluminousness of rain-water, the greater will be the vastness of the world-stuffs in the fourth developed epoch. Indeed it goes on for ever in the same manner.

Addendum V

To be read after the words "growing plants....." in Section V page 40.

Here "*bijagāma*" is the collective term of all the trees which are in the stage of seedlings. and "*bhūtagāma*" is the collective term of all the trees which have passed the stage of seedlings and arrived at the fully grown stage. Just as we have said in the exposition of Psychological Order that, on account of the diversity of thoughts of the creatures, perception is diverse; on account of the diversity of perception, kamma is diverse; on account of the diversity of kamma, the genus of the animal kingdom is diverse; and so it may also be maintained here that, on account of the diversities of thoughts perceptions and kammas of the creatures, the species of the seedlings are diverse; and on account

of the diversity of the species of the seedlings, the species of all the plants and trees are diverse. In the case of animals, the actual result (*mukhya-phala*)is predonimant, but here in the case of seedlings and plants the complementary result (*nisanda-phala*) is predominant.

Addendum VI

To be read after the words " an aeon." in section V page 40.

The germinal energy (of seeds) could not brings its germinating function into play at the enveloping and enveloped epoch as it does not get any stimulus, but at the developed epoch it gets stimulus from earth and water and brings forth its germinating function. Therefore, just as there are only asexual people of apparitional rebirth so long there is no sex distinction among the world of men, so also there are no species of seedlings and plants so long the five kinds of seeds do not appear, but they remain latent in the state of mere germs in the earth and water. And afterwards jambu-trees germinate from jambu-germs, mango-trees from mango-germs, and so on. But first of all there appears flavorous earth (*rasa-pathavī*) spreading all over the surface of water. At that time the volumes of rain which fall down from the realm of Brahma, first of all form themselves into rock-earth, Mount Sineru, Surrounding Mountains, circumjacent Mountains, and Himalayan Mountains, the other places are covered with water. And then, after a lapse of very long time, the flavorous earth becomes hard, coarse and in-esculent. Then over this there forms a layer of earth (*bhūmi-pappatika*). So it is said, "when the flavorous earth disappears, a layer of earth deposits itself". This is the inception of earth. Ere long this layer of earth becomes hard and coarse and un-

suitable for eating Then from among the germs of seedlings and plants, sweet creepers (*padālatā*), rice, and paddy plants germinate. After that many different species of grass, trees, creepers, aud shrubs are propagated from the germs. Later, when time passes on and evil thoughts and bad behaviours increase, the escence, the sap, the taste and the nutritive properties in the trees dry up and vanish one after another. At that time the elements of germs conglomerate in their respective species. Thus the root-germs conglomerate in roots, and so on. From that time onwards, those trees which germinate from roots, grow only from roots and so with the rest. The functioning of the Caloric Order, Germinal Order, and Natural Phenomenal Order by way of proportional and disproportional, upon the trees, etc., have been already said in the foregoing pages. Here ends the exposition on the world of things.

Addendum VII

To be read after the words "in one day....." in section V page 42.

Thus it should be explained. And it should also be clearly explained in the same manner according to the intellect and observation of others with regard to their own birth, decay and fall.

Addendum VIII

To be read after the words "final Release....." in section V page 43.

Of these two Truths, the coming into being of all beings should be said by way of conventional Truth. While the universe is developing, and after the empty mansions in the world of Brahma (i. e. the first realm of Brahma) and in the six abodes of Devas are established, beings generally from the realm of *Ābhassara*

come down to be reborn in these places. Here some one would say, "why are they generally reborn in the lower stages? As they have been there in the *Ābhassara* Brahma-Loka for so long is it not convenient to them to cultivate higher *Jhānas* and ascend generally the higher realms of Brahma?" Thus it should be replied:

In the *Samacitta-Sutta, Aṅguttara-Nikāya,* volume II. it is said that there are two kinds of beings, namely, a being with internal fetters, and a being with external fetters. Here the internal fetters are five in number; to wit, delusion of self (*sakkāya-ditthi*), doubt (*vicikicchā*), adhesion to the efficacy of rites and ceremonies (*silabbata-parāmāsa*) sensual desire (*kāmacchanda*), and ill feeling (*byāpāda*). They are also called downward-tending-fetters (*orambhāgiya*). The external fetters are also five in number, to wit, desire to be reborn in the *Rūpa-loka* (*rūparāga*), desire to be reborn in the *Arūpaloka* (*arūparāga*), pride (*māna*), quivering of thought (*uddhacca*), and nescience (*avijjā*). These are also called upward-tending-fetters (*uddhambhāgiya*). Here "internal" means the Kamaloka, and "external" means the *Brahmaloka.* Why are they so called? It is because nearly all the beings are reborn in the Kāmaloka and very sparely beings take rebirth in the *Brahmaloka.* And where there rebirth is most there lust for various objects is in great swarms. Therefore *Kāmaloka* is called "internal" of all the ordinary folks. *Brahmaloka* should be understood in the opposite way. In fact, all these beings are pleased with, gratified upon, and delighted in, the pleasurable things which are full to the brim in the *Kāmaloka,* while there are none at all in the *Brahmaloka.* Why do they all get to the *Brahmaloka*? Because there is no abode at all below that when the world is destroyed. However, through the agitation of the downward-tending-fetters which have not yet been shattered, the beings in the *Brahmaloka* are always inclining to be back to *Kāmaloka.* For instance, when a town is disturbed and attacked, the people of the town take refuge in a big

forest and stay there till peace is restored. Now the big forest is a very pleasant place, without any danger, and full of shade and water. But the people are always inclining to return to their town and they are not one moment happy however pleasant be the forest. Thus should be understood here also. Therefore the beings in the Brahmaloka descend generally to the Kāmaloka when the world re-establishes. When they are reborn as men in the Kâmaloka their rebirth is at first apparational. They are like the Brahmas. Everything is fulfilled at the instance of their wishes. They live at first upon jhanic interest (*jhānapiti*). Their bodies are illuminous and brilliant. They live and walk in the sky. Their life-span is an incalculable one. And the rest, such as the decreasing and increasing of their life-span, etc. should be understood as is said in the *Aggañña* and *Cakkavatti* suttas.

Addendum IX

DHAMMA-NIYĀMA, A DISCUSSION.

(The following extracts from letters of U NYANA, Patamagyaw, and Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, M. A. are here inserted as they introduce some comments on the Dhamma-Niyama and are worth while to be recorded for the benefit of the interesting readers)

From Mrs. Rhys Davids to U Nyana.

"……I especially wish to raise the question as to the Exposition of the term Dhamma-niyāma, both as to the translation of that section and indeed as to the Exposition itself— but this with all reverence.

Cordially yours,
C. A. F. Rhys Davids."

From U Nyana to Mrs. Rhys Davids.

"…… Now, dear *Upāsike*, I wish to say a few words on the exposition of the term Dhamma Niyāma. First

of all, if I were to render into English the terms of the fivefold Niyāma, I would do as follows:—

(1) *Utu-niyāma*: the order of things in relation to climatic conditions.

(2) *Bīja-niyāma*: the order of things in relation to germinal conditions,

(3) *Kamma-niyāma*: the order of things in relation to moral conditions,

(4) *Citta-niyāma*: the order of psycho-genesis.

Dhamma-niyāma: the natural order of things, (other than the above mentioned.)

S. Z. Aung's rendering as "Natural Phenomenal Sequence (See p. 2, of this Expositions) is a good one but it does not, I think, cover the wide meaning of the term, dhamma. Here dhamma is used to mean the whole cosmos or universe (the 31 stages or bhāmi-from the Bhuddhist point of view) with its inhabitants both animate and inanimate. Hence the Dhamma-niyāma is the whole ordered system of the cosmos. And the first four niyāmas are only the specific orders specialised from it, as each of them is universally predominant among many other orders. So whatever order remains unspecified or unspecialised, it comes under the heading of the Dhamma-niyāma. The Dhamma-niyāma may be expounded in many aspects. The revelations of all the branches of science may be cited for the treatment of the cosmic order if one is capable of doing so. But Ledi Sayadaw as a philosopher is obliged to expound it from the philosophical point. There are also, as you know, two methods in our Buddhist philosophy in expounding the dhammas in the light of their causes and effects, namely, *Suttanta-nayo* and *Abhidhamma-nayo*. The former is more adaptable to all class of mind than the latter which is only suitable to those who have preliminary knowledge of *Abhi-dhamma*. So the Mahāthera chooses the *Suttanta-nayo* to expound with. And he after treating the cosmic order pretty well, takes the *Paticca-samuppāda* for his context. The whole of the Expositions is meant to reveal the following facts.

"There is no World-lord, no Creator who makes or creates the universe but the fivefold Order of law. *All* is the sum total of causes and effects which are rising and ceasing every moment. Nothing is abiding in this world of transience, wherefore no eternal peace can be found but on the other hand, it can only be found beyond this world of changes where no *jāti* or becoming is found through lack of cause. And to reach that place where eternal peace abides we must walk along the eightfold Noble Path which though pertains to this world, leads to the way-out, and when we get the end close to the Outter-world, (let me say so-) or to *Nibbāna*, and as soon as we draw away the last foot, set on this world, we at once ascend the *Lokuttara-Bhūmi*, the *Nibbāna* peace. So much for the Expositions.....

With best wishes,
I remain,
Yours in the Order,
U NYANA. "

Fnom Mrs. Rhys Davids to U Nyāna.

".....Thank you for your note on the *Niyāma*. Personally I find either of the definitions of Dhamma-niyāma unsatisfactory. Any division must seem so to our Western minds which is co-ordinated *with* other divisions and yet claims to *include* them. It shocks our sense of proper classification. It would pass muster with us if it was a *Sesa-niyāma only*, for any orders not included in 1—4. But then it should be so called, and not *Dhamma-niyāma*. According to the Burmese traditional interpretation the whole 5 ought to be called the *Pancaka-dhamma-niyāma* and the 5th the *Sesa-(or Pakinnaka?)* niyāma. Or there should be a Sixth, the *Buddha-niyāma*.

"Not knowing this traditional interpretation, I, when I introduced the subject to Western readers, in my Buddhism (1912) p. 117 foll:, judged that the 5th *niyāma* was not *Dhammā*, but *Dhamma-niyāma*. I noted Buddhaghosa's illustration of it on *dhammatā* in the

rebirth and appearance of a *Sambuddha* on earth—, and it seemed to me a wonderful concept, and one necessary to the Buddhist idea of the Cosmos that among the laws of that Cosmos should be the *uppatti* (-*upapatti* you say-) from time to time of a *Sabbaññu* Buddha. You Buddhist *must* call this a law. How otherwise do you explain the recurrence of Buddhas?

"And to place this wonderful law at the end with just any other *niyāmas* that have not been specified in 1—4 seems most unsatisfactory. How I wish I could discuss this in Burmese with the Mahāthera Western fashion!.....

Believe me
Sincerely yours
C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS."

(This letter was translated into Burmese and sent to Ledi Sayadaw who in return wrote a long note on Dhamma-niyama which is also printed in this book at the end.)

From U Nyāna to Mrs. Rhys Davids.

".....With regard to our classification and definition of *Niyāma*, I agree with you in your modification of the word "*Dhamma*" as "*Sesa*" or "*Pakinnaka*" for the fifth order only in sense but not in word-expression. For we should not only look into the import of the word but we should respect the moral importance of the word-expression as well. If we use the word "*Sesa*" for the last order there should probably be a more definite number of *Niyāma's* for it to refer and it should not have been stated as that there are only five kinds of Niyāma's. The orders which the *Dhamma-niyāma* comprises are so numerous in quantity and so variant in quality that even an analyst of intellect and extraordinary gift like Buddhaghosa is sure to fail in his bold attempt to get all into detail. And the Buddha even warns his disciples not to too much contemplate upon the laws and forces of the natural constitution of the universe and of life reigning therein in these

words: "*Lokacintā, bhikkhave, acinteyyā na cintetabbā. Yaṁ cintento ummādassa vighātassa bhāgi assa,*" as they give rise to insanity and fatigue to the vigorous pursuer after research and as he can never reach, I dare say, the triumphant goal of his profound research, however far advanced his observation, experiment, analysis and classification of phenomena may be. It is the *Buddhavisayo*, and the entire revelation can only be safely entrusted to one who is possessed of *Sabbaññutaññāna*. When aspiration for resarch after phenomenal occurence eventually arises in His disciples' mind the Buddha usually calms it with these words: "*Dhammatā esā, bhikkhave*" or "*Dhammatā' yaṁ, bhikkhave,*" etc., lest they should waste away their valuable time in unfruitful research. From such passages and from such data, Buddhaghosa after careful observation and speculation infers that there are five *Niyâma's*. Now to turn to our discussion of *Sesa*, it is only used, I presume, when it is required for reference or summing up, but not in formal classification. I have never come across, as far ss my reading is concerned, the word "*Sesa*," "the rest" used even by the Western Analyst in enumerating his formal classification. As regards to the other word "*Pakinnaka*," it is preferable to the word "Sesa," as it may mean miscellaneous order, or order of heterogeneous types, or order of things not arranged under any distinct class. But it is doubtful whether it has a wide and comprehensive sense as the word "*Dhamma*." Its proper use is only in particular case as we find in the "Compendium of Philosophy" as "*Pakinnaka-cetasika*," which is used quite differently from what Buddhaghosa wishes to explain in his classification. In Pali language no suitable word can be found other than the word "*Dhamma*" which is a philosophic expression applied to things in general. It is neither an introduction of new expression nor his own invention that Buddhaghosa has used the term "*Dhamma*" for the last division of *Niyāma* so as to include all what has not been said in the previous

ones. It is but an adoption. Let me invite your reference to the classification of *Āyatana's* and *Dhâtu's*. Of the twelve kinds of *Āyatana* and eighteen kinds of *dhâtu*, the last of each is called *Dhammâyatana* and *Dhammadhâtu*, and each claims to include anything not included in the previous ones. According to the definition "*Sabhāvaṁ-dhāretî ti dhammo*," every kind of *Āyatana* and *dhātu* is a *dhamma*, and yet each kind stands in co-ordinate rank with the last one. And the *Dhammāyatana* cannot include them as they have got their special name (*laddha-nāma-visesa*). Here the connotation of the dhamma is limitted and in Pāli such term is known as "*Pasiddha-rulhî*" and it has no right to extend its sphere of nomenclature over other terms of *laddhanāma-visesa*. You may as well see that in classification of six *Viññānāni* (see Abhidhammattha-sangaha, ch. IV.) the last division is called *manoviññānam* and *mano* though it is a common term for all classes of consciousness or thought (*citta*) cannot claim to include the five kinds of consciousness, previously enumerated, such as *Cakkhuviññānam*, etc, for each of which has its special name; but it is applicable only to any other *citta's* not included in the previous classes. So also is the same in our case. The *Dhamma-niyāma* cannot claim to include the above four *Niyāma's* though each is really a *dhamma* or a thing within the legitimate sphere of its definition, but it is limitted to include only what are not included in 1–4. And the first four have a right to stand co-ordinately in rank with the last, and hence you need not also call them the *Pañcaka-dhamma-niyāmo*. Allow me to give you an instance of Western classification. The English Grammarians classify an adverb into the following distinct classes: as Adverb of time, place, number, quantity and quality. As each class is co-ordinate with the other divisions, the adverb of quality, though it may legitimately claim to include all the other classes in the sense of its being a qualifying word, must be maintained without any prejudice and contention as the proper classification. Hence the adverb of quality may mean

any adverb not included in the previous classes. Now we see that it is on all fours with our method. With regard to your suggestion to include a sixth, i. e., *Buddha-niyāma* I think it is not necessary. It may come under the head of *Dhamma-niyāma*. It is not a universal order applicable to many others but itself. It should be borne in mind that the appearance of a Buddha is not a regular recurrent one. Some universe has one or more and others have none at all, and even in the former case it is not synchronous. Therefore it seems to Buddhaghosa that the *Buddha-niyâma* does not deserve a special treatment in his elucidation of the general laws. It is the *dhammâtâ* that a Buddha appears only when a *Bodhisâtta* has fully reached the perfection of the *Pâramîta's* and *Buddhâ-dhamma's*. .....

I remain,
Cordially yours,
U NYANA. "

NOTE ON DHAMMA-NIYAMA
BY
LEDI SAYADAW.
(TRANSLATED BY U NYANA).

The aim of the scholiasts in expounding the fivefold cosmic order should at first be noted. There are both in this world of men and of gods two kinds of conception, namely, (i) *Issara-kutta*, and (ii) *Brahma-kutta*. The conception by which some people believe that there is a Supreme Ruler of the three worlds who ever lives in heaven and by whom everything is created, is the *Issara-kutta*. It is also called *Issara-nimmāna* (created by *Issara* or *Isvara* or Supreme Ruler or God). And the conception by which some people believe that there is a Brahma who ever lives in heaven, who is the great Father and Great Grand Father of all beings, who creates everythings and supremely rules over the three worlds, is the *Brahma-kutta* (created by *Brahma*). Here *Issara* and *Brahma* differ only in expressions but each is the designation of the same Deity, the World Lord,

the creating God. Of the two, *Brahma* is the name assigned to the supposed, supreme Being by the Brahmins and Hindus and it has become a general notion in the three worlds of men, gods and Brahmas since the world begins. As to the name *Issara* it is not a universal notion but a later imaginative adoption by those who fail to acquire the knowledge of origin of the world and primary causes of things in existence. In order to cast away these two immanent conceptions the scholiasts have expounded the fivefold cosmic order.

The fivefold cosmic order is as follows:— (1) *Utu-Niyama*, (2) *Bija-Niyama*, (3) *Kamma-Niyama*, (4) *Citta-Niyama*, and (5) *Dhamma-Niyama*. Of these five, the meaning of "Dhamma" in the last order should be first shown. We will quote a few lines from the Nidānavagga-Samyutta, Āhāra-vagge, X Sutta, page 162, which run: "*Jatipaccaya, bhikkhave, jaramaranam. Uppada va Tathagatanam anuppada va Tathagatanam, thita 'va sa dhatu, dhammatthitata, dhamma-niyamata, ida-paccayata. Bhavapaccaya, bhikkhave, jati. Uppada va Tathagatanam ...pe... ida-paccayata.....pe Avijjapaccaya, bhikkhave, Sankhara. Uppada va Tathagatanam .....pe... ida-paccayata. Ayam vuccati paticcasamuppado.*" In this text the natural things or phenomena (*Sabhava-dhamma*) are first shown with the words "*Avijja*, etc" and then the meaning of the word "*Niyama*" is expressed in the following sentence "*Uppada va Tathagatanam, etc.*" Therefore the word "*dhamma*" denotes both the things which mutually stand in relation to one another as cause and effect. For a *dhamma* always depends for its appearance upon some other *dhamma* which again in its turn requires some other antecedent for its arising. Hence any *dhamma* may be both cause and effect. And the word '*Niyāma*" expresses the fixity of sequence of cause and effect. Here is our interpretation of the sentence "*Thitā va sā dhātu, dhammatthitatā, dhammaniyāmatā, idapaccayatā.*" There, indeed, ever exist in this universe, that natural order of elements, that establishment of sequence of causes and effects, that fixity of mutual relation of cause and effects, and that causal nexus of individual things or

phenomena, such as *avijjā*, etc. In this text, the word '*dhammatthitatā*" is synonymous with "*dhammatā*," and the word "*dhammā-niyāmatā*" with "*dhamma-niyāmo*". The renderings made by Maung Shwe Zan Aung and U Nyāna on the word "*dhamma-niyāmā*" seem to be in conformity with the above quoted text.

Just as the method of word-description (*padasodhana-nayo*) is expounded at the very outset in the Expositions of the Ten Books of *Yamaka*, so also here we should apply that method first in the classification of the fivefold Niyāma. In the expression "*dhamma-niyāma*," the word "*dhamma*" denotes all mental and meterial things. Therefore, *utu*, *bīja*, *kammā*, and *citta* are all *dhammā*, and it comprises all of them. Hence "*utu*" gets two names, namely, (1) "*dhamma*," a general or common name, (2) and "*bīja*" an individual or distinct name. In like manner, *bīja*, *kamma*, and *citta* get two names each. But in the classification of Niyāma, the individual names are used for the first four so as to particularize and make distinction from the rest of things, mentals and materials, which are conveniently treated under one common name of "*dhamma*". For this reason the term "*dhamma-niyāma*" should not be taken in its full application, but must be restricted within bounded limits to denote only the things which are not included in the first four. When it is required to treat "*utu*" as Niyāma, one should not call it a "*dhamma-niyāma*" though it (*utu*) is really a *dhamma*, but must use the appropriate and individual name and call it an *utu-niyāma*. The same rule holds good with *bīja*, *kamma*, and *cittaniyāma*.

For instance, we presume that there are five classes of workers on board a ship, namely, the Captain, the Engineer, the Pilot, the Officer, and the sailors. Now, the owner of the ship, being very much pleased with the works of the crew, and wishing to give them bonus, sends a man with some money to distribute among them according to his instruction that so much should be paid to so and so. When distribution is made, the Captain and the other three are not entitled to receive shares from those of the sailors though they are working on

board the ship under one common name as sailors, for they have already received special gratuity under the individual names of Captain, Engineer, Pilot, and Officer. Thus it should be understood here also. So much for the word-description.

Moreover, among the six kinds of objects, the *dhammārammana* stands last. So also *dhammâyatana* and *dhamma-dhātu* stand last in the categories of 12 Āyatanas and 18 *dhātus* respectively. Here also the denotation of each should be understood according to the method of word-description just as in the fivefold Niyāma. We will reproduce here a few lines from the Books of *Yamaka* which will serve as a means to obtain a clear knowledge of the method of word-description.

"*Dhammo dhammāyatanan? ti. Dhammāyatanaṁ thapetvā, avaseso dhammo dhammo, na dhammāyatanaṁ; dhammāyatanaṁ dhammo-c' eva dhammā-yatanaṁ ca. Dhammāyatanaṁ dhammo? ti. Āmantā.*" *Āyatana-Yamaka.* "*Dhammo dhammadhātu? ti. Dhamma-dhātuṁ thapetvā, avaseso dhammo dhammo, na dhamma-dhātu; dhammadhātu dhammo c' eva dhamma-dhātu ca. Dhamma-dhātu dhammo? ti. Āmantā.*" *Dhātu-Yamaka.*

"Is *dhammo* a *dhammāyatana*? Excluding the *dhammāyatana*, the remaining *dhammo* is *dhammo*, and not *dhammāyatanaṁ*; but *dhammāyatanaṁ* is both *dhammo* and *dhammāyatanaṁ*. Is *dhammāyatanaṁ* a *dhammo*? *Ay.*" "Is *dhammo* a *dhamma-dhātu*? Excluding the *dhamma-dhātu*, the remaining *dhammo* is *dhammo*, and not *dhamma-dhātu*; but *dhamma-dhātu* is both *dhammo* and *dhammadhātu*. Is *dhammadhātu* a *dhammo*? *Ay.*"

"Now I have dealt enough with, to respond to the critical observation:— "Any division must seem to our Western minds which is co-ordinated with other divisions and yet claims to include them. It shocks our sense of proper classification."—made by Mrs. Rhys Davids, in her letter to U Nyana.

With regard to her sound suggestion,—"It would pass muster with us if it was a *Sesa-Niyâma* only, for any orders not included in 1–4. But then it should be so called, and not *Dhamma-Niyâma*. ..... And the fifth the *Sesa*—or *pakinnaka-niyâma*,"—we would say thus,

If the fifth order is called the *Sesa-Niyâmâ*, it would only mean that the above four orders dit not involve in it. But if it is called the *Pakinnaka-Niyâma*, it would not only mean that it did not mix up with the above four orders but it would also allow various kinds of order, such as the *Buddha-Niyâma*, etc., to be included. However, in our Buddhist Philosophy, the word "dhamma" and its scope of meaning are very important and extensive. How? It is an ample work for the word '*Dhamma*" to uproot and destroy all the false notions, such as *Issâra-kutta-dhitthi, Brahma-kutta-ditthi. Sakkâya-ditthi*, etc. The whole of the seven Books of *Abhidhamma* is composed with the expressed purpose of disclosing the meaning of '*Dhamma*." Particularly, the exposition of the five-fold Niyâma by the Scholiast is the attempt to eliminates the unfounded notions of *Issâra-kutta* and *Brahma-kutta*. It will be clearly shown later how it eliminates. Here the difference between the power of the Great Brahma or the so called Supreme Ruler and the influence of the Cosmic Laws should be shown. The Great Brahma can shed luster over many thousands of world system with his radiant beauty. He can see everything in those worlds, can hear sounds, get to any place and return to his own at the instance of his will, and read the minds of men and gods. As to his supernormal power (*iddhi*) concerning creation and transformation, he can create or transform either his own body or any external object into many and any forms. But these are only shadow-like shows and exhibitions which when he withdraws his power are sure to disappear away. In fact he cannot create a real creature or thing, in the least a louse or its egg, which will not disappear away when the creative power is discontinued. In exhibiting gardens and trees through his creative power, he can create and exhibit only temporal, unsubstantial, unreal, and counterfeit shapes of, and resemblances to, the desired things. A tree, a real, substantial tree, even a blade of grass, he can never create. Because the appearance of a phenomenon, the coming into being of a creature, or the growing of a plant, is not within the range of supernormal or creative power,

but it is within the domain of the Cosmic Orders, such as *Dhamma-Niyāma*, *Kamma-Niyāma* and *Bīja-Niyāma*. The things created only last while the *Iddhi* is acting behind them, and they are liable to disappear as soon as the *Iddhi* is withdrawn. The occurrence of hot, rainy and cold seasons are the natural process of climatic order and not the operation of *Iddhi*. As regard *Dhamma-Niyāma*, the Great Brahma can transport thousands of men in their present life to Heaven if he wishes, but there he cannot make them neither to become old nor to die, and even when they die he cannot debar and save them from falling into or being reborn in the abodes of tortured. For, the mental and material aggregates constituting the person of men are under the sway of natural laws (*Dhamma-niyāma*) of birth, old-age and death. He cannot also make men or any creatures to be reborn in Heaven after they die, because the inception of new life in new abodes after death is not within the sphere of the operation of *Iddhi* but it is within the domain of *Kamma-niyāma*. In this world, any one who kills and eats daily fowls, eggs, etc., and always drinks intoxicating liquor, must fall, in spite of his daily prayers and attendance to church, into the planes of misery after death. The Great Brahma or the Supreme God cannot save him in any way. Because it is within the domain of *Kamma-niyāma* and not within that of *Iddhi*. On the other hand, any one who disbelieves in the notions of *Issara-kutta* and *Brahma-kutta*, who is a strong believer in Karmic laws, and who shuns the evil actions and always cultivates the good deeds, is sure to ascend the higher abodes of gods and Brahmas after death. And the Great Brahma cannot prohibit him from coming up to Heaven. Because the influence of *Iddhi* can never overrules that of Moral Laws. The Great Brahma, were he to encounter the Cosmic Laws, cannot defend and save even himself from falling into their clutches, let alone others. So much for the differentiation of *Iddhi* and *Niyāma* in respect of their influences.

Now to show how the notions of *Issara* and *Brahma-kutta* are refutted. There are some people who think

that there is only one world, and who do not believe that there had been many cycles of worlds in the past and unlimited number of worlds will follow this present one in future. But they do believe that this present world has both its beginning and its end. And in looking for the primary cause of its beginning they utterly fail. However, reflecting upon the houses and buildings and their designers and builders, they come to the conclusion that this world must have its originator and he must be the Creator or the Supreme Ruler, or the Great Brahma, or the God. On the other hand, Buddhism teaches that many cycles of world had been formed in the past and many others will follow the present one in succession. It also teachs that the world has its beginning and its end, and there are causes, called natural laws, for the formation and destruction of every world; and these natural laws exist for ever and go rolling on in the infinite space of time. Therefore the followers of Buddhist Religion have no notion whatever of *Issara* and *Brahma-kutta*. So much for the refutation of the two notions. It has also been sufficiently dealt with in my Expositions.

Among the fivefold *Niyāma*, the *dhammā-niyāmā* is most important. *Cakkavatti* and *Aggañña Sūttas* of the *Dîghānikāya* are the fields for *Dhamma-Niyama*. In those *Suttas* we find the order of life-span, or, under the common name, the *dhamma-niyāma*, which reveals the facts that the incessant rise and fall of human life-span from a decade to a myriad (*āsaṅkhyeyya*,) and vice versa are due to *Kusala* and *Akusala dhamma*. Besides those *Suttas*, such kinds of order may be found in many places in the Text. In the *Dhamma-hadaya-vibhaṅga* of the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* and in the *Uposatha Sutta* of the Eighth Book of *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the six abodes of Devas and twenty abodes of Brahmas and their life-span are definitely expounded. It is also a kind of *Dhamma-niyāma* which in other religions is never heard of. It may be called the Order of life-span (*Āyukappa-niyāma*) if one would like to particularize. Or it would not be wrong to enter it under the heading *kammā-niyāmā*.

"Or there should be a sixth, the *Buddhā-niyāma*"—with this suggestion, we are in quite concordance. Because in specifying it seperately, the great wonders of the Buddha would be more conspicuous. I have also written in my Exposition that there should be a sixth, the Order of birth (*jāti-niyāma*) which we find in *Vāsettha Sutta*. (*Sutta Nipāta, Mahā-vagga*). Because it seems to be a distinct class of order from *bīja* and *kammā*. With regard to the *Buddha-Niyāma*, we cannot say that the appearance of Buddha occurs in every world. Very few are the worlds in which a Buddha or Buddhas appear. We must then assign the *Buddha-niyāma* to the occasional occurrences of certain wonderful and mysterious presages, such as the quaking of ten thousand worlds, etc, during the infinite space of time while a Bodhisat is fulfilling the *Buddhā-dhammās*, that is, from the time a Bodhisat receives the ultimate prediction from a Buddha that he would certainly become a Saviour like himself, till he attains to Buddhahood and enters into the final goal, the *Nibbāna-dhātu*. The marvellous occurrences of such wonderful and mysterious presages are recorded in *Buddhāvamsa*, in the chapter, known as "*Sumedha's* recception of *Dīpankāra's* prediction." They occur also when the Bodhisat in his last life enters the mother's womb, when her issues from it when he renounces the world, when he becomes the Buddha, when he sets rolling the Wheel of Law, when he appoints the time of his death, and lastly when he enters into the *Nibbāna*. Such occurrences are called "*dhammatā*" by the Commentators. There is also a kind of *dhamma-niyāma* which comes under the name of *dhammatā* in the *Mahāpadana Sutta*, in the *Dīghanikāya*. In the *Majjhima-nikāya*, it comes under the name of *Acchariya Abbhuta Dhamma*. See *Upari-pannāsa*, third chapter, third *Sutta*. In the Commentaries, these wonderful and mysterious things are classed under *dhamma-niyāma*.

If the *Buddha-niyāma* be specialized, the *Sāvaka-niyāma* should not be overlooked. It should also be treated distinctly. And what then is *Sāvaka-niyāma*? It is the order of precept, etc., of the disciples, com-

prising the laymen, devas and Brahmas who have received deliverence from any one of the many Buddhas, surpassing in number the sands of the River Ganges, and appeared in the cycles of aeons that have no knowable beginning and end. Before we proceed any further, we should here first show the *puthujana-bhūmi* and *puthujana-gati*. Of the two, *puthujana-bhūmi* or the stage of worldlings means the potentiality of *kilesās*, the immensity of evil deeds, and the open door of the four planes of misery, on account of the strong hold of soul theory. The potentiality of *kilesas* means the capability of committing the five great sins, i. e., matricide parricide, etc., and the possibility of holding strongly the three fixed views (*Niyata-ditthi*), i. e., *natthika-ditthi*: nihilism, *ahetuka-ditthi*: anti-causationism, and *akriya-ditthi*: anti-moralism. The immensity of evil deeds means that the innumerable evil deeds committed in the past are always following the personality of the worldling where-ever he goes, and that the immense new evil deeds are also surrounding him to fall in at every moment. How? Bearing in mind the difficulty of attaining a manhood life (*manussattabhāvō*), we are to understand that a worldling should have spent many myriads of existences in the abodes of misery before he could have a chance of reborning in the world of men. Similarly millions of miserable life preceed a fortunate life of deva, and many ten-millions (*koṭis*) of life in miserable abodes are followed only by a life of Brahma if circumstance favours. So the more are the evil existences, the greater is the immensity of evil deeds. There are evil deeds which has given effects and which are to give effects if they get favourable circumstances in one's own personality. There are also many evil deeds which will arise in the worldling as long as he clings to self. However he has also good deeds but they are as few as the handful of sand, while the evil deeds are as much as the sands of the River Ganges. Such is the immensity of evil deeds in an individual who clings to self. What is meant by "the open door of the four planes of misery"? A *puthujjana*, though he be fortunate enough to become a human being, is always inclining to the miserable exis-

tences on account of the immensity of evil deeds and clinging to self. Generally speaking many are those who are reborn in the four miserable abodes after their death. It is also the same with the Devas and Brahmas. When they die they gradually falls into the tortured states. These facts are expounded in the *Nakhasikha Suttas* of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, in the fifth Chapter, *Āmakadhaññā-peyyāla* of *Mahāvagga Saṁyutta*. If one once falls into the abodes of miserable ones, it is very difficult for him to be reborn again in the abodes of men. This fact is also expounded in *Bāla-pandita Sutta*, in the *Suññata vagga* of *Uparipaṇṇāsaka*, *Majjhimanikāya*. So much for the *Puthujjana-gati*.

Now to resume our subject on *Sāvaka-niyāma*. In the days of the Buddha while he was living, many beings listened to his discourses on *Suññata*, the Self-lessness, and became Ariyans as soon as the selfishness was eradicated. Thus the annihilation of all the wrong views, the utter destruction of all the innumerable evil deeds both past and future, and the shattering of all the annectent existences in the miserable abodes, are called the stage of the order of disciple (*Sāvaka-niyāma-bhūmi*). Those Ariyans who have reached this stage will be only reborn in better existences of men, devas, and Brahmas. If the sorrows that remain in them were compared to those annihilated, they are very few. These facts are expounded in the *Abhisamaya-vagga*, of the *Mahā-vagga-saṁyutta*. The number of disciples, including all men, devas and Brahmas who have attained deliverence according to the authority of *Milinda-Paṇhā*, IX Chapter, *Dhūtaṅga-paṇhā*, thirteen innumerables, three thousand three hundred and seventy six millions, and five hundred and sixty thousands. The innumerables are numbered after the expressions "*Ganapatham atītānaṁ devatānaṁ*" "*Aprimānā devetāyo*" etc. In the *Milinda-Paṇhā*, it gives only the great numbers which exceed ten thousands. There are also small numbers that do not exceed ten thousands. It only gives the numbers of those who are laymen, devas, and Brahmas, but there still remain the numbers of bhikkhus who attained deliverence in the time of Buddha, but

there still remain the numbers of those who attained deliverence after Buddha's *Parinibbāna*. But in the commentaries, it shows the grand total of all those who attained deliverence and it amounts to 24 Innumerables, 600 millions and one hundred thousand. Among the numbers of the delivered, the number of the human beings is very small while that of the devas and Brahmas is very large. Because only the people of this universe are deliverable. And even in this universe, the inhabitants of India, the Southern Island or known as the *Jambūdīpa*, are only deliverable. Now about the deliverence of devas and Brahmas. Keeping this universe in the centre, there are ten thousand worlds in all the eight directions. Every world-system has six abodes of devas and twenty planes of Brahmas, thus forming 60 thousand abodes of devas and 200 thousand planes of Brahmas. The whole system is known as one *Buddha-khetta*, The Realm of Buddha, or *Jātikhetta*, the Realm of Existence. It is the rule that all the devas and Brahmas of the ten thousand worlds are always awaiting the appearance of a Buddha. There are many occasions on which these celestial beings assemble, such as, the occasion when they entreat the Bodhisat to descend the world of men to become a Buddha, while he is in *Tussita* Heaven; the occasion when the Bodhisat enters his mother's womb; the occasion when the Bodhisat issues forth from the mother's womb; the occasion when he renounces the world; the occasion when he becomes Buddha; and so on up to the occasion when he enters the Nirvāna. Therefore the number of delivered celestial beings is very large. The Innumerables are taken as the number of delivered devas. The *Koti's* or ten millions or the billions are the number of delivered Brahmas. We find in the *Milinda-Pañha* that the Ariyan lay disciples in *Sāvatthi* number 55 millions 7 hundreds and 30 thousands and in *Rājagāha* 5 millions and 3 hundred thousands. Why it is said that it is the rule for the celestial beings to await the appearance of a Buddha? Because, the abodes of devas and Brahmas are not the places where a Buddha is to appear, a Bodhisat to fulfil the *Buddha-dhammas*, a Special Buddha to appear, a special Bodhisat to fulfil

his *pārāmīias*, or an ordinary Buddha, the disciple of Buddha to appear. Generally those who are reborn in Heaven performed the good deeds in the world of men. Therefore Buddhas never appear in Heaven and the appearance only takes place in the world of men. However, the Buddha can deliver all the devas and Brahmas of ten thousand world systems. Therefore the celestial beings are always awaiting the appearance of a Buddha. So much for the *Sāvaka-niyāma*.

On receipt of the above Note, Mrs. Rhys Davids wrote:—

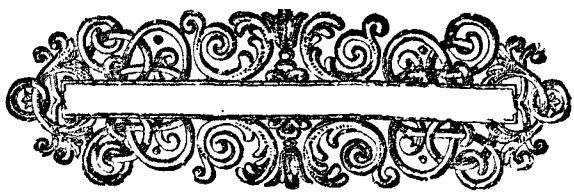
"Rev: U Nyana,

Dear Sir,

I have been deeply touched by the goodness and great kindness of the Mahâ Thera in condescending to answer himself, and to answer so fully the points I raise in my letter to you concerning your traditional teaching of the fivefold Niyāma. He has certainly made it very clear that, under "dhamma-niyāma," we have to understand a cosmic law relating to causally-ordered dhammā or phenomena; and not a cosmic law of the Saddhamma, the second of the Ratanattaya-dhammā which are in Buddhaghosa's list, "*hetu*" rather than "pariyatti." Will you be so good as to convey my respects to him and my sincere thanks for this kind message, my great satisfaction at hearing that his health is restored and my best wishes for the recovery of his sight and for his continuance in good health.....

Yours Sincerely,
C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS."

THE END.



CORRECTIONS

Page	Line	Read	For
8	39	Nikaya	Ninaye
17	18	may	my
,,	21	of	fo
,,	26	what	wht
22	25	Brahma	Braham
,,	36	the	tht
31	9	gods	goods
51	23	denotes	denotes
59	15	Buddhists	buddhists
,,	30	extreme part	extrem empart
62	14	causes	cause
,,	22	cold-thern	coal-therm
64	17	pour	power
69	4	predominant	predonimant
76	14	khave	hhave
79	16	vagga	vagge
80	12	material	meterial

THE

CRITICAL, COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL METHOD

OF

INQUIRY,

As applied to Sanskrit Scholarship and Philology and Indian Archeology,

Being a lecture read at a Public Meeting held under the auspices of the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay on the 31st of March, 1888.

BY

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THE CRITICAL, COMPARATIVE, AND HISTORICAL METHOD OF INQUIRY.

A critical inquirer is one who does not accept an account of an occurrence just as it is presented to him whether orally or in writing. He subjects it to certain tests calculated to prove its truth or otherwise. He takes care for instance to ascertain whether the person giving the account was an eyewitness to the occurrence, and if so whether he was an unprejudiced and at the same time an intelligent observer. If his information is based on other sources, the critic endeavours to ascertain the credibility or otherwise of those sources. When it is a thing or a verified occurrence that he has to deal with, he does not satisfy himself with that view of its nature and relations that appears plausible at first sight. He seeks for extraneous assistance to enable himself to arrive at a correct view. One of the most efficacious means employed by him is comparison of like things or occurrences. This comparison enables him to separate the accidents of the thing or occurrence from its essential nature, and sometimes to arrive at a law which includes the thing or occurrence as a particular case and explains it. Though comparison may thus be considered one of the means of a critical examination, still its own proper results are so important that it deserves to be considered an independent method of inquiry. The history of a thing *i. e.* a comparison of the various forms it presents at different well-ascertained periods, is also of the greatest use for the determination of its real nature. Often, when no written history is available, the inquirer determines the historical or chronological relations between the several forms of a thing by referring them to an obvious standard, and arrives at some important conclusions based on such relations. Thus for instance, the Greek *èsmes'* 'we are' is more ancient than the Sanskrit *smas*, for it retains the original *a* of the root *as* in the form of *e* which Sanskrit has lost; and the Sanskrit *santi* 'they are,' more ancient than the Greek '*èntí*' which has lost the whole root *as*. From an observation of many such forms the conclusion to be drawn is that Greek is not derived from Sanskrit, nor Sanskrit from Greek, but both from an older form of speech. The comparative and historical methods correspond to the inductive method used in the physical and experimental sciences. 'In those branches of knowledge in which you cannot from the nature of the case make experiments, you have recourse to comparison and historical observation. The inductive method began to be used in Europe about the end of the sixteenth century, and since that time

very great progress has been made in the discovery of the laws of the physical world. The critical, comparative, and historical methods began to be well understood and employed about the end of the eighteenth century, and within a hundred years since that time, an equally amazing progress has been made in other departments of knowledge; and geology, paleontology, comparative philology or the science of language, comparative mythology, evolution and the origin of species, scientific history, comparative jurisprudence, archeology, sound scholarship, and even comparative religion are the grand results. Before the employment of the inductive and experimental method such theories as that nature abhors a vacuum passed current; and before the application of the comparative and historical method the beliefs that the world was created in six days and that the Hebrew was the primitive language of which all the rest were offshoots were equally prevalent. But just as an experiment with a tube longer than thirty-three feet, in the case of water, was enough to explode that theory, so did the observation and comparison of the different strata of which the earth is composed and the discovery of Sanskrit and its comparison with Greek, Latin, and other languages, dispel those beliefs. And this critical and comparative method is necessary not only for increasing our knowledge of the world and of historical man, but also for arriving at correct views of things in ordinary practical life. I must use criticism and comparison if I wish to have a true knowledge of the character of any man public or private, or to understand any individual action of his correctly. Criticism and comparison are necessary for the politician, the legislator, the lawyer, the merchant, and, last but not least, the newspaper writer if he is to rise above the level of scurrilous journalism.

Criticism and comparison are of use not only in enabling us to arrive at a knowledge of what is true, but also of what is good and rational. A man born in a certain country with certain social and religious customs and institutions, and in a certain range of ideas, thinks those customs, institutions, and that range of ideas to be perfectly good and rational, and sees nothing objectionable in them, unless he is a man of genius. When, however, he comes to know of other customs, other institutions, and other ideas, and compares them with those to which he has become accustomed, he is able to find out any evil that there may be in the latter, and to see what is better and more rational. The comparison of the jurisprudence of different countries is calculated to afford valuable hints to the legislator for the improvement of the laws of his own country. Similarly, the critical observation and com-

parison of the social institutions of other countries and even of other religions will afford guidance to the social and religious reformer. Critical comparison is also of use in giving us juster notions of the beautiful. These general observations, applicable as they are to all the branches of knowledge I have indicated, I will expand and illustrate by taking instances from those subjects to which I have devoted some attention, *viz.* Sanskrit scholarship and philology, and Indian archeology.

Before admitting the narrative contained in an ancient work to be historical, one ought to ask himself whether the object of the author was to please and instruct the reader and excite the feeling of wonder, or to record events as they occurred. If the former, the narrative cannot be accepted as historical, but legendary. Our obvious and almost axiomatic notions of ordinary probability should also be brought to bear on the question. If a king, for instance, in such a narrative is represented to have reigned a thousand, or even two or three hundred years, one ought to understand that the author wants to excite the f[illegible]ing of wonder and admiration in his reader, and was in all likelihood under the influence of that feeling himself. If we apply these tests to our existing Sanskrit literature, we must declare the Râmâyaṇa, the Mahâbhârata, and the Purâṇas to be not historical works. Of course, it is possible that they may have a historical basis, and some of the persons mentioned in them may have really existed; but we cannot assert that they did exist, without corroborative evidence such as is to be derived from contemporary inscriptions and the historical writings of foreigners. Now, if the object of the [illegible] be the latter, and the narrative answers to our tests of ordin[illegible], the work must be accepted as historical. But w[illegible]rks in Sanskrit literature now extant. P[illegible]ut they are lost to us. Th[illegible] Gand[illegible]

dependents or servants of the princes whose account is given therein, cannot be expected to be impartial historians of their patrons and masters; and must be regarded as open to the temptation of bestowing extravagant praise on them and their ancestors. Accordingly, the virtues that they ascribe to the princes in the most general terms cannot safely be accepted as historically true; but the specific statements such as those of their being at war with certain other princes or of their having constructed certain public works must be; and if corroborative evidence becomes available, we find them confirmed. Thus, all the copperplate grants of the successors of Pulakes'i II of the Châlukya dynasty of Mahârâshṭra, who ascended the throne in the year 610 A. C., speak of his having defeated or remained unsubdued by Harshavardhana the sovereign lord of the whole of Uttarâpatha or Northern India, and obtained in consequence the title of Parames'vara or sovereign lord. This is confirmed by what the Chinese pilgrim Hwhan Thsang who travelled in India from 629 A. C. to 645 A. C. tells us about the prince. S'ilâditya, as Harshavardhana is also named by him, invited the ablest generals, and sending a large army under them, and on one occasion taking the command himself, fought with the people of Mahârâshṭra who were at that time ruled over by Pulakes'i, but he was not able to conquer them. Now, the point to be considered with reference to such a book as the Râjataraṅgiṇî is that though the author is to be considered a contemporary historian so far as the period in which he lived is concerned, what were his authorities for the history of previous times? He does menti[illegible]vious writers and speak of having consulted eight historical [illegible] begins his history with Gonarda I, who was the co[illegible]ira, and gives three names after him. The r[illegible] by name; and then mentions 13 [illegible] not find full autho[illegible]ven by

quite reliable themselves. And, looking generally to the manner in which the text of old works gets corrupt in the course of time, this is perfectly intelligible. Still, since Kalhaṇa mentions his having used inscriptions, and edicts or proclamations of kings, and states with what public works in Kas'mîr the names of some of the princes are connected and makes specific statements about them of another nature, the narrative portion of his history should I think be considered generally reliable, and also the chronology of the period nearer to his own time. But the older chronology and even to a smaller extent the latter requires rectification, as we have seen from the internal evidence; and there is ample external evidence also. For Kalhaṇa mentions three Turushka or Scythian kings who reigned before his historical period, *i. e.* before 1184 B. C. and whose names he gives as Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka. There are coins of all these kings, and inscriptions also, from which it appears that the last was the founder of the dynasty. Kalhaṇa mentions Buddhism as flourishing in Kas'mîr during the reigns of these monarchs, and represents them to have constructed monasteries in a country in the vicinity which appears to me to be Afghanistan. Now here, Buddhistic records and traditions, which represent Kanishka as a great patron of the religion, confirm Kalhaṇa's account. But his chronology is entirely wrong. For, from the evidence of the inscriptions, coins, and Buddhistic traditions, Kanishka has been placed about the end of the first century of the Christian era; and I have found reason to refer him to the middle of the second. Similarly, a comparison with Chinese chronology which is believed to be very accurate has led to a correction in the date of a later prince named Lalitâditya who conquered Yas'ovarman, the sovereign of Kanoj and the patron of Bhavabhûti and Vâkpatirâja the author of the Gauḍavadha, and who, according to Kalhaṇa's chronology, reigned from 695 to 732 A. C. The Chinese account represents his brother who was king before him to have sent an embassy to China in 713 A. C.; while according to Kalhaṇa that brother died in 691 A. C. But even supposing that the Chinese account is not correct, Prof. Jacobi has recently calculated the date of an annular eclipse of the sun which is represented in the Gauḍavadha to have occurred about the time when Yas'ovarman's position in his kingdom was shaken, apparently by a foreign invader whom that scholar understands to be Lalitâditya. The eclipse occurred on the 14th of August, 733 A. C. and reached its middle at Kanoj at 40 minutes after 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Now, if the danger to Yas'ovarman's position that is spoken of, was really that caused by Lalitâditya, which ap-

pears indeed very likely, Lalitâditya must have been living and in the height of his glory in 733 A. C., while the Râjataraṅgiṇî represents him to have died in 732 A. C.

Here I have given you a specimen of the sort of criticism to which books or documents of a professedly historical character ought to be subjected. As to the other class of works—the Râmâyaṇa, the Mahâbhârata, and all poems, plays, and religious books such as the Vedas,—though the narrative therein contained is not historical, still they are of great historical value in so far as they place before us the thoughts and feelings, the aims and aspirations, and the manners and customs of the people at or, possibly in some cases, before the time when they were written, and thus present to us a picture of the life and civilization of the period. If, for instance, woven or sewn garments ships, chariots, and weapons of war such as a sword and an axe, are incidentally mentioned in the Ṛigveda, it must be inferred that these were used at the time when the hymns in which they are mentioned were composed, and the arts of manufacturing them were known and practised. If the Atharvaveda tells us that "when a woman has had one husband before, and gets another, they shall not be separated if they offer the *ajapañchaudana* offering," we may safely infer that the practice of widow-marriages existed in those days. We may arrive at the same conclusion, and also infer the existence of polygamy in some cases at least and the absence of polyandry, from the words of the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa that "one [man] may have many wives ; but one [woman] cannot have many husbands *simultaneously*." When we find that the Mantras or formulas contained in the Ṛigveda, which the bridegroom addresses to the bride on the occasion of marriage, contain allusions to the indissoluble character of the union into which they have entered and to their bringing up a family of children, it must be supposed that when these Mantras or formulas were composed, the two parties to the marriage were not children but capable of understanding and appreciating the sense of what one says to the other. When in the Râmâyaṇa and Mahâbhârata Kshatriya girls are represented as calling a meeting of their possible lovers and choosing that one from among them that they liked, the custom must be considered as existing at or before the time when they were written. In Bâṇa's Kâdambarî the Queen Vilâsavatî is spoken of as going to the temple of Mahâkâla and hearing the Mahâbhârata read. This shows that our present custom of reading that work and others of the kind in temples for the edification of visitors existed in the middle of the seventh century after Christ

when Bâṇa wrote ; and his mentioning the Bhagavadgîtâ as a part of the Mahâbhârata shows that the work is older than the seventh century and formed an episode of the epic then as it does now. From the fact that Râma, the hero of that very popular epic the Râmâyaṇa, is represented as a rigid adherent of truth, regardless of the worldly sacrifices that such a course entails, as unswerving in his attachment and fidelity to his one wife, and as possessed of such equanimity and firmness of character that "when he was invited to his father's palace to be installed as Crown-prince but was instead sent to live in a forest divested of all worldly greatness and enjoyments, there was not the slightest change observable in his countenance," the conclusion is legitimate that the higher Hindu mind loved and admired these virtues. A wife's faithful devotion to her husband and her following him cheerfully through dire vicissitudes of fortune, with her love and respect for him unabated, were equally objects of admiration with Hindus, as is shown by the characters of Sîtâ, Damayantî and Târâ.

Perhaps the distinction between the ways in which the two classes of works are used for historical purposes will be best illustrated by a specimen of the mistakes which writers in the vernacular papers make on the point. One such writer waxing warm in the course of a dissertation against the Poona High school for girls said, "What, had we not learned women in ancient times such as Gârgî, Sîtâ, and Târâ? But did they attend a High school? What then is the necessity of a High school in these days?" And on another occasion in that same paper, another or the same writer in giving advice to the women of these days said something to this effect, "You are ambitious of rivalling Gârgî, Sîtâ, and Târâ ; but you should attend to your domestic duties first." I do not remember the exact words now, but this is certain that the writer made no distinction between Gârgî, and Sîtâ or Târâ as historical personages. Sîtâ and Târâ occur in poetical or legendary works ; and though they may have existed, we have no grounds for believing that they did. They are not represented as possessed of learning, though they were educated women ; but supposing they were, all that it would prove is that in those times it was possible for women to become learned, and some did become so. But the existence of Gârgî as a historical personage, as a woman of learning, and as a Vedic teacher, is not a matter of reasonable doubt. For a Ṛigvedin Brahman has, as a portion of his daily religious exercises, to recite portions of the Vedas and other sacred treatises, and pour water in the name of and, technically, for the satisfaction of three classes of beings *viz* : deities, Ṛishis, and Âchâryas. This

is prescribed in the Gṛihya Sûtra of Âs'valâyana and the names are given there. The Ṛishis mentioned are the composers of the Ṛigveda hymns,—Gṛitsamada, Vis'vâmitra, Vasishṭha &c.; and since these hymns exist, their authors also must have existed. The Âchâryas are the Vedic teachers, or writers as we should call them in these days, and in the list there are the names of authors of works called Brâhmaṇas and Sûtras some of which have come down to our times. Thus, S'âkalya whose name occurs in the list was the author of the existing Pada text of the Ṛigveda; Paiṅgya wrote a treatise on the sacrificial rites which is mentioned by the grammarians; Âs'valâyana did the same and his work is now extant; Aitareya and Sâṁkhyâyana were the authors of Brâhmaṇas which are extant; S'aunaka wrote the Ṛigveda Prâtis'âkhya; and Bâshkala and S'âkala were the names of teachers of two different recensions of the Ṛigveda. All these being historical personages, the three women, Gârgî Vâchaknavî, Sulabhâ Maitreyî, and Vaḍavâ Prâtitheyî, whose names occur in that same list of Âchâryas or teachers, must be so likewise though their works have not come down to us.

Since then it is from our ancient literature that we have to find out the history of our people, it becomes a thing of the greatest importance to determine the form in which the works we are concerned with were written by their authors. The readings of passages are not the same in different manuscripts of the same work. A variety of this nature we find to a pretty large extent even in ordinary works such as the poems and dramatic plays. Sometimes, numbers of whole stanzas are to be found in certain manuscripts and not in others, as in the case of Kâlidâsa's S'âkuntala. But in the Râmâyaṇa and the Mahâbhârata, the two most important works of the non-Vedic period, the differences are bewildering. No two manuscripts from different parts of the country agree. Often there are in some whole chapters which are omitted in others. Sometimes new stories or legends are found. It is therefore, the duty of the critical scholar to collect manuscripts from different parts of the country and collate them, with a view to arrive at a correct text. In the performance of this task which often is very laborious, he ought to be guided by definite principles. He should, in choosing or rejecting a certain reading or a certain passage, see whether it gives good sense, whether it agrees with the context, whether it is in keeping with the author's general way of thinking, whether it is found in the oldest manuscripts, whether the idea or mode of expression was current in the author's time, whether it involves redundance or tau-

tology, and so on. In some parts of India such as Bengal, people have been in the habit of taking very great liberties with the text of their author ; and in Southern India they have been as a general rule very conservative. This fact I would take into account in determining the correct text of a work. When, however, the differences are very great, the best way is to treat the texts found in different provinces as independent editions or rescensions. And this is what the old Indian Vedic scholars did. In the Vedic texts also different readings sprang up in the course of time ; and one active cause of this was the fact that they were handed down orally. But when scholars like S'âkalya, S'aunaka, Kâtyâyana, and others arose and gave a definite form to the Vedic literature, they took into account these differences and established separate rescensions or editions of the texts, known to us now by the name of S'âkhâs which represent the forms of the text taught in different schools, such as those of S'âkala, Bâshkala, the Taittirîyas, the Maitrâyaṇîyas, the Kâṇvas, the Mâdhyaṁdinas &c. It is the business of a scholar of the present day to compare these several texts, as well as the several rescensions of later works, determine the circumstances under which they arose and their mutual relations, literary as well as chronological, and find out which of them have a greater claim to be considered genuine and original.

Now as to the mode of interpretation of the texts so settled. The first rule is that a word as occuring in a book must be interpreted in the sense which usage has given to it. Etymology may serve as a guide; but it ought never to be set above usage. Consequently, no word should be understood in an etymological sense only. Oftentimes it is difficult to find the correct etymology, and a man has recourse to one that is fanciful. An interpretation of a book based on such fanciful etymologies must be incorrect. Then again, the literature of a country is divisible into periods, and the usage of one period differs from that of another. A word therefore occurring in a certain book should be understood in the sense which it has in the usage of the period in which the book was written. A better way still is to interpret it in the sense in which the author himself uses it in other parts of his work. Our oldest literary period is that of the Vedas, and this again is clearly divisible into the period of the hymns and the period of the Brâhmaṇas. The language of the hymns is archaic and very different from the later Sanskrit ; that of the Brâhmaṇas is much nearer to the classical Sanskrit. The hymns contain a great many words which do not occur in later Sanskrit, and there are also a good many which have a different sense there from that

which they have in the latter. Under these circumstances, the only proper way to understand the hymns is to bring together and compare the passages in which the same word occurs, taking etymology as a guide only where necessary. In the same manner, the ideas and modes of thinking, which from our acquaintance with the period we have seen to be prevalent, should be referred to for help in interpreting a passage. If instead of resorting to these methods we take an isolated passage and interpret it according to modern usage, modern ideas, and fanciful or even true etymology, we may make it mean anything; and we shall thus find in the Vedas not only pure theism, but even railways and electric telegraphs. These observations are also applicable to works belonging to other periods.

Having disposed of books and other written documents, I will now endeavour to estimate the value of traditions. If we accept traditions as we find them, we shall often be deceived. There is a tradition among us, for instance, that Bhavabhûti and Kâlidâsa were contemporaries; but we have now found that Bhavabhûti lived in the first quarter of the eighth century of the Christian Era and Kâlidâsa long before 634 A. C., since he is mentioned as a famous poet in an inscription bearing that date and also by Bâṇa who lived in the middle of the seventh century. Bhavabhûti, it has recently been discovered, was a pupil of Kumârilabhaṭṭa; and Kumârilabhaṭṭa quotes from Kâlidâsa's S'âkuntala. Similarly, the authors, Dhanvantarin, Kshapaṇaka, Amarasiṁha, Kâlidâsa, Varâhamihira, Vararuchi, and others who formed the traditional nine gems are said to have lived at the Court of Vikramâditya the founder of the Saṁvat Era the initial date of which is 57 B. C. But Varâhamihira, as stated by Âmarâja in his commentary on Brahmagupta's Khaṇḍakhâdya, died in S'aka 509 or 587 A. C.; and the epoch year of his Pañchasiddhântikâ is 427 S'aka corresponding to 505 A. C. And the existence of Vikramâditya in 57 B. C. has not yet been traced. Albiruni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghizni in his invasion of Gujarât in the early part of the eleventh century, reports a tradition that the Gupta era dates from the extermination of the Gupta dynasty. But princes of the Gupta dynasty date their inscriptions in their era, which therefore was in use before their extermination. Tradition makes Pâṇini a contemporary of Kâtyâyana and represents him as having been a blockhead who by austerities pleased S'iva and obtained a new grammar from him. Kâtyâyana held a disputation with him for eight days and, though Pâṇini proved a powerful antagonist, he was ultimately vanquished. The fact, however, as we know it, is that Kât

yâyana is the writer of Vârtikas or comments on Pâṇini's grammar in which he explains, rectifies, and supplements Pâṇini's rules. It was in consequence of his having thus rectified and supplemented Pâṇini that the story of his having vanquished him must have arisen,–and traditions often have a basis of this nature and no better–but it is impossible that he should have written those comments a good many of which are explanatory on the work of a contemporary. Besides, from a comparison of the works of the two it appears that the Sanskrit language was in a somewhat more archaic condition in the time of Pâṇini. Hence, therefore, the tradition cannot be true ; and there are also inherent improbabilities in it. Sometimes the tradition of one sect contradicts that of another. The S'vetâmbara Jainas, for instance, claim to represent the original Jainism and speak of the Digambara sect as having been founded by one S'ivabhûti in 83 A. C.; and give childish explanations of the origin of the two peculiar doctrines of that sect *viz*: nudity and denial of absolution to women. The Digambaras, on the other hand, represent themselves to be the original Jainas ; and state that a sect of the name of Ardhaphâlaka separated from them about 272 B. C., and out of that arose after a long time the S'vetâmbara sect. Still, however, traditions are not to be entirely rejected. An endeavour should be made to ascertain their antiquity as their credibility must be considered to be proportionate to it; and if they are in themselves probable and stand all critical tests, they may be provisionally accepted. Thus, the tradition about the nine gems has been traced up to the year 1,005 Saṁvat or 948 A. D. In an inscription bearing that date found at Buddha Gayâ it is stated that Vikramâditya was a renowned monarch in whose court there were nine learned men celebrated under the epithet of the *Nava ratnâni* or nine jewels of whom Amaradeva was one. That portion of the tradition which refers to Vikramâditya's being a great patron of learning ascends still higher into antiquity. In the introduction to Vâsavadattâ a work mentioned by Bâṇa in his Harshacharita and consequently written before the middle of the seventh century, Subandhu the author, who also is mentioned by name as a previous poet in the Gauḍavadha by Vâkpatirâja who lived in the middle of the eighth century, speaks regretfully of the sweet or tasteful poesy of the time of Vikramâditya having when he lived dried up like the waters of a lake which once was full. And the manner of his regret looks like that of one who lived near to the times of Vikramâditya. But nothing has yet been found to confirm the date; and it occurs only in the Jyotirvidâbharaṇa the author of which pretends to be the great Kâlidâsa but which

has been satisfactorily proved to be but a recent forgery by all scholars who have noticed it. Since the tradition is thus confirmed it may be accepted as correct; but the date of the nine jewels and of their patron Vikramâditya should be taken to be that which we have got for Varâhamihira on unimpeachable evidence. And a great king of the name of Harsha Vikramâditya is mentioned by Kalhaṇa in the Râjataraṅgiṇî as a paramount Sovereign ruling at Ujjayinî. He drove away S'akas and all Mlechchhas from the country, and was a great patron of learning. According to Kalhaṇa's chronology which in this place is, as I have already observed, very faulty, this Vikramâditya lived in the first half of the second century of the Christian era. But his description of the king suits so well the patron of the nine gems, that we may correct the date assigned by Kalhaṇa in the light of that of Varâhamihira, and suppose Harsha Vikramâditya to have reigned at Ujjayinî in the middle of the sixth century and patronized Kâlidâsa, Amarasiṁha, Varâhamihira, and the rest. And nothing that has yet been discovered goes against the contemporaneity of those three; so that the tradition, when corrected as regards the date of Vikramâditya, agrees with everything that is known and seems highly probable. It may incidentally be observed here that Subandhu appears thus to have lived after Vikramâditya and before Bâṇa, that is between 550 and 650 A. C. And this is in keeping with his regretful mode of expression noticed above; and both together lend strong support to another tradition that he was the son of a sister of Vararuchi, one of the nine gems of Vikramâditya's Court. But the chief use of a tradition is to confirm, corroborate, and strengthen other evidence; and it should not be put in the place of such evidence. This will be illustrated further on.

I will now proceed to give instances of our method from philology and point out the errors due to superficial analogies. People seem to think that mere external similarity between a word in one language and another in another language is enough to enable us to decide that the two are one and the same word. Thus I have heard the word *Dutch*, (Germ.) *Deutsch*, traced to the Sanskrit word *Daitya* which means 'a demon' or 'an enemy of the gods', *Taittirîya* identified with *Tartar*, *Caspian* with *Kas'yapa*, and *Chitpâvan* or *Chipṭe* with *Copt* or *Gypt*. It is melancholy to see such etymologies and a great many others of the same nature put forth without the slightest evidence, and against all the rules of philological comparison. Now there are languages which bear a close affinity to each other, and there are others which do not. Words in a language belonging to the former group observe certain

laws in assuming the forms which they possess in another belonging to the same group. Thus the High German in which we have the word *Deut, sch* being an adjectival termination, is related to Sanskrit. But Sanskrit consonantal sounds assume certain forms in German. And there is a law with reference to that point known by the name of Grimm's law. The German *d* corresponds to *th* in the Gothic, with which also low German or Anglo-saxon, *i. e.*, the modern English agrees, and to *t* in Sanskrit. Thus German *drei* is English *three*, and Sanskrit त्रि; Germ. *dass*, Eng. *that*, Skr. तद्; Germ. *du*, Eng. *thou*, Skr. त्व in त्वम्; Germ. *durch*, Eng. *through*, Skr. तिरस्; Germ. *durst*, Eng. *thirst*, Skr. तृष्, *i. e.*, तर्ष् &c. Similarly, Germ. *t* is Eng. *d*, and Skr. ध; as in the instances, Germ. *mit*, old H. G. *mitte*, Eng. *mid*, A. S. *midde*, Skr. मध्य; Germ. *tag*, Eng. *day*, Skr. some such word as धक्. You will thus see that there is a law which determines the forms that Sanskrit words should assume in German, and that law ought to give to *daitya* some such form as *teudh* ; so that we should not allow ourselves to be deceived by the mere similarity of *daitya* and *deut*. Besides, from all the observation that the great founders of comparative philology have made, they have come to the conclusion that the affinity between the Sanskrit and the European languages dates from prehistoric times, *i. e.*, is due to the fact that the ancestors of us all spoke one and the same language before they separated and formed distinct nationalities. This was long before the time when the Vedas were composed. Now the word *daitya* does not occur in the Vedas and was formed later. How could such a word be found in the German, not having existed in the Sanskrit itself a long time after the Âryan separation? There are indeed instances in historical times of independent Âryan communities having again been brought into connection with each other and exchanged a few later words. Thus our astronomical works, and especially those of Varâhamihira, contain several Greek terms, as will be hereafter noticed. If we suppose the word *daitya* to have been communicated to the Germans by us in historic times, is there any record anywhere of our having gone into the forests of Germany and established a kingdom there, as we have of the Bactrian Greeks having established one in the Panjâb? And are there more such instances? None has been pointed out. The other etymologies must also be similarly condemned. Are we to suppose that the students of the Taittirîya rescension of the Yajurveda came from Tartary, and our Chitpâvan Brahmans from Egypt, and that these foreigners were admitted into our exclusive Hindu community and assigned the highest place? Is there a tittle of evidence to

show that? The Jews came to our country in very early times, and the Parsis later; but have they become incorporated with our community, taken our Gotras, and become students of our Vedas?

There are many instances of false and unscientific Marâṭhi etymologies in our books. Unless you resort to comparison and historic observation, and discover laws which explain the particular case before you, your etymology must be empiric. Thus our ordinary root बस 'to sit' has been traced to Skr. वस् 'to dwell'. Of course व and ब constantly interchange places in our languages and there is no difficulty on that point. The sense, however, of वस् is not appropriate; but even that is no great objection. Still, if we have recourse to observation and comparison, we shall find that this etymology is wrong. बस has another form बैस, and since the tendency of languages is always to drop an element and not add, बैस is an older form of the root; and that it is a form of that same root and not an independent root is shown by such contractions as म्हस 'a she-buffalo' for म्हैस, जसा 'as' for जैसा, तसा 'so' for तैसा &c. Again, the analogy of the cognate languages also shows that बैस is the real form of the root; for the Gujarâtî has बेस, and the Hindî बैस, though बैठ is more common. Now Marâṭhî, Hindî, and Gujarâtî have descended from the old Prâkṛits; and ऐ in the first two and ए in the last is a combination of the vowels अ and इ brought together by the dropping away of uninitial consonants which forms a characteristic of the Prâkṛits, as will be seen from the following instances :—

Skr. खदिर 'a certain tree',	Pr. खइर	* M. H. P. खैर	G. खेर.
— बलीवर्द 'a bullock',	— बइल्ल	— — — बैल	— बेल.
— तादृश 'like that',	— तादिस, Ap. तइस	— — — तैसा	—
— महिषी 'a she-buffalo,'	— महिसी	M. म्हैस, H. P. भैंस	— भैंस.
— भगिनी 'sister,'	— भइणी, M. *dial.* भैण,	H. बैन	— बेन.

So that बैस or बेस must be बइस in Prâkṛit or वइस, since व and ब are always interchangeable. Now, we know that Skr. उपविश which means 'to sit' appears in the Prâkṛit in the form of उवइस, प being changed to व as a general rule of which there are many instances, and व being dropped as in कइ for कवि, रइ for रवि &c. Then the initial vowel उ is dropped since it is unaccented, as it is in the following cases :—

Skr. अभ्यंतर 'inside',	H. भीतर,	M. भितर
— अरघट्ट 'a water-wheel',	H. रहट,	M. रहाट

* Here and in the following pages M.=Marâṭhî, H.=Hindî, Ap.=Apabhraṁśa, G.=Gujarâtî, P.=Panjâbî, S.=Sindhî, B.=Bangâlî, and O.=Oriyâ.

Skr. अभ्यंजन 'to be soaked', H. भीजना, M. भिजणें, G. भिजवुं
— एकस्थं 'collected', H. कट्ठा
— उपाध्याय 'a teacher', 'a priest,' M. पाध्या, P. पाधे
— उपरि 'above,' M. वर.

Here then, there is an analogy at every step, and the M. बस is thus derived from the Skr. उपविश.

Another instance of the necessity of a close observation and comparison of facts is afforded by the derivation of masculine nouns ending in आ in Marâṭhî and Hindî. It is supposed that the आ of these is a remnant of the ओ of masculine nouns in Prâkṛit, such as हत्थो, गुणो &c. But the question is, by what rules of transformation does ओ become आ, and why is it that a great many nouns such as हात 'hand,' पाय 'foot,' कान 'ear', and others are without it? Besides, in such a language as the Sindhî, those nouns which end in अ in Hindî and Marâṭhî end in short उ, while those ending in आ have ओ for their final; as हथु, कनु for हाथ, कान &c. and घोडो 'a horse' for घोडा, मंजो 'a bead-stead' for माचा, मथो 'head', 'top' for माथा &c. The correct way of finding the origin of these forms in आ appears to me to be the following:—

In modern vernacular pronunciation there is a law of accentuation which has produced important results. The penultimate syllable of a word is in all our dialects pronounced with a stress the tendency of which is to lengthen that syllable and drop the final vowel, and in most of them this tendency has worked itself out. The preceding vowel, however, is not always written long, but still the long or at least the emphasized pronunciation does exist. Thus गुण 'virtue' is pronounced by us as गूण् in M., गून् in H., फुल 'a flower' as फूल्, बल, 'strength' as बल् (baal), मदन 'god of love' as मदन् (madaan), &c. In these instances, though we write the penultimate vowel short, it is really long. The final इ or उ of Sanskrit words recently imported into the languages have been dropped in virtue of this law of accentuation. Thus :—

M. H. G. पद्धत 'method,' 'mode', Skr. पद्धति.
M. H. G. P. गत 'condition, Skr. गति.
M. G. विपत, H. P. बिपत, 'misery,' Skr. विपत्ति.
M. H. P. G. B. रीत 'manner,' Skr. रीति.
M. H. G. P. B. जात 'species', 'caste,' Skr. जाति.
M. H. कीर्त, H. G. P. कीरत, 'fame,' Skr. कीर्ति.
M. H. P. G. रास 'a heap,' Skr. राशि.
M. H. P. G. नीत [illegible]
M. G. वस्त, H. [illegible]

H. P. साध 'a good man', Skr. साधु.

M. G. H. P. मध 'honey', Skr. मधु.

Not only does this law characterise the vernacular speech of the day, but it must have been in operation for centuries, since the old Prâkṛit words, which like the above have not recently been imported but have descended to the modern languages from the spoken dialects of ancient times, have also been similarly changed. Thus :—

M. B. भूक, H. G. B. भूख, P. भुक्ख, O. भोक, 'hunger,' Pr. बुहुक्खा, Skr. बुभुक्षा.

M. H. P. G. जीभ, B. O. जिभ, S. जिभ, 'tongue,' Pr. जिब्भा, Skr. जिह्वा.

H. P. सेज, M. G. शेज, S. सेज सेजा, a 'bed,' Pr. सेज्जा, Skr. शय्या.

M. भीक, H. G. भीख, P. भिक्ख or भीख, B. O. भिक, 'alms,' Pr. भिक्खा, Skr. भिक्षा.

M. नीज, H. P. नींद, S. निंड, 'sleep,' Pr. निद्दा, Skr. निद्रा.

M. सोंड, H. सूंड, G. सूंढ, P. सुंड, B. O. शूंड, सूंढि 'trunk of an elephant,' Pr. सोण्डा, Skr. शुण्डा.

M. G. दाढ, H. डाढ, 'a jaw,' 'a grinder,' Pr. दाढा, Skr. दंष्ट्रा.

H. S. साध, B. साद or साध, O. साध, 'wish', 'longing,' Pr. सद्धा, Skr. श्रद्धा.

M. G. धूळ, H. धूल, S. धूडि, B. O. धूला, P. धूर, 'dust, Pr. धूलि, Skr. धूलि.

M. बहिण or भैण, H. भैण, बहिन, or बहन, G. बेन, B. बोन, 'sister', Pr. भइणी, Skr. भगिनी.

M. ह्वैस, H. भैंस, G. भैंस, P. मैंह or भैंस, a 'she-buffalo,' Pr. महिसी, Skr. महिषी.

H. P. कोख, G. कुख, M. कूस, 'a side of the abdomen,' Pr. कुक्खि, Skr. कुक्षि.

M. सवत, H. सौत, 'a fellow wife,' Pr. सवत्ती, Skr. सपत्नी.

M. खाण, H. खान, 'a mine,' Pr. खणि, Skr. खनि.

H. सास, P. सस्स, M. G. सासू, 'mother-in-law,' Pr. सस्सू, Skr. श्वश्रू.

M. G. वीज, P. बिज्ज, 'lightning,' Pr. विज्जू, Skr. विद्युत्.

M. ऊंस, H. ऊख or ईख, P. इक्ख, Pr. उच्छु, Skr. इक्षु.

H. G. आंख, P. अक्ख, B. O. आखि, 'the eye,' Pr. अक्खि. Skr. अक्षि.

M. G. B. O. हाड, H. हाड, हड्ड, or हड्डी, P. हड्ड or हड्डी, Pr. अट्ठी अस्थि.

In this manner the final आ, इ, ई, उ and ऊ of Sanskrit and Pra nouns have, in almost all cases been dropped in the vernacula changed to a silent अ. Final ओ is similarly treated. Even in the bhraṁśa period this rule of accentuation must have prevailed, sin

ending vowels are similarly shortened in a good many cases. The Prâkṛit ओ of the nominative singular of masculine nouns is mostly shortened to उ in that dialect, and sometimes altogether dropped. The modern vernaculars have thus got a great many masculine nouns ending in the silent अ, such as हात or हाथ 'hand,' कान 'ear,' दांत 'tooth,' धीट 'bold,' वड 'the Banyan tree.' When the final vowel is preceded by another, and not by a consonant as in these words and the others given in the above lists, that other vowel being accented by our rule shows a tendency to become long; and the original final being dropped, the accented vowel becomes final. Thus :—

Skr. मौक्तिकम् 'a pearl,' Pr. मोत्तिअं, M. मोतीं, G. P. H. मोती.
Skr. पानीयम् 'water,' Pr. पाणिअं, M. G. पाणीं, H. पानी.
Skr. यूथिका 'a flowering bush,' Pr. जुहिआ, M. H. G. जुही or जुई.
Skr. घोटिका 'a mare,' Pr. घोडिआ, M. G. H. P. घोडी.
Skr. शाटिका 'a garment,' Pr. साडिआ, M. G. H. साडी.
Skr. मृत्तिका 'earth,' Pr. मत्तिआ, मट्टिआ or मिट्टिआ, M. माती, H. मट्टी &c.
Skr. तैलिकः 'a seller of oil,' Pr. and Ap. तेल्लिओ-उ, M. तेली.
Skr. नापितः 'a barber,' Pr. नाविओ or न्हाविओ, Ap. नाविउ, M. न्हावी, H. नाई.
Skr. वृश्चिकः 'a scorpion,' Pr. विञ्छुओ, Ap. विञ्छुउ, M. विंचू, H. P. बिछू, S. विछु, B. O. विछा.
Skr. यूका 'a louse,' Pr. जूआ, H. P. G. जू, M. ऊ.
Skr. वाटिका 'an enclosure,' Pr. वाटिआ or वाडिआ, M. G. H. वाडी, B. वाटी.
Skr. वीटिका 'a roll of betel leaf, &c.,' Pr. वीडिआ, M. विडी, G. विडी, H. बीडी.

Skr. जीवः 'life,' Pr. जीओ, Ap. जीउ, H. जी.
Skr. लोहितम् 'blood,' Pr. लोहिअं, G. लोही, H. P. लोहू.
Skr. जलौका 'a leech,' Pr. जलोआ, M. जळू, H. जलू, G. जळो.
Skr. वालुका 'sand,' Pr. वालुआ, M, G. वाळू, H. बालू.

Thus then, the Sanskrit and Prâkṛit penultimate vowels become final in the vernaculars and, being originally accented in consequence [illegible] law we have been considering, retain that accent in most cases, [illegible] thus lengthened. When the penultimate happens to be अ it is [illegible]ned to आ as in

[illegible] घोटकः 'a horse,' Pr. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ, M. H. P. B. O. घोडा.
[illegible] पारदः 'mercury,' Pr. पारओ, Ap. पारउ, M. H. P. B. O. पारा.
[illegible] आमलकः 'a kind of myrobalan,' Pr. आमलओ, Ap. आवंलउ, M. आंवळा H. P. B. आंबला or आमला.

Skr. आम्रातक: 'hog-plum myrobalan,' Pr. अम्माडओ ?, Ap. अम्बाडउ, M. आंबाडा, H. अंबाडा.

Skr. बिभीतक: 'beleric myrobalan,' Pr. वहेडओ, Ap. वहेडउ, M. बेहडा, H. P. बहेडा.

Skr. पुस्तकम् 'a volume,' Pr. पोत्थओ, Ap. पोत्थउ, H. P. पोथा.

Skr. कण्टक: 'a thorn,' Pr. कण्टओ, Ap. कण्टउ, M. H. B. कांटा.

Skr. गोलक: 'a ball,' Pr. गोलओ, Ap. गोलउ, M. P. गोळा, H. B. गोला.

Skr. श्यालक: 'brother-in-law,' Pr. सालओ, Ap. सालउ, M. P. साळा, H. साला.

Skr. दीपक: 'a lamp,' Pr. दीवओ, Ap. दीवउ, M. दिवा, P. दीवा, H. B. दिया.

Skr. मञ्चक: 'a bedstead,' Pr. मञ्चओ, Ap. मञ्चउ, M. मांचा.

Skr. मस्तकम् 'head,' Pr. मत्थयं, M. (Goan. Mal. and Chit.) माथां; by a change of gender, Pr. मत्थओ, Ap. मत्थउ, M. H. B. माथा, P. मत्था.

Skr. कटकम् 'a wristlet,' Pr. कडअं, M. (Goan. Mâl. and Chit.) कडां.

Skr. कीटक: 'a worm,' Pr. कीडओ, Ap. कीडउ, M. किडा, H. P. कीडा, B. कीडा.

It may be urged that in modern pronunciation when the penultimate अ is accented, it does not become आ even though pronounced long, as observed before. How is it then that it becomes आ here? In modern times several new modes of pronunciation have arisen, but as regards the matter in hand, to lengthen अ into आ was the old process. And often when the old processes have disappeared from what is considered the standard form of a language, they are found preserved in some dialect of that language. Thus, while in the standard Marâṭhî the penultimate अ is simply pronounced long, it becomes आ in the Goanese and Mâlvaṇî dialects.

Thus:—

St. M.		Mâl. Goan.
पातळ	'a garment.'	पाताळ.
कापड	'cloth.'	कापाड.
वतन	'hereditary property.'	वतान.
जतन	'careful preservation.'	जतान.
धोतर	'a garment.'	धोतार.
खडप	'a rock.'	खडाप.

In this manner, then, the penultimate अ became आ in consequence of the accent and, the final vowel being dropped, itself became the final, and has preserved its accent. Thus the nouns ending in Marâṭhî and Hindî are derived from Sanskrit nouns with the penultimate and final syllables ending in अ. The consonant of the final

lable is dropped in the Prâkṛits, and the vowel अ is together with the nominative termination changed to ओ. This ओ being unaccented, is first shortened to उ in the Apabhraṁs'a dialect, and afterwards entirely dropped; while the accented अ of the penultimate syllable is lengthened to आ and becomes the final. In most cases the final syllable is क applied in Sanskrit to a great many nouns to modify the original sense in some way. Instances of those nouns which are seen to have क as the ending syllable in Sanskrit have been given above, together with their Marâṭhî and Hindî forms in आ. And in those cases in which the Sanskrit forms of other Marâṭhî and Hindî words in आ are not seen with a final क, it must have been applied to them in the spoken language, since Pâṇini gives a very general rule as to the addition of क to all nouns, and we actually find its remnant अ in a great many words including past and present participles in the Prâkṛits. I have spent so much time on this instance in order to give you an idea of the extent to which it is sometimes necessary to make close observation, discover analogies, and trace the operation of laws, to enable us to arrive at correct etymologies. A mere hap-hazard assertion without any proof is unscientific and will not do in philology any more than in other subjects.

In connection with this matter of insufficient or superficial analogies, I may mention that those who are engaged in the studies I have been speaking about are peculiarly open to their influence, especially when they lead to or support a theory which is striking. Thus, the Râmâyaṇa is supposed by some to represent the struggles between the Brâhmaṇas of India and the Buddhists of Ceylon; that the Râkshasas that disturb the rites of the Brâhmaṇas in the Daṇḍakâraṇya are Buddhists; that the red clothes worn by the priests at the magic rites of Indrajit are the brown garments of Buddhist mendicants &c. Again, Sîtâ's ravishmemt is the same incident as the ravishment of Helen, and S'iva's bow which Râma bent is the bow of Ulysses. Therefore, Vâlmîki must have been influenced by Homeric ideas, and the poem written after the Hindus came in contact with the Greeks. I cannot stop to give you a detailed account of this controversy; but will observe that if such analogies are to be used as arguments in favour of a certain theory, an antiquarian in the remote future may declare that the Marâṭhâ Hindus had no family names before the British conquered India; but that they learned to use them, having seen the British doing so. Hence some of their family names are but mere translations of British names; thus, *Gore* or *Dhavale* is a translation

of *White*; *Kâḷe*, of *Black*; *Lândge*, of *Wolf*; *Kolhe*, of *Fox*; *Parvate* or *Ḍongre*, of *Hill*; *Barve*, of *Wells*; *Goḷe*, of *Ball*; *Ghâṁṭe* of *Bell*, &c. But as we now know that we had these names before we heard of the British, the theory cannot be advocated at the present day. And to my mind the analogies about the ravishment of the wife of another and the bending of a heavy bow are more natural and less due to intercommunication than this close correspondence of family names. For, what incident is more common in an early condition of society than for one powerful man to take away forcibly the wife of another? Even in a highly civilized condition of society the incident is not uncommon, though the forces used are of a more delicate nature. The same remark applies to a heavy bow. And the state of society pictured in the Râmâyaṇa is very archaic; the whole Marâṭhâ country was a forest infested by Râkshasas or savages, the ancestors of our Bhîls and Goṇds; and the gentler races of the South were so uncultivated that they were compared to monkeys. Vâlmîki does not mention a single Marâṭhâ town, while in the Mahâbhârata the names of Karhâḍ and Supârâ occur. He has heard a few names of places in Southern India, but does not seem to be familiar with the geography of the country; while, in the third and second centuries before the Christian era, the Âryas became more familiar with the South, as we see from the inscriptions of As'oka, Patañjali's Mahâbhâshya, and Buddhistic tradition. And to this must be added the weight of the tradition which represents Vâlmîki as the first or earliest poet of the non-Vedic Sanskrit. Similarly, resemblances have been traced between the ideas expressed in the Bhagavadgîtâ and those expressed in the new Testament, and a Christian influence detected in that work. But a good many of these resemblances are more apparent than real, the whole tone and manner of the Gîtâ are different from those of the New Testament, and most of the notions suspected to be borrowed from the Bible are found expressed in the Upanishads and such older works, as has been shown by the late Dr. Muir. Scholars seem sometimes when they have to advocate a theory to forget our common humanity to which a great deal that is common in our notions must be attributed.

On the other hand, when the evidence is irrefragable it is unscholarlike to deny foreign influence. For instance, the Indian astronomical works written during the first five centuries contain several Greek terms. The names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac are translations of the Greek names; and the original Greek names even are given by Varâhamihira in the following Âryâ quoted by Bhâû Dâjî:—

क्रियतावुरुजितुमकुलीरलेयपार्थोनजूककोर्प्याख्याः।
तौक्षिक आकोकेरो हृद्रोगश्चेत्थसिः क्रमशः॥

Where we have Kriya *i. e. Kriós*, Tâvuru *i. e. Tauros*, Jituma *i. e. Didymos*, Leya *i. e. Léon*, Pârthona *i. e. Parthénos*, Jûka *i. e. Zygón*, Kaurpya *i. e. Scorpios*, Taukshika *i. e. Toxótês*, Âkokero *i. e. Aigókerôs*, Hṛidroga *i. e. Hydrochóos*, Itthasi *i. e. Ichthy's*. Some of the other terms are Heli 'the sun' *i. e. Hêlios*, Koṇa *i. e. Kronos*, Kendra *i. e. Kéntron*, Jâmitra *i. e. Diámetron* &c. Altogether there are 36 such terms. These are not Sanskrit words; and to endeavour to give them an unnatural Sanskrit etymology is vain and unscholarlike. We have the clearest evidence of the close connection between Hindus and Greeks from about the third century before Christ to the first after Christ, in the inscriptions of As'oka and others, in coins which bear the names of Bactrian Greek monarchs, in Greek as well as Indian characters, and in Buddhistic literature. Garga as quoted by Varâhamihira says:—"The Yavanas are Mlechchhas among whom this S'âstra (*i. e.* astronomy and astrology) is well known; they even are worshipped like Ṛishis." The Greeks were at that time called Yavanas; for in an inscription of As'oka, Antiochus king of Syria is called a *Yoṇarâja*. So also Milinda who reigned at S'âkala in the Panjab and who has been identified with the Bactro-Greek monarch Menandros is called a Yoṇa king in the Pâli books. The Hindus had their own astronomy before they came in contact with the Greeks; but they borrowed from the latter what was necessary for their own further progress. Prof. Weber thus expresses himself on the point:—"Although most of these names denote astrological relations, still, on the other hand, in the division of the heavens into Zodiacal signs, *decani*, and degrees, they comprise all that the Hindus lacked, and that was necessary to enable them to cultivate astronomy in a scientific spirit. And accordingly we find that they turned these Greek aids to good account; rectifying, in the first place, the order of their lunar asterisms which was no longer in accordance with reality, so that the two which came last in the old order occupy the two first places in the new; and even, it would seem, in some points independently advancing astronomical science further than the Greeks themselves did."

I will now give a specific instance to show how previous history enables us to understand the nature of a thing, though what I have hitherto said in connection with other points contains a good deal calculated to illustrate this also. At present we use an era which is called S'âlivâhana S'aka; and ordinarily we understand the word S'aka

in the sense of 'an era,' and believe that the era was founded by a king of the name of S'âlivâhana. But the word S'aka has not the sense of an era in the Sanskrit language; and the expression S'âlivâhana S'aka has been in use for about three or four hundred years only. Before that, and even in some books of the subsequent period, the expression used is S'akakâla. Varâhamihira calls it S'akendrakâla or S'akabhûpakâla *i. e.* the era of the S'aka king. In an inscription dated 500 S'aka, it is called the era of the coronation of the S'aka king; and in another dated 556 S'aka, the era of S'aka kings. In all old copperplate grants the expression used is S'akanṛipakâla or S'akakâla *i. e.* the era of the S'aka king or S'aka. Thus, then, this is an era founded by a great king of the S'aka or Scythian race. And that India was exposed to the inroads of the Scythians, and that they established a kingdom in the country, is proved by many an inscription and coin. There was a dynasty of kings who called themselves Satraps and ruled over Ujjayinî, Kattiawar, and Gujarat. In the beginning at least they were in all likelihood the viceroys of the S'aka kings.

S'âlivâhana or S'âtavâhana was the name of a royal family which ruled over Dakshiṇâpatha or Southern India. The principal branch reigned at Dhanakaṭaka in Telingaṇa, and the younger princes of the family or a subordinate branch ruled over Paiṭhaṇa. The S'âtavâhanas came in contact with the conquering S'akas who established their power also over a part of the country ruled over by the S'âtavâhanas. But after a short interval of time one of the princes of this family succeeded in driving away the foreigners and regaining the lost provinces. The S'akas and the S'âtavâhanas were by these events associated together in the popular memory; and it must have been on this account that the names of the two families came to be connected in after times with the era which thereafter was called the S'âlivâhana S'aka. More information, however, is wanted to enable us to understand satisfactorily how the name S'âlivâhana came to be connected with the era; but at present we do not possess it.

Thus, then, the great lesson we have to learn is that if we wish to know and understand the truth about a point, whether in science or practical life, we should seek analogies, find out if we can the history, and criticise, not foolishly and ignorantly as we often do, but according to well defined and rational principles.

And now gentlemen, and my Hindu friends in particular, a word as to my object in taking up this subject for to-night's discourse. It is

no use ignoring the fact that Europe is far ahead of us in all that constitutes civilization. And knowledge is one of the elements of civilization. Experimental sciences and the sciences that depend on the critical, comparative, and historical method have made very great progress in Europe, and what deserves our earnest attention is that they are every day making further and further progress. The Europeans have derived much greater advantage from our connection with them than we have from their connection with us. They have turned to account their acquaintance with the Sacred language of our country, and have added the sciences of comparative philology and comparative mythology to their existing store of knowledge. The old principle of the classification of races has been given up, and a new one based on the affinity of languages adopted. Civilized mankind has in the first place been divided into three races,— the Âryan, the Semitic, and the Turanian. The first has again been subdivided into the Hindus, the Hellenes, the Italians, the Slavs and Lithuanians, the Kelts, the Teutons including the Scandinavians and the Germans, &c. So strongly and universally has the fact that affinity of language points to a community of descent and consequently to a common nationality been grasped in Europe that "to it," as Sir Sumner Maine remarks, "we owe, at all events in part, the vast development of German nationality; and we certainly owe to it the pretensions of the Russian Empire to at least a presidency over all the Slavonic communities."—So that, it may be remarked by the way, the many wars that have been fought in Europe since 1855, and are likely to be fought during the next twenty years have or will have for one of their causes the discovery of Sanskrit. Though in itself this is by no means a very gratifying result, still I allude to it simply to show how deeply the Europeans have been influenced by the new ideas. Similarly, I think the liberality that is now observable in the religious thought of Europe is due to the study of Sanskrit and Pâli literature. All this will show the activity of the European intellect, and convince us that the principle of progress is very strong in their civilization. But what advantages have we derived from them? A great deal of what they have got from us has but very indirectly been given to them by us; while they have placed before us a whole civilization which undoubtedly is far superior to ours in a great many points. The impulse to be communicated to us by it ought to be a hundred-fold stronger than that which we have communicated to them. Just as they have used the critical and comparative faculty with energy and produced the results I have just noted, we should use it and direct

it not only to find what is true in science, but what is good and rational in social and religious institutions. But have we received the impulse, have we been using the faculty? Who can say we have, while our new literature is scanty and barren of any original idea, and we are still quarreling about female education, caste, and religion? Why should we not move on, side by side with Europeans, in the great fields of thought? Why should discoveries be made in France, Germany, and England, and not in India? If you say that in most of the branches there are facilities in Europe for making fresh additions to the existing stock of knowledge, while we have none in India, surely no costly laboratories are required to enable us to study the ancient literature of our country and its architectural remains and inscriptions, and to throw light on its political and literary history and its philology. This is a field in which we may successfully compete with Europeans, and in which we enjoy certain peculiar advantages. But these advantages can be turned to account only if we follow their critical, comparative, and historical method. My object, therefore, has been to call your attention to the nature and requisites of this method, in order that by its successful application to the branch of study I am speaking of, we may take our legitimate place among the investigators of the political, literary, and religious history of our country, and not allow the Germans, the French, and the English to monopolize the field. And here I feel myself in duty bound, even at the risk of displeasing some of you, to make a passing allusion to the most uncritical spirit that has come over us of praising ourselves and our ancestors indiscriminately, seeing nothing but good in our institutions and in our ancient literature, asserting that the ancient Hindus had made very great progress in all the sciences, physical, moral, and social, and the arts,—greater even by far than Europe has made hitherto—and denying even the most obvious deficiencies in our literature, such as the absence of satisfactory historical records, and our most obvious defects. As long as this spirit exists in us, we can never hope to be able to throw light on our ancient history, and on the excellencies and defects of our race, and never hope to rise. While, if we shake ourselves free of such a bias, and critically and impartially examine our old records and institutions, we shall do very great service to our country; we shall be able to check the conclusions of some European scholars who are swayed by an opposite bias; and at the same time that by a clear perception of our great national defects we prepare the ground for healthy progress in the future, we shall, I promise you, find a great deal in the past of which we may honestly be proud.

But an honest and discerning pride in the achievements of our ancestors entails a heavy responsibility and duty. We should render ourselves the worthy sons of the fathers whom we respect. A son that is no better than the father or is worse certainly dishonors him. Have we then not been dishonoring our ancestors, of whom we profess to be so proud, by going backwards and thus becoming worse than they, or at the best, standing where they left us? For, if you examine your history you will find that your philology is where Pâṇini and Kâtyâyana left it, and your philosophy and literature where Kapila, Kaṇâda, Gotama, Vâlmîki, Vyâsa and others left them; and your social institutions are actually far more irrational than theirs were in the very olden age. Let us therefore do honour to them by showing that we have their capacities and can use our rare opportunities. We have just seen how fifteen hundred years ago, the Hindus availed themselves of the astronomical knowledge of the Greeks; they 'worshipped' the Greek astronomers, in the words of Garga, 'as Ṛishis'; and finally, according to Prof. Weber who is by no means fond of praising us, advanced astronomical science further than they did. Let us act likewise, and sitting at the feet of the English, French, and German Ṛishis imbibe the knowledge that they have to give, and at least keep pace with them, if not go beyond them. Let us learn, let us reform. If we do not do so, fifteen centuries hence, the antiquarian of the period will, unlike Weber, say, "the English placed before the Indian Âryas the highest civilization which Europe had reached by the end of the nineteenth century; but in the hot plains of India the Indian Âryas had grown so degenerate, that it produced no influence whatever on them, and their degeneracy deepening, they eventually became hewers of wood and drawers of water, or were swept off the face of the earth by the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest."

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FOREWORD

A Zoroastrian renaissance is what is earnestly sought to-day. This object can be achieved if a concerted action is taken by all who have the good of the community at heart. The *Young Zoroastrian Circle*, formed of Zoroastrian ladies and gentlemen, who have joined the movement, has before them an aim of publishing booklets and pamphlets on Zoroastrian and Parsee subjects. This is the first series of the kind and is meant for free distribution. The minimum fee of Annual Membership of the Circle is Rs. 5/- only, while the annual subscription of the *Young Zoroastrian*, the Quarterly Journal of Zoroastrian Culture and Parsee Progress, published with the same object, is Re. one only.

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O TO LIVE ZOROASTRIANISM!

BY: M. B. PITHAWALLA M.R.A.S.

"Verily, true Zoroastrianism is not lived to-day."

To-day when the Parsees should be proud and rightly proud of their own religion, is it not surprising that there is a cry from many quarters that the community is going down and fast progressing on the wrong side? Why is it that four thousand years of Zoroastrianism have left them in the lurch to-day? Has Zarathushtra Spitama no place in the modern world? The answer is not far to seek. It is because the Parsees of to-day do not *live* Zoroastrianism, as their forefathers did, and much of what passes off as Zoroastrianism, is not Lord Zoroaster's own. To *live* every moment of their life upto the sayings and teachings of Zarathushtra is but too difficult for them in the modern age. Though the census reports give us hopes that the strength of the community is steady, the very smallness of it is depressing to many. Though the same is the case with every dynamic religion—and Zoroastrianism, to be sure, is a dynamic one,—the Parsees can no longer sit with folded hands and say: "He will take care of us indefinitely." Many have so far lived on the names and fame of their ancestors. They them-

selves have not added even an inch to the moral and spiritual height of the race. With all their riches, with all their education, and with all their influence and civilization, they have not added a jot of lustre to their Faith, but, on the other hand, have damaged it on many sides.

As the Prophet of Nazareth was killed by his own people, the Jews, even so there is a kind of 'spiritual crucifixion' of the Prophet of Balkh in the modern world, in that his own old priceless doctrines are 'murdered' so to say by his own followers. The doctrine of Humata, Hukhta and Hvarshata is but too good a precept for them to practise to-day. Bad thoughts are allowed to emanate from human brains, untrue words are truly uttered and foul deeds are nicely done. With the sacred Manthras in the mouth and the holy Book in the hands, people are not ashamed of making diverse plans to harass and persecute all who are noble and good and true. The world, in fact, is not meant to be a place for such saintly folk.

The Sun is worshipped in all its stages every day, but the Sun's healing ultra-violet rays are not well utilized in order to drive away the millions of demons of disease-germs. Meher Yazad is invoked side by side with Khorshed, but in practice, alas, light and life do not always keep company. The holy waters

are respectfully remembered during the day, but the same are defiled in the evening. How can Aredvi Sura Banoo ever answer the prayers of those who do not clear their own conscience? The Sacred Fire is kept eternally burning in holy Temples, fed as it is by crores of rupees worth of scented wood and incense, but the human hearts do not burn so sympathetically

While such is the state of affairs with the old orthodox section of the community, the more advanced Parsees condemn the whole of the Zend-Avesta or belittle its value as a prayer book, because a large part of it is descriptive or historial.

While every other human race made a beginning with its own era after the rise of a great prophet or saint or dynasty of kings, the Parsees have voluntarily named their epoch after the downfall of the Sassanides and have thereby immortalised the last Zoroastrian king on this earth, Yezdezard! Anna Zardushti should, rather, have been the most auspicious era for them to commemorate.

The Parsees do not possess any real picture of their own Prophet, but those, who have solemnly visualised it, have not failed to represent His own life-message by a straight rod and a pointed finger—for, these are but the truest guides of the race; but, alas! from these

very symbols they have turned away their eyes. Straightforwardness is now removed from their dictionary and its place has been taken by the word 'policy.' Tact and not Truth is the motto. "*Ghee khana sakkar se, aor duniya chalana makkar se.*" so goes the popular Indian proverb and the world simply abounds in semilies as a consequence. "*Aevo pathao yo ashahe*—there is but one Path, the path of Ashoi"—this is freely preached but not practised, and not only do people take all kinds of crooked ways themselves but also advise others to do the same. If Zarathushtra came to Bombay, he would challenge this policy.

Though always *pointing* towards the Best Abode and the true goal of life, Zarathushtra is expected to take the human souls bodily across the Chinvat Bridge and grant them redemption, without repentance, while in fact they are themselves to scale the giddy heights by their own efforts and with their own *karmas*.

Zarathushtra was the first and foremost Prophet in the world to preach that there is One God and that Truth (Ashoi) rules in His Kingdom. To-day people are at liberty to worship any god, Mammon including, and 'fashion' is the dominating principle which permeates their daily life. There is, so to say, "the murder of the divine in man."

All the high priests in Ancient Iran were designated Zarathushtrotemas, the best patterns after the Athravan Prophet Himself. To-day the Parsee priesthood is in a deplorable condition, and yet the laity take pleasure in reviling or jeering at them! Protectors of the Sacred Fire themselves, the Mobeds are the only privileged persons to enter the *sanctum sanctorum* and be clothed in the luminous rays of the glow within the Atash Behe-rams; but their inner selves are allowed to remain in dire darkness: not a word of the thousands of the holy *Fakaras* they recite, they comprehend and help others to understand.

This leads us to a more painful review of the spiritual knowledge of present-day Parsees, which is almost nil. A modern Parsee takes pride in commanding the English language and literature: he can converse freely in foreign tongues, but he cannot find time in all his sixty or seventy years of a busy money-making life to study the sacred Avestan language and lore and pray, too, in a language intelligible to himself and his progeny. Time to eat, time to drink, time to see pictures and to play life's many games, but no time, alas, to have a daily dip into the Avesta! A Parsee mother's pride in her son's splendid knowledge of English and Latin is not wounded by the thought that she has foolishly deprived him of

the best light of Zoroastrian life in a kind of religious culture she should have given him in his teens.

There is no national culture among the Parsees, national in the sense that it is not denationalizing. The old Iranian system of education is long forgotten—speaking the truth, drawing the bow and riding on horseback—these were the fundamentals of the Iranian system. But religious education is put last in the programme of Parsee education, and there are chances, given to the children of the race, of speaking the very opposites of truth and faith. Physical training is neglected and the race is physically least fitted to undergo life's stern realities, not to say anything about 'drawing the bow.' And lastly, 'riding a horse' is not interpreted, in the modern sense, as 'harnessing a river'; in other words, a kind of skilful, scientific and technical training is not liked by our youths, as this means soiling their hands to a certain extent. Even the education of our young girls is all too showy. The demon of snobbishness has crept into our system of Parsee education. In the few Parsee national schools, which exist at the present moment, there is a clash of ideals between the employees and their employers, the Parsee pupils and their *juddin* gurus, sectarian management and the Government policy. Even in the

proposed Parsee public school there is a great danger of their producing "a school for snobs," regularly opposed to the *essence of democracy*, for which the modern era stands.

With all their fondness for reading the Parsees possess to-day scanty literature of their own, though literature is regarded to be the eye of a nation. A Parsee will readily purchase a whole suite of costly drawing and dining room furniture, but to pay for a religious book of real worth he will greatly hesitate. His Pahlavi ancestors died for even scraps of old Avesta manuscripts, which had been so mercilessly mutilated by un-Aryan marauders. The ancient Persians wrote large on raw hides, on earthen vases, state coins and even nature's bare rocks everywhere and in their own language. But to-day with all the most up-to-date printing facilities, hardly a dozen Parsee publications on sound philosophy and religion adorn our public libraries in India. There is no depth of learning and the result is: shallow-mindedness, impulsiveness, ingratitude and looseness of character.

Classical music and poetry are not usually found; for, the Parsees are perhaps the least imaginative people in the world. The music of sacred Manthras is forgotten, the readings of the old heroic tales and the recitals of the various

Persian Namehs or epics are now rarely given beside the sacred family hearth after the day's routine. The story of Iran has lost its charms and even Sweet Iran no longer sounds sweet.

Charity is rampant according to the dictates of the seer. But poverty—extreme poverty—is still hid in remote corners of the race and and eats away its very vitals. Where benevolence is practised, indolence and arrogance immediately follow. Zoroaster was decidedly the Prophet of the poor, and for the poor, and so where mere riches abound, His foosteps in their homes are rarely found. A kind of indiscriminate charity, scattered on all sides and without a central controlling or guiding force, aways results in such a chaos.

The Parsees woefully lack in true leadership. Till lately excelling in the art of cricket, they have but few *leaders* to guide them! With not even a village or town to govern, they have lost all touch with the supreme principles of leadership, inculcated by the whole cabinet of Iranian angelology and cosmogony.

Talking of leadership reminds us of organization and administration. Great advocates of good administration, they themselves are failures as administrators of their own homes: their own family

affairs are in confusion and lack of discipline is manifest in their daily press. What poor administrators they, besides, of justice to truthful people, of law in society and of order in their Panchayats!

Modern woman—"the psychic centre of the future"—throws away her energy in vain things and vies with man—a strange conglomeration of Eastern and Western cultures.

In spite of so many sanatoria, so many hospitals and nursing homes, sickness has not gone out of congested Parsee homes. The very spirit of the Vendidad, of hygiene and sanitation, is lost in a flash of dazzling splendour of a city life.

Instead of the simple life of agriculture and temperance, there is the monster of complex industrialism and its consequent tail of luxury, fashion and fast life.

Wars of all kinds in the world are not yet over. Zarathushtra's own war against Druj (Evil) was to end all human wars, with all their germinating evils. In that remote spiritual past of Persia, there stood upon the heights of the Demavand, the Holy Prophet in order to commune with Ahura Mazda and then to proclaim to the world His first principles of Spenta Mainyu and Anghra Mainyu, of Good and Evil. This potential struggle between life's first two spirits is

inborn and will perhaps remain till the end of the world. Man has, however, forgotten his own mission of developing the angelic part of human nature and casting away the beastly. Such a war to end all wars is not yet over, and the world still bleeds with the onslaught of Evil from every side.

Every hour spent in the company of Ashoi (Truth) should take the Parsees a step nearer the House of Song Every moment kept in the company of Druj (Evil) might even disturb the Prophet in His rightful abode of Paradise. Rites and rituals only cannot let the souls of the departed live blissfully there. It is the conscience itself which is sold and that, too, at a heavy price. Many, many have forgotten the echoing words of the Prophet: "Never shall I forsake the true Mazdayasnian religion, not even if my bones, my brain and my soul should fall asunder."

And:

"Hold ready, O Mazdayasnian Zoroastrian, your *feet*, your *hands* and your *brains*, and perform *good* deeds according to the Law and at the *right* time. Do ye shun bad deeds, not according to the Law and at the wrong time!"

* * * *

Verily, true Zoroastrianism is not *lived* to-day. Its spirit is virtually

'crucified' by the world. It should be the true and sincere prayer of *every one* of Lord Zoroaster's followers that his promised Saoshyant may soon come to restore the fallen world! Let there be a repetition and reiteration of the Message of Zarathushtra to-day made by the immortal Seer Himself, and not by any sort of pseudo-prophet of the present day, so that the feelings of the orthodox may not be injured. Let there be a squaring up of all accounts with the Almighty. Let His Message as well as the Messenger be taken seriously. Let the Avesta within the Avesta be properly discovered and let *true* Zoroastrianism be *literally lived by every one*, who professes it, in the name of the Wise Lord, Ahura Mazda.

* * * *

I long to steal Thy sight thro' holy flames.

I leave the low and rise to lofty claims!

IRANIAN CHARACTER

BY: M. B. PITHAWALLA, M.R.A.S.

> *"Today in the tremendous renaissance movements, ancient Persian spirit must have an important place."*

The word 'Iranian' connotes every thing that was Aryan or noble in the human race, having its cradle in Central Asia. Brought up amidst the best of Aryan traditions then existing, and nourished on the wholesome spiritual food, offered by the Prophet, Zarathushtra Spitama, the Iranian race possessed a unique character, which the modern world cannot afford to ignore. Today in the tremendous renaissance movements and self-determining forces of the nations of the world, the ancient Persian spirit must have an important place. Persia was, and must still be, a link between the old Oriental civilization and the new Occidental culture.

One of the most striking points with regard to the ancient Iranian civilization is its wonderful continuity throughout many long centuries. Even if the date of Zarathushtra is placed somewhere about 1500 B. C., the Zoroastrian culture can be well said to be 35 centuries old. For generations the people of old Iran possessed a marvellous character and played a most glorious part in the

history of the world. With one religion, one caste, one social status and one empire, Iran shone like the northern lights for the then known world for long Its character is worthy of our study today.

The nobility of Persian Aryans was greatly promoted by the fruitful and original theological teachings of the prophet regarding God and nature, unity of the human race, unity of the moral law, and teachings like the immortality of the soul and final judgment based on the deeds performed and benevolence practised during the earthly life,—these stand out in bold relief in the Zoroastrian system. Such a creed cannot but have a most lasting effect on the character of the people of Iran. They were an intensely practical people. Iran sprang like a rose from the graves of Nineveh and Babylon and in the Egyptian and Indo-Aryan atmosphere, a rose tinted with the bright hues of a pure monotheistic religion and a clean and useful life. It flung its fragrance far and wide during the centuries of Persian power and influence in the civilised world, only for the amelioration of the human race. It grew to an exceptionally long age and even to-day history unfolds in its petals brilliant colours of noble kingship, useful citizenship, true heroism and whole-hearted philanthropy.

Iran played the part of a mother nation well and honourably. Influential to the extreme, the Iranian lords were always eager to preserve the precious heritage of the Zarathushtrian law of Ashoi, or righteousness, and pass it on to succeeding generations. Several powerful dynasties of sovereigns ruled over Iran and they naturally came into conflict with the Greek, Roman and Arab neighbours in turn.

In the Peshdadyan days, the Iranian nation learned for the first time the lesson of settled life as apart from the nomadic life ; good actions (e. g. agriculture) were practised, honest labour was praised and family life was extolled. The Peshdadyans were the earliest discoverers of Nature's laws and even with unseen powers they experimented and combated when necessary.

During the Kyanian period the early Aryan ways were improved with the refined life, recommended by the Zoroastrian church. Society was reorganised and many noble and peaceful pursuits were followed. The prophet Zoroaster had a deep insight into human nature and human life, and his reforms were, therefore, primarily social and economic, but not without a strong spiritual tendency. The Zoroastrian religion, among other things, taught the people to disarm themselves. Zoroaster's own war was

the war to stop all wars, against all evil. The joint-family system, the principle of division of labour in the national life of the country, the master-stroke of the Prophet in giving freedom to the fair sex, the foundation of education on religion and morality, the patronage of kings extended to the priestly class and their keen sense of justice,—these marked them out as quite a distinct race Again, they made a name for their high ideals of social policy, married life and kingship. They were so keen on truth-speaking that a word given as a contract was considered valid and sacred. Of military discipline and scouting also they were pioneers. Animals were domesticated and sanitary laws enforced in the land.

Even the non-Iranians had nothing but praise for the organising powers of the great Achoemenian dynasty of Persian sovereigns. Kind even to their enemies and tolerant to them in many ways, they were a very adaptable people, absorbing all that was good in the aliens and abstaining from every thing which had its origin in evil. The Achoemenian system of education included three prominent faculties, and inculcated a good conscience, a good and useful career and a strong bodily constitution. Had it not been for the luxury and fast life in which the later Achoemenian kings indulged, the world empire of twenty

-three large satrapies, which Darius the Great built stage by stage, would not have been broken up by the foreign invaders. The Achoemenians were great builders; even to-day there are to be found splendid architectural ruins of theirs lying in the wastes of modern Persia. Truth—the proverbial virtue of the Iranians—was recorded by them even on the rocks of Behistun Loyalty to the ruling race was engrained in them. Above all, the will of Ahura Mazda was considered by the people as the supreme law of the land.

During the Parthian period, or the fourth phase of Persian history, little is known about the Iranian nation, so badly the empire was pulled down and so much was the foreign influence on the people. The immense riches of foreign lands, poured into Iran in the preceding era, seem to have brought on the disaster. Slavery was rampant in the land and the Ionian light could not touch the minds and hearts of the people for any length of time. In fact, it was the Dark Age of Iran, much damaged by undeserving priesthood and depraved society.

But under the skilful Sassanians, Iran rose once again to be a world power. To the world the House of Sassan once more supplied the kindly light of truth, goodwill and peace. Their efforts in the revival of letters

were great. The *Dinkard*, composed by the devoted Pahlavi scholars, is a book worthy of a prominent place in the library of every modern scholar. The Sassanians were great judges and law-givers. Moral and spiritual wrongs received their first attention. Nosherwan Adel is another name for Iranian justice and equity. The Arch of Ctesiphon is a noble monument of his power and prestige. Again, the Sassanians were good gardeners and lovers of music, painting and other fine arts. Ibn Khaldin repeats the well-known saying: "Were knowledge in the Pleides (Seven Stars), some of the Persians would reach it." This is quite characteristic of the Sassanians. Like the Kyanians, the Sassanians, too, considered oaths to be sacred. They were so tolerant in their ways that they treated their enemies also well. Royal prisoners were invariably brought in silver chains and were accorded due reception. Even for the sick and the wounded medical relief work was introduced. Life was not at all a dull routine for them. They were also great sportsmen, polo being one of the games they themselves invented, and even the game of life they played well and with credit.

One of the finest privileges of the later Iranian age was the people's love for spiritualism, which has been developed into Sufism. When Arabia con-

quered Persia, it was the Arab that was Persianised and not Persia that was Arabianised. Hence the glory that was Iran has endured. It has gone on even after the downfall of the Iranian empire in the seventh century A. D. Firdousi is the best example of this happy consummation. In him all that was the very best in both the races,—heroism, faith and fervour,—have been reflected most beautifully. Modern Persian culture is nothing, if it is not tinged with the old Iranian character.

With the coming of the present Pahlavi House in power in Persia to-day, once more the Sun of Iran has risen. We look to the present Shah Reza Shah as an embodiment of Iranian genius, Iranian power and Iranian character.

The Parsees of India, the legitimate heirs of the Iranians and inheritors of the light of Iran and Iranian character, continued the noble traditions of their forefathers for over a millenium, earning their income with the sweat of their brow, obeying the moral and physical laws and always giving away a good portion of their worldly wealth for the relief of the sick, the unhappy and the destitute. But today the scale appears to turn the other way. The Parsees themselves are getting poorer day by day. They do not seem to stand the strain of racial competition, physical

exertion and moral bankruptcy. One can but wholeheartedly wish that the Parsees possessed the Iranian glory even in a foreign land. Nothing but degeneration and demoralisation appears to have set in among them, so sickening is the news received from Parsee headquarters today. Would that a Soshyos is soon born among them again to resuscitate the past and to lead the folk again to the only path of Ashoi, for which Iran bled itself to death! Will the Parsees of India not endeavour hard to continue their noble traditions in the twentieth-century?

* * * *

Glory to Thee, the Purest of the Pure,
Thro' ageless times, Thy love and light endure!

ZOROASTER OUR POLAR STAR

BY: M. B. PITHAWALLA M R A.S.

".....all owe gratitude to Lord Zoroaster. He must live with man as long as Truth lives in the Universe."

What greater theme can we take up at the present moment when we are all placed so far apart, living our own free life, differing in our ways, our habits, and even our thoughts and actions of everyday life than the theme of our Lord Zoroaster—the common ground whereon we can all meet, sinking all our differences, secular as well as religious, and rallying round His banner, the banner of Ashoi, Righteousness and Truth? Zoroaster is the Polar Star of the Parsees in the twentieth century. He is the first as well as the last in our thoughts even in an age far remote from His own one of Piety and Good Faith, in an age which can scarcely be compared to the golden age of the Avesta. Zoroaster is the living link between the *geti* (this world) and the *minoi* (the next) for all mankind to join together. He is so much of an outstanding figure in our days as to impress upon the teeming millions of the world the goal of perfection. His Ladder of Perfection, lifted up above the mundane world and supported by the archangelic hosts, is a

ladder up which any honest soul can rise and seek salvation besides. Zoroaster, again, is the friend not only of the rich, but also of the poor, not only of mankind but also of the lower animal world, His own name signifying the *ushtra* (camel) of a dry land like Iran. "With his birth and with his growth", says the sacred Avesta, "waters and vegetations became glad and prosperous." His faith also is the faith not only of man but also of insentient beings, of waters, trees and animals of good creation, of Ahura Mazda Himself He is not only the idealist of His age but also a practical teacher, a thinker of good thoughts, a speaker of good words and a doer of good deeds. Zoroaster lives, although the Zoroastrian empire is gone. Had there been no Zoroaster, there would have been no Kae Gushtasp, no Darius the Great, no Nosherwan the just, no Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy and no Dadabhai Naoroji. Through all the Zoroastrian heroes of Persia and of India the spirit of the Sage has lived. His light is the light of all lights and His wisdom has shone through all the scriptures of the modern world. Zoroaster, again, lives much like the sacred rays from Heaven. His good thoughts run through every human virtue. His commonsense as well as his simple philosophy has hardly been matched in subsequent ages. The poor

peasant, who finds solace in the moral wealth (*Saoch*) which he acquires from the field of Hvarshta, the rich nobleman who sets apart a portion of his earthly kingdom for benevolent purposes, the meek nurse that speaks healing words to suffering patients, the child that in its innocence smiles at its own seducer, the aged knight who in his heart of hearts believes that evil can be crushed in this world by man, and even the souls of the dead who await, beyond the Bridge of Judgment, their own *kerdar* (conscience) —all owe gratitude to Lord Zoroaster. He must live with man as long as Truth lives in the universe.

His Gathas are his very life-blood. They are a sacred harp on which are sounded the prevailing notes of Parsee ideals. They have modelled the character not only of his disciples but also of the whole Persian nation with its heroes and saints. Study the Book and you study the spiritual life of Iran. With their ringing notes of peace, progress and perfection, they glow for all times as the bright flames of the Holy Fire. They are self-luminous. Put them on the furnace of nationalism, and you find the cream of Zoroastrianism floating on the surface.

His Path is the only path of righteousness, straightforwardness or frankness of mind or heart. He points his right

finger eternally towards that Best Life ("*vahishtaeibyo raochebyo*"). There is but One Path, the Path of Righteousness.—these are the tremendous notes ringing in the Zend-Avesta. There is no room for policy or tact or hypocrisy in His religious system which he preached to mankind for their entire good. For this the great Persian Prophet suffered, and even His own clear and near relatives forsook Him in his hour of need.

So, then, Zoroaster is the king of kings, not only of mankind, but also of the host of angels and archangels with whose eulogy the whole of Heaven resounds; and even on the earth His simple doctrines win over those that are fallen and downtrodden with the basic principle of repentance (*Paitita*). His war is the war of Righteousness and He is peace on the earth personified. In fact, His life is the all-absorbing theme, on which we can never write too much or say too much.

To such an exalted soul as Zoroaster's, the Parsees must dedicate their all. On the hospitable shores of India they wait for the good rewards of the hardships and privations undergone by their forefathers only to save their sacred treasure, the Fire. May His holy soul and *farohar* be with them as their Guide and as their Polar Star!

What though the golden age is gone
And life is still without its dawn,
In which our Lord restored the world
From sins and storms 'gainst Ashoi hurled?

What though the Kyanian banner flies
No more, and Iran fallen lies?
Still as of yore the Gathas glow
In foreign lands, behold and lo!

The Lord of Light and Seer of old,
He shines more brilliant far than gold;
In other age and other clime
He brings us back the Lord's regime!

O Prophet rare, our Polar Star,
Restore thy world, though Thou art far!

OPINION

"Though we cannot join with Mr. Pithawalla in his wholesale indictment of the present-day tendencies in Parsee culture, we fully appreciate the ringing note of sincerity, which permeates the entire pamphlet. An attempt towards the revival of the spiritual life of ancient Iran is absolutely necessary at the present time and Mr. Pithawalla's analysis of modern Parsee character, though it may prove a bit unpalatable, has a most a Gandhian touch about it in point of fearlessness of statement and sincerity of tone. *We hope Mr. Pithawalla's brethren will fully appreciate the force of the pamphlet and try to inculcate all that is best in the Zoroastrian philosophy and culture on the mind of the young generation of the Parsees.*"

—*REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY & RELIGION, POONA.*

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Remedies Against Untouchability.

While the approval of the emotion to remove untouchability lasts it is fit to devise proper remedies for its removal.

The effective remedy lies not in heroic measures or sensational exhibitions of an evanescent character. The propaganda carried on at present is mostly of the latter nature. Granted that the propagandists are actuated by a sincere desire to uplift the untouchables, the ways they are pursuing are not of an effective and convincing character. It is really a question between the high caste Hindus and the so called untouchables. It is not the highly educated Hindus or the Hindus indifferent to the nature of the theory of untouchability that have to be convinced but it is the vast mass of caste Hindus who have to be convinced. Most of the followers of Mr. Gandhi fall under this category. Though they may admire him to the highest pitch in politics, they are not prepared to accept his theory of untouchability and to adopt implicitly the remedies which he proposes for its removal. Most of them pay lip service to his propaganda but do not follow it in the spirit and letter. The reason is not far to seek. They are under the sway of long continued tradition and practice and it is not human to expect them to suddenly and completely renounce the beliefs and practices of centuries.

Those who speak about the non-existense of Untouchability in the sacred books do great injury to their cause; for by so urging they render their cause extremely weak as by urging a false view they confirm the orthodox belief the more. There are passages after passages in the Smritis as to untouchability and it won't do to ignore them as many of the propagandists do.

The ground must be cleared by premising that it is no new thing that has surreptitiously made an entry into the Hindu religion. It exists there in all its nakedness and has, therefore, to be delicately handled; and a persuasive propaganda carried on to impress on the minds of the orthodox people the necessity of progressing with the times and changing one's views according to the requirements of civilisation. Liberals are reformers in a progressively improving method and are neither atheists nor despisers of their religion. Hindus have to grapple with a hoary brilliant past of which they cannot pretend to be ashamed and the glory of reformers consists in carrying the majority with them by persuasion and without breaking completely with the past or with the orthodox majority who form the bulk of the Hindus. Leaving aside the die-hards on both sides—the orthodox and the heterodox radical reformers—who do not count, it is the vast mass of Hindus who have to be convinced and, if convinced, will surely be ready to progress with the times.

It is the duty of reformers of a progressive, healthy and sane type to take the masses with them by steady and persistent persuasion. It is no doubt a difficult and onerous task but it is such task that real reformers have to undertake and achieve if they want to deserve the name. Mere challenging speeches and defiant attitudes are of no use in this matter. Religion and a glorious past cannot be ignored and completely abandoned if real reform is wanted and if appreciation and acceptance of reformers' views by all varieties of orthodox people are aimed at.

It should constantly be remembered that the Shrutis, Smritis and Puranas which govern the conduct of Hindus contain matters both of real religion and conduct in society and the real glory of the reformer consists in separating the two and convincing people that without touching real religion the behests as to conduct and hygiene can and should modified according to the

requirements of social progress. It is the charm of the Hindu Shastras that in matters of social intercourse the behests of the Shastras are elastic and ample provision is made in them for modifying and even renouncing some of the latter kind of behests consonently with the change of public opinion in social concerns. अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्यमप्याचरेन्नतु. also Manu (and Kulluka) 4. 176 :-परित्यजेदर्थकामौयौस्यातां धर्म वर्जितौ। धर्मंचाप्यसुखोदर्कं लोकविरुष्टमेवच ॥. Practices which people dislike should not be continued and may be changed or renounced. With this lever in one's hand any change in practices of a damaging nature can be brought about when progress has to be achieved and let it be once for all known that the Hindu Shastras presuppose continuous progress in social matters.

The portions of the Shastras relating to untouchability are those relating to आचार, आपद्धर्म, अभोज्यान्न, भक्ष्याभक्ष्य प्रकरण, अशौच and प्रायश्चित्त and कलिवर्ज्य प्रकरण, and श्राद्धयोग्य ब्राह्मणs. Study of these portions is necessary to understand the nature of untouchability and to preach acceptable methods for its removal. Without the command of a knowledge of these portions of the Shastras it is hopeless to carry the public with us—the serious reformers. It must be admitted that the matter of untouchability though not dealt with in the shastras in a scientific or logical method all the same it has to be reduced to a logical system with the aid of adequate hypothesis before seeking relief from its literal application.

The Shastras deal with untouchability in the following forms :—As to the academic question of there being no mention of untouchability in the Shastras the literature is abundant and I quote the following :—

(*a*) Untouchability affecting purity of the race,

(*b*) untouchability due to uncleanliness and

(*c*) untouchability due to breach of rules pertaining to behaviour in matters of a social nature.

To understand the force of this threefold untouchability an insight into the composition of the Hindu Society is essential. Starting from the division of the Hindu Society into the four Castes of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras the Shastras deal with the mixture of Castes (वर्णसंकर) and describe the progeny proceeding from (1) mixed marriages and (2) from promiscuous sexual intercourse of the respective Castes. The legitimate issue of marriages within the castes are the purest, next in order is the class of अनुलोमजs, being the issue of the marriage of males of the three higher castes (ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय and वैश्य) with women of castes lower than themselves, for instance the progeny of a Brahmin from a wife of the क्षत्रिय and वैश्य and शूद्र castes respectively, the progeny of a Kshatriya from a wife of the Vaishya and Shudra castes respectively; and the progeny of a वैश्य from a wife of the Shudra caste. The शूद्र could marry only a woman of the Shudra caste and his progeny from this marriage was the only legitimate progeny. Later on the marriage of a Brahmin with a Shudra woman was disapproved by Yadnyavalkya and practically discarded from the category of legitimacy.

Tho प्रतिलोमजs

The issue of a woman of the higher class from a male of the lower one i. e. the issue of a Brahmin woman from a male Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra respectively; or the issue of a Kshatriya woman from a male of the Vaishya and Shudra castes or the issue of a Vaishya woman from a Shudra male. This relation of the sexes cannot be considered as legitimate whether the parties were behaving as man and wife or merely as keeper and mistress. The progeny of a Shudra from a Brahmin woman was considered to be the most impure and designated as चांडाल an out and out outcaste.

It is evident that the Smriti writers being Brahmins were intensely keen on keeping their progeny scrupulously pure; therefore ruled the issue of a Brahmim woman and a Shudra male to be the most impure and entirely untouchable. The Chandala was completely excluded from society and made to live in burning grounds and to earn his livelihood by pickings from the burning ground and so degraded that alms or food could not be given to him directly but kept on the ground (in a clean place) from where he had to gather it. But even the Chandala was allowed to enter the town during day by having a mark sanctioned by the king made on him and to carry on certain dealings with the public. He was, however, not allowed to enter the town at night. Hence his designation of दिवाकीर्ति

The Chandala is the only perpetual untouchable in all ways and the pith of the matter is that this impurity attaches to birth and can never be rendered free from it.

Similar ignominy attaches to the allied progeny of the other castes.

There is no other class which is untouchable on account of birth.

The defect attaching to other illegitimate progeny, concerns family connections and religious purity. Socially no untouchability attaches to them so far as non-religious dealings are concerned. For instance the illegitimate progeny of a Brahmin from a Brahmin Woman (कुंडस & गोलकस) are allowed almost all the rights of a Brahmin—the son born of adultery of a woman with husband alive is कुंड and of a widow a गोलक.

As for illegitimate offspring of the different castes by temporary or permanent unions of men and women of the same caste there is frankly no untouchability. They were allowed to live in the community and to carry on different avocations minutely described as pertaining to the several

illegitimate offspring. The Brahmin was bound to study the nature of the respective sub-castes and to assign their occupation to them. Even the issue of married couple of the same caste was considered as illegitimate if the married couple belonged to the same gotra or was within the prohibited degrees of marriage or if the wife was remarried.

Some of the lower order of bastards are called बाह्यs and they are six :—चांडाल, क्षत्र, आयोगव, वैदेह, मागध and सूत (Manu. 10.31 and Kulluka.)

The *Bahyas* are also called हीनाs. Only these six are called बाह्यs out of the vast number of Pratilomajas. बाह्यs mean those who are outside the fold of चातुर्वण्याs (Kulluka on Manu 10.51.)

Some of the Pratilomajas are called Antyajas (अंत्यजs) and they are :—

रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एवच । कैवर्तमेदभिल्लाश्च सप्तैते चांत्यजाः स्मृताः (आपस्तंब quoted in Mitakshara p. 397).

That all the प्रतिलोमजs were within the fold of the Hindu religion is explicitly declared by *Vidnyaneshavara* in the *Mitakshara* (vide p. 386) in connection with Vratas relating to Prayaschitta where गौतम's view that प्रतिलोमs are without religion (धर्महीन) is explained as relating to special ceremonies like (उपनयन). There are also the injunctions of the Shastras as to behaviour, external and moral, and succession &c. which apply to all castes without distinction i. e. including चंडालाs and Antyajas &c.

Even these बाह्यs and अन्त्यजाs are not untouchables on account of their birth. The untouchability of some of them relates to their unclean occupations :—

(a) Untouchability arising from birth has been already dealt with. This is the untouchability for preservation of race purity.

(b) Untouchability due to uncleanliness :—

Foremost among this class come all the mixed classes who practise unclean vocations and the foremost among them are the Antyajas above described. For instance the रजक, dyer, who handles colours into whose composition objectionable ingredients enter. Their bodies too are coloured by the dyes they handle. रजक also includes washerman in popular parlance but the exact name for a washerman is चैलधावक in the Smritis. As for a washerman he is unclean owing to his perpetual handling unclean clothes.

In the same way scavengers (मलापकर्षकाs) are clearly unclean. The same is the case with चर्मकारs (chambhars) who tan leather and the tanning ingredients emit a dirty smell while the whole process is unsightly. On account of their noxious trades these classes have to live in cemeteries and under *chaitya* trees, in hills and forests, practising their trades. The same remark applies to players upon instruments made of leather, like drums &c. and to fishermen (निषादs), and woodcutters called आयोगवs (who have to live in forests for procuring wood and fuel in which they deal), and catchers of wild animals (the *medhas*, and the चुंचुs and मद्गs &c.).

चैत्यद्रुमश्मशानेषु शैलेषूपवनेषु च । वसेयुरेते विज्ञाना वर्तयंतः स्वकर्मभिः (Manu 10-50).

(c) As to untouchability due to failure to behave according to rules pertaining to religious practices a great part of it is too detailed to be of practical application, but the salient parts thereof must be considered in order to arrive at a due perspective to suggest remedies for removal of untouchability.

So far we have been dealing with external impurities due to occupations. The most powerful

impurities are those relating to spiritual and moral matters. It is those which cause the fall of man and lead to punishments and penances. There is generally no fall in the case of births for by birth a person is born in a status which attaches to him lifelong. On the other hand in the case of offences there is a fall from which after undergoing punishment and paying the penances prescribed a person regains his status so far as social intercourse is concerned. The question of the consequences of offences in the next world need not detain us here.

These are five great offences or sins and they are called पातक्s because they cause a fall in the estimation of the world and render the offenders untouchable. The range of these offences is very extensive for in addition to महापातक्s there are other *patakas* (sins) on a par with the महापातक्s. There are also semi-offences which entail punishment (fine) but not a fall entailing untouchability.

It is enough to deal with the foremost of the महापातक्ास to serve the purpose of the topic under discussion.

ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं स्तेयं गुर्वंगनागमः । महान्ति पावकान्याहुः संसर्गश्चापि तैःसह (Manu 11.55) ब्रह्महामद्यपः स्तेनस्तथैव गुरुतल्पगः । एते महापातकिनो यश्च तैः सह संवसेत् (प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय 227). Murder of a Brahmin, drinking forbidden liquor, having sexual intercourse with prohibited females, theft and residence with those offenders are great sins. (Theft here referred to is defined in the मिताक्षरा as theft of the gold of a Brahmin. गुरुतल्पग is the violator of the bed (wife) of his spiritual preceptor. (vide Mit. p. 349).

The offences which resemble or are on a par with ब्रह्महत्या are :—

Excessive censure of a *guru*, the disparaging of the Vedas under the influence of atheism, murder of a friend

of whatever caste and the forgetting, of Vedic studies i. e. neglecting to revise them after having studied them, being taken up with the pleasure of nonshastric literature (Y. pr. 228, Mit. 351).

Offences on a par with drink of forbidden liquor are :—

Eating of forbidden things, hypocrisy, speaking a lie for one's advancement (e. g. asserting falsely that one is versed in the four Vedas) and the drinking i. e. the kissing of the nectar of the mouth (lips) of a woman while in her monthly courses (Y. pr. 299).

Offences on a par with सुवर्ण स्तेय (theft of a Brahmin's gold) are :—

Theft of a horse, Jewels, servant, woman, of a cow and theft (denial) of a deposit (Y. pr. 230).

Offences on a par with the enjoying of a preceptor's wife are :—

Enjoying a friend's wife, virgins (of a higher caste), a sister, a Chandala woman, a woman of one's own gotra, and a daughter–in–law (son's wife), father's and mother's sisters, maternal uncle's wives, step-mother, the daughter and wife of an Acharya and one's own daughter. (Y. pr. 230–233).

These instances have been touched upon to prepare the way to appreciate untouchability. True untouchability is centered in the following :—Chandalas, Patitas (the Sinners above named), a woman in monthly course, a lying in woman during ten days, a corpse and those who are impure on account of a death in their family. One should bathe on touching them.

उदक्या शुचिभिः स्नायात्संस्पृष्टस्तैरुपस्पृशेत् । अङ्गिंगानिजपेच्चैव गायत्र्या मनसासकृत (या. प्रा. आ ३०: Mitakshara 297)

On touching those who have touched the above one should perform Achamana (take sips of water. ibid).

Chavana also adds that one who lives upon the wealth devoted to gods, & one who performs worship for others in the town (by taking remuneration for doing so,) are untouchables. Such a worshipper is called ग्रामयाजक or देवलक (a देवलक is one who worships gods for three years for others for the sake of money. vide Mitakshara pp. 297–298). The same opinions are expressed in मदन-पारिजात, पराशर-स्मृति धर्मसिंधु, विष्णुपुराण and Manu & others.

The fact that ग्रामयाजकs and देवलकs are members of society and live in its midst is strong evidence to show that simply because some classes live outside the town practising their several occupations it does not imply that they are untouchables. It is only the outcastes and their male progeny (the daughter of a Chandala is marriageable by a member of the higher classes under certain conditions. vide) the अन्त्यजs who are untouchables — अन्त्यजs are differently described in several Smritis but they are generally of the same category.

One important provision in the Shastras has to be clearly borne in mind viz. that in marriage ceremonies, in festivities, in sacrifices, in wars, in floods, in retreating and in forests there is no impurity from touch (untouchability) (पराशर अ. ६ ९७).

Untouchability is ignored in the following cases :—

The king, that is government servant is excused from आशौच; so is a physician because his work is so urgent and important that society cannot afford to permit him to observe आशौच untouchability (segregation during the prescribed periods of birth and death impurities).

Even the untouchability of the Chandala can be shrewdly guessed as emphasised to deter adultery of a Brahmin woman rather than as being due to any inherent repulsiveness in the Chandala for as shown above the daughter of a Patita is acceptable as a wife by the pure classes.

Moreover even lower orders than *Chandala* are permitted by the Shastras (Manu and others) to be fit to be associated with and required to do work which cannot be done without direct association with the pure classes. Just as a *Shudra* procreates on a *Brahmani* a Bāhya person (i. e. Chandala) so also a Chandala procreates still lower Bāhya's by sexual intercourse with the Women of the *chaturvarna's* (the pure four Varnas or castes, vide Manu 10–30, यथैवशूद्रो ब्राह्मण्यां बाह्यं जंतुं प्रसूयते तथा बाह्यतरं बाह्यः चातुर्वण्ये प्रसूयते ॥), such as the सैरिंध्र, मैत्रेयक, भार्गव, and others. Thus सैरिंध्र is the expert in decorating hair, the मैत्रेयक rings the morning bell and praisse kingsand others. Several of these classes therefore live in the midst of the Chaturvarnas and do their duties like those just named.

If base origin or bastardy creates untouchability then why are कुंडs and गोलकs not made untouchable and why are the adulterous progeny of the other castes not made untouchables? The explanation is the extreme solicitude of the Brahmins to prevent Brahmin women committing adultery with Shudras, not that there is any inherent untouchability in a Chandala as such. Untouchability based on adultery is therefore a devise to deter adultery of Brahmin women by making intercourse with a Shudra result in making the issue thus born subject to the most disgraceful and unbearable privations. It is therefore the fittest object to be done away with by preparing the public to hold it to be hateful and make it an anachronism by taking full advantage of the source of rescue from old rules viz. अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्ममण्याचरेन्नतु. When it is in the hands of the public itself to rescue even a चांडाल from the curse of untouchability much more is it easy to rescue the rest of the अंत्यजs from the said curse.

There is one other point which lends great support to the propaganda against untouchability and that is the prayer

of a *Rishi* to free him from the taint of bastardy brought about by the adulterous activities of his mother.

And according to the कलिवर्ज्य प्रकरण it is the offender alone who is liable for his conduct (कलौ कर्तारचालिप्यते) and it follows that Chāndālas and the rest should not be castigated for the fault of a remote ancestor.

Coming now to the untouchability due to failure to observe rules as to religious observances it is provided that, as to the recognition of untouchability in the Shastras the foregoing discussion as to Chandals and Antyajas amply testifies it.

The following are the provisions of the Shastras as to untouchability :—

The Parashara Smriti declares that on touching or being touched by a *Chandala,* a *Shudra,* a *Meda,* a *Bhilla,* a Brahmin-killer, a Rajaka and an Antyaja, a Sharaba, a *Pulinda,* a *Nata* (all of whom are on a par with a रजक), and the Patita, one should bathe or do certain other penances like fasting (vide पराशरस्मृति, page 48, verses 45, 54), page 50 (verses 7, 12 and 14); (vide also धर्मसिंधुसार pp. 195, and 116 which adds impurity of birth and death and monthly course); (vide also मदनपारिजात pp. 851, 849, 959, 253, 255 where the impure touch of the देवलक is referred to, and 255.)

To be able to find out the ways for removal of untouchability the points to be firmly grasped are :—

For untouchability to prevail there ought to be purity prevailing in a fixed class of beings and they are apparently those who by profession are set apart for purifying purposes.

A deep insight into the bewildering mass of Smritis dealing on the point is sure to lead us on the right track. In describing the modes of life of the *Chaturvarans* the Smritis divide the *Grihasthas* into two categories. They

proceed as though they were dealing with all the three upper classes but as a matter of fact after first speaking of the duties of the *Dwijas* together they differentiate the upper 3 classes and after slightly mentioning them together they concentrate attention on the duties of *snatakas*-the Brahmins following the pure life of a preacher and teacher.

The general specification of the modes of life of the 3 Superior Classes being succinctly dealt with in the 1st instance, viz. the six fold duties : study, teaching, sacrificing, officiating at Sacrifice, making gifts and receiving them, the smritis proceed to deal exclusively with the duties of the special order of pure Vaidic Brahmins i. e., the स्नातक्स of whom the highest are विद्याव्रत *Snātakās* i. e., those who have studied the Vedas and performed the duties of a ब्रह्मचारिन् in their fulness.

They then emphasise that study and sacrificing and making gifts are the sources of the meritorious discharge of धर्म and the other three the sources of livelihood. The utmost merit is attached to the most abstemious existence, viz. the existence of one who has the least worldly property i. e. of one who is free from all taint of material acquisition beyond what is required for bare support of life. The importance of self reliance and avoidance of help from others as far as possible is strongly advocated. Thus though one is permitted to receive gifts for bare support of life, it is shown to be a source of sin to be avoided as far as possible and total avoidance is extolled as very meritorious indeed. After this, the persons from whom help should be sought are dwelt upon as well as the persons whose food may be eaten and whose may be avoided, if possible, and whose food should be totally avoided. Almost the whole body of Brahmins has been following आपद्धर्म्स and as such they no longer belong to the purely religious class for whose sake the provisions as to impurity of touch have been made. And though receiving gifts and eating food in the house of others are admitted to be the chief sources

of a pure Brahmin's livelihood, the desire to eat the food offered by others is described as a defect (परपाकरुचिर्नस्यात्). Thus the ideal for a pure Brahmin is poverty, independence and complete concentration of energy on study of pure religious works constantly and the observance of practices which secure bodily and mental purity. *It is for the preservation of the mental and bodily purity of such Brahmins that directions as to untouchability are given in the Shastras.*

If there is the slightest cessation from the Sandhya devotions, from the constant study of pure religious lore, and from the daily performance of the prescribed religious duties like पंचमहायज्ञs there is a fall for the pure Brahmin a resurrection from which is a most difficult, laborious and irksome task. The pure Brahmin is to undertake all possible avoidance of temptation to acquire and save material wealth and of succumbing to the craving of the tongue for food offered by others and of all inclination to idleness, luxury, and enjoyment of non-meritorious literature except that which conduces to preservation of health and knowledge of Sciences.

It is thus clear that only such pure Brahmins can rightfully claim the principle of untouchability. It is also evident that mere birth from Brahmin parents does not in itself entitle one to claim the right of untouchability or to assert the same point in a different way the mere fact of one being a member of the द्विज classes does not confer on him the privilege of not being touched by the untouchables. This view excludes almost all the द्विजs who have not reached the pure state of a high class religious Brahmin.

If this point is thoroughly grasped the progress of the reform of untouchability will be greatly facilitated.

The wholesale spread of untouchability is apparently due to all Brahmins presuming that they were pure, as

defined above, by the mere accident of their birth whereas they had no right to so presume until they had acquired the status of विद्याव्रत *Snatakas* and were strictly following the injunctions of the shastras as to the preservation of the purity of *Snatakas*; viewed in this light how many Brahmins deserve the claim to practise untouchability? Not even an infinitesimal number. Even the occupiers of seats of religious headship who in addition adopt the status of sanyasis are not free from shortcomings in regard to the pure life advocated in the shastras.

Apart from this theoretical view, the division of Brahmin grihasthas into Vaidics and non-Vaidics, or *Laukikas* लौकिकs (to whom alone the designation of grihasthas has been confined in common parlance) shows that it is only the Vaidics who are considered to possess the religious purity which a Snātaka is expected to possess and they alone are entitled to observe untouchability while the rest are not expected to do so. The force of this distinction upon the general body of Brahmins is likely to slacken the superstition that every Brahmin, whatever his occupation, should observe untouchability. Of course it will require furious propaganda and expenditure of time but without great exertion and extreme patience reforms cannot be effected in a lasting from. It may be observed in passing that impatience and heroic actions have been the curse of reform.

In support of this argument the provision in the Smritis (especially in Yādnyavalkya) of the general rules of conduct of grihasthas and the special rules as to Snatakas has great force. It is also to be noticed that the provisions as to who should receive gifts and whose gifts may be accepted and whose rejected, greatly support the argument in question. Those provisions viewed in conjunction with the precepts as to practising poverty and austerity of life and pursuit of pure knowledge amply establish the distinction hitherto advocated.

The explanation of the universal sway of untouchability is to be found in the presumption that birth alone justifies it, whereas in fact it does not, and also in the human tendency to imitate superiors (from a religious point of view). It is because non-Vaidic Brahmins adopted the practices of the Vaidics as to external purity that the other द्विज (Kshatriyas and Vaishyas) and also the Shudras followed them and began to practise untouchability in spite of the fact that the Shastras did not in plain terms require them to do so. This being so the practice spread even among the inferior Shudras so as to include the entire body of Hindus in the clutches of this practice. This fact considered in relation to the human nature which glories in believing that they are specially liked by God for observing rules of external purity is enough to explain the persistence of the full sway of untouchability. This mistaken idea is due to entirely ignoring the dictate of the Shastras that purity includes external as well as internal purity and that the latter is more important than the former so much so that external purity is only a means for securing the vitally important purity of the mind or soul which alone is the procurer of ideal happiness that is the end and aim of life in this world.

It is to be remarked that by making a fetish of external purity and neglecting altogether the internal one we have been pursuing a path leading to nowhere. This is a subject which should form the prominent plank in the propaganda against untouchability.

Though आपद्धर्म is allowed so long as one cannot get a livelihood the same texts ordain that it should be pursued only so long as it is absolutely necessary and that it should be given up when no longer so, we have followed up the practice of आपद्धर्म with vengeance being under the deleterious sway of love of comfort, luxury, and material prosperity which are, according to our Shastras, the greatest impediments to the attainment of beatitude.

The Shastras also declare that pursuit of आपद्धर्म is longer than necessary detracts from the purity essential to the life of a स्नातक and it follows that those who have ceased to possess the essentials of *Snatakahood* have no right or business to practise untouchability.

For most of us therefore the practice of untouchability is an incongruity which we must immediately discard. And it should be remembered that abandonment of the practice of untouchability does not lower our religious status for there is ample provision for preserving ordinary religious purity to maintain our birth status (the Varna) which governs us.

Most of the evils of untouchability are cured by bathing and the majority of us (non-Vaidics) achieve that cure by our daily baths, for it is immediately after bathing when we obtain external purity that we practise whatever little religious observance we maintain in life and therefore touching untouchables at other times should not come in the way of our pursuits and the carrying on of our life's duties. It is otherwise with Vaidics who have to be perpetually and all day long observing the rites and duties of स्नातक-hood as a means of their livelihood and for that purpose they have to be strictly pure externally as a condition of undergoing their daily routines of स्नातकs (supposing they exclusively adopt स्नातक-life which generally is not the case even in the case of Vaidics). The *Snatakas* being a very small part of the entire body of Brahmins one need not bother about their observing untouchability in all its ardour provided we succeed in convincing the rest of the Brahmins and other द्विजs to give up the practice of Untouchability at other times than when they worship or perform Sandhya at home after their morning (evening?) baths. If success is attained in this matter, the untouchability practised by non-Brahmin Hindus of all classes will disappear like mist before the sun. The latter

imitate us and therefore it is our duty to show sense and reform our inconsistent practices so as to lead the rest to follow suit. Most of us (educated people) don't observe untouchability but our number is very small compared with that of uneducated Hindus.

The general nature of the abandonment of untouchability, by the educated people is disbelief in and contempt of orthodoxy. This attitude retards the progress of reform in the matter of untouchability. As was said above, we have to keep touch with the past; the charm of reform consists in the keeping up and emphasising what is good in the past and developing it further and discarding what has not only ceased to be useful but is causing harm to the progress of our Society.

Another defect in the attitude of the educated is impatience and defiance of orthodoxy and pursuit of heroic tactics, all which stiffen and antagonise the orthodox and thus render more difficult the pursuit of reform and the winning of the heart of the orthodox majority. Sympathetic persuasion and gradual carrying out of the pursuit of reform are the best means of securing the desired aim, but up to now they are wanting. Of course it is the nature of certain individuals to be impatient, heroic and spectacular but they or their work cannot be ignored. They must be given due credit for their exertions and ideals but seeing that their efforts unwittingly result in shutting the door of reform and also making people obstinate and shut the door of conviction, the steady and patiently working reformers should pursue their work with greater vigour and larger amplitude. A great deal of good is likely to arise by carrying on a discussion of this problem with the Vaidics (priests) themselves, for many of them are reasonable and have been witnesses of the changes of the times and may aid the cause of the reform in view.

A very arduous and patient work has to be undertaken to educate our ladies so as to enable them to segregate the kernel from the chaff of unnecessary superstitious practices.

Because men even of a cultured type have been hugging easily removable superstitions the women have been sticking to them with all the fervour of uninquiring faith and they form the bulk of Sanatanists whose Co-operation should be secured if reform of untouchability has to be tangible and effective.

We have to begin at the true starting point. Instead of confining our attention wholly and solely to the untouchables, it is necessary to seek to establish complete harmony between Brahmins and Shudras in the first instance. Much progress is visible in Maharashtra on this head. The Shudras are treated with due consideration in religious matters but as yet the feeling has not taken deep root that Brahmins and Shudras are parts of one and the same body. Some differentiation of a type implying that the two are different in kind widely prevails. It must be frankly admitted that the majority of Brahmins and Shudras behave as if they had nothing common to them in religious matters. Let the 1st attempt be to admit them (Shudras) to all temples and let all non-Vaidic i. e. non-priestly Brahmins show that they earnestly desire to shorten and finally do away with the gulf between them and the Shudras in all intercourse. At present Shudras are not admitted in some strictly Brahmin temples and this fact has been keeping up the feeling of disharmony the disappearance of which is so essential to a feeling of oneness, and which is also so much desirable in politics.

In connection with temple entry let it once for all be achieved by the लौकिक Brahmins themselves taking Darshana by standing at a distance from the deity and not entering the sacred part. This restraint on their part would be very welcome in the slackening of the dispute about temple entry. The sacred part should be entered only by the Pujaris and the Vaidics who may not be willing to forego that habit, while all the लौकिक Brahmins should take

Darshana from a prescribed distance from which also Shudras and all the lower classes including the untouchables or depressed classes may be allowed to take Darshana. This compromise on the part of लौकिक Brahmins would be a gesture powerful enough to alleviate the misgiving of the depressed classes for temple entry and would further facilitate the attempts to bring about reforms for their upliftment (vide p. 42).

Let the air of condescension on the part of non-priestly (लौकिक) Brahmins be sternly done away with in ordinary religious observances and let there be an appearance of serious endeavour on the part of लौकिक Brahmins to show that they no longer possess the ideal purity of an ideal *Snataka,* and have swerved from strict Snatakhood and permanently adopted आपधर्म्स even of a prohibited kind. They have lost the status of *Snatakas* and should be prepared to mix more freely with Shudras than ideal Snatakas would. There are several classes of Hindus and Jains with whom inter-dining can be safely practised seeing that they are strict vegetarians and are as clean as and pose to be even cleaner than Brahmins. Perhaps intermarriage with them may gradually come into vogue after the ice is broken.

Still more urgent is the frank intermarriage and inter-dining between Dravid Brahmins and Goud Brahmins. The question of fish-eating by the latter is, however, a stumbling block, but it too can be easily remedied, for several द्रविड Brahmins have taken to fish eating, notably those who have been to foreign countries and several Dravid Brahmins clandestinely consume animal food even without having ever gone to foreign countries. There may be boys and girls who are prepared to change their food in order to marry the object of their love among the two divisions of the Brahmins and thus if the practice of such intermarriages is once broadly introduced it will ramify with due rapidity.

If we begin like this simultaneously with trying to improve the lot of the untouchables, great strides will surely be made in achieving the reform intended. The foregoing observations are, it is belived, enough to convince educated people that they have to study the Smritis from a historical standpoint without doing which they would not be in a position to carry the public with them in achieving necessary reforms in religious matters even of a non-essential nature. The attitude of some of the educated people in this matter is objectionable for instead of reading the Smritis with a view to bringing about progressive reform, they exhibit contempt for them which results in their being characterised as irreligious, thereby depriving the society of their help in bringing about the most useful reforms. Let it be remembered that the injunction that a Brahmin should study Dharma Shastras and teach them to others implies for our purpose the great likelihood of their wielding the power to change the injunctions of shastra in matters which are harmful impediments in the progress of society which continues to change however conservative it may be. Such a study will convince every one that the ancient law-givers are not the selfish pedants or the callous sectarians whom persons who have grievances against the shastra conceive to be and represent as being.

So far as the behests against teaching of the Vedas to non-Brahmins are concerned, it may be conceded for the sake of argument that the Brahmin Law-givers wished to appropriate Vedic learning to their own class and not to permit shudras to gain proficiency in them; but this is quite human and not unnatural, though this attitude may be explained by referring it to the anxiety to keep the letter of the Vedas unmodified by being repeated by shudras who were not likely to master the intricate intonations and phraseology peculiar to Vedic literature, especially when it was oral and not reduced to writing.

This argument derives the most cogent force from the fact that in this matter their own women were classed with shudras. It was only recently that an exception was allowed in the case of—

उत्तम स्त्री, (आहुरप्युत्तमस्त्रीणामधिकारंतुवैदिके).

Throughout the Smritis women and shudars are stated to be unfit to study the shastras. The very fact that they tabooed their own wives and daughters shows the intensity of their righteous solicitude. Now that shudras have proved themselves to be fit to master difficult branches of learning the prejudice against teaching them the Vedas cannot be permitted to continue but should be done away with by teaching them the Vedas fearlessly. Let it be charitably assumed that at the time when the injunction against imparting Vedic knowledge to shudras was promulgated they had not shown their aptitude to learn them adequately. This is a historical fact with which it is needless to quarrel now. It is now easy to propose the remedies for the removal of untouchability. One is inclined to explain the exclusion of Shudras from a study of the Vedas on account of the varied composition of the शूद्र class which, as surmised above, contained mostly the riffraff of the conquered aborigines. Perhaps the idea also was to exclude them from gaining prominence and superseding Brahmin supremacy. This is also the explanation of the *Upanayana* ceremony being denied to the Shudras.

(1) Propaganda should be carried on to create greater tolerance and sympathy for the removal of untouchability, to create public opinion in its favour by pointing out how the absolete portions of the Shastras can be left out. Educated Brahmins in particular are bound to study the portions of Dharma Shastras relevant to this matter particularly because their own Shastras enjoin this duty, on them and unless they do so they can't possibly attract the sympathy of orthodox people who form the majority of the

Hindu Society; and if they so far scorn the Shastras as not to care to study them for effecting reforms they had better give up trying to remove untouchability. The study of the relevant portions of the Smritis is not arduous for persons who have studied Sanskrit for passing the matric. It would be light work for an hour a day for not more than six months or a year and they need only study portions of Yadnyavalkya and Manu with the splendid commentaries of विज्ञानेश्वर and कुल्लूक respectively and also the पराशर स्मृति which is an authority in this कलि age.

(2) Prompt steps should be taken to bring together the higher castes into closer association :—the Vaisyas, and the Vanis and Prabhus, the Jains and Lingayats and the Marathas and the लौकिक Brahmins should form cosmopolican clubs with the aim of creating greater association than now prevails.

(3) The untouchables should be taught habits of cleanliness in their homes and when mixing with the upper classes.

(4) Private charity should be organized, so that it may cease to be exclusively sectional and undiscriminate as now.

(5) Temples should be thrown open to untouchables by arranging that every one except the Pujaris should take Darshan by standing and prostrating at a distance from the deity. Surely the time has come to discard the notion of pollution of the premises by mere entry of untouchables or by the shadow of untouchables. This is a cowardly superstition which should be instantly discarded. शातातप says purification is effected by wind and Sun's rays and this principle should be extended in all possible ways. When this attitude is exhibited, a good deal of the venom of temple entry would be dissolved.

(6) Public wells, Dharmashalas and hospitals should be thrown open to untouchables ungrudingly and sympa-

thetically. The principle of the absence of untouchability in a crowd should be universally applied as soon as one steps out from the reserved portions of his house.

(7) Untouchables should be employed as agricultural labourers, and mill-hands and *hamals* and domestic servants in greater profusion and more openly. The employment of untouchables in agriculture in village lands would deaden the rigour of the fear of the pollution by touch.

(8) Constant instruction in habits of cleanliness should be given to untouchables by the higher classes.

(9) The most important reform consists in making a survey of the various occupations in which untouchables can earn a living. It is very dangerous to assert without qualification that untouchables should be given jobs now appropriated by the upper classes. This would mean that the untouchables are no longer to devote themselves to the mean and unattractive work which they have been at present performing. They are habituated to it and the only reform in that work is to see that enough wages are paid for their work and that every step is taken to make the work as least disgusting as possible. Otherwise we should be making their lot more miserable if we create the impression that the untouchables are entitled to be employed only in clean jobs and that they should not do the unclean work that they are doing, for it would amount to their being tempted to leave their own jobs and be without better jobs whatever. The real point is that they should be impressed with the notion that no door for entry in work of whatever nature it be is barred against them provided they train themselves to be fit to do the better kinds of work and that it is not possible in this world for the majority to get good jobs and that it has to be satisfied with comparatively hard and lowpaid work and that too of an unclean nature. For the present the untouchables can rise to be tailors and carpenters and blacksmiths &c.

All this is hard work and well-wishers of the untouchables should be prepared to undertake it and to pursue it with patience, steadiness and due sacrifice and the test of their hearty sympathy and readiness to help is their taking it up in hand in all earnestness. It is very easy to pose as well-wishers and do lip-service and express lip-sympathy with a view, to get the reputation of benefactors of the depressed classes. Real benefactors are those who work as above described with zest, sacrifice and disinterested sympathy and this is honesty of purpose and an earnest of success in reforming the lot of the untouchables. If the leagues that have been and are being formed were to work systematically on the lines just indicated they would be able to work wonders in a reasonable time. Only there should be co-relation in their work instead of each working according to its whims. But one warning has to be given. Politics should not be mixed up with the attempt to remove untouchability which is an entirely social affair and the mixing up of politics will cause very great harm indeed. It must be confessed that some of the propagandists are actuated mainly by political motives and it is feared much mischief will be caused thereby. It is questionable if avowed politicians would be the proper reformers to handle the question of untouchability.

Some time back some one raised the question in the papers whether the depressed classes and untouchables were Hindus at all. It is apparent that this question has arisen out of ignorance of the contents of the Shastras.

The description of the mixed classes (संकरजातिs) in the Smritis completely refutes doubt in this matter. Moreover the Smritis definitely give rules of succession and of general behaviour (अहिंसादि) as applicable to all classes ending with Chandalas who are considered to be the lowest of low class of Hindus. And the very first question put

to Manu by the Rishis relates to the Dharmas (duties) of the four varnas and of the mixed castes (अन्तरप्रभवाणांच.) MANU 1-2.

The Smritis in their description of the several classes of people include all the illegitimate classes as well as अंत्यजs and the specification of the different occupations of the several lower classes presupposés that they are all Hindus. The *Shudra Kamalakara*, a treatise dealing with the performance of marriages, shradhas and पंचमहायज्ञs and व्रतिs by the shudras, gives a detailed description of all the depressed classes and their functions and definitely states that they are all of the same category as शूद्रs (शूद्रसमान i. e. of the same rank as shudras,) only a little inferior to them, and that all the rules applicable to शूद्रs are applicable to those lower orders of Shudras. These facts are perfectly in consonance with the religious practice of the depressed classes who have been from time immemorial considering themselves to be Hindus and following the Brahmanical creed in its entirity so far as it applies to them.

It is well known and historically conceded that the deity Kali was originally the chief gooddess of the depressed classes and it is known perfectly that Kali is also the आराध्य देवता (chiefly worshipped deity) of a large class of High caste Hindus and in the yearly, six yearly and twelve yearly festvities of that deity the *Mahars* are given a prominent part in the worship of this deity.

The fact that most of the depressed classes are descended in one form or another and directly or remotely from the higher i. e. the द्विज classes, has been sufficiently dealt with already. The interesting question arises whether some of the aborigines do not form part of the uutouchables or depressed classes. There is no direct pronouncement in the Shastras on this head but there are enough indicatiions in them to lend support to the inference that they do form part of the depressed classes. The

Rakshasas who figure so prominently in the Ramayana and Mahabharata cannot all be the Daityas or Asuras who are apparently the higher order of the aborigines of India. There must have been a large number of a lower order of aborigines who were servants and followers, and the Aryans retained armies of the higher Rakshasas who were the rulers of the Aborigines, and many of them may have been included in the Shudra class gradually as they were conquered and captured. The description of *Dasas* in the Smritis eminently supports this view. One class of *Dasas* is composed of those who were conquered and the Smritis refer to their manumission; and the order of succession relating to Dasas, and the provisions as to *Dasiputras* who are given a share of the inheritance of a Shudra father and who are given a right to maintenance from the estate of a father of the higher classes (द्विजs) amply testify to the fact that some of the राक्षसs forming part of the Hindu Society as to whose rights and duties the Smritis prominently make provision, were aborigines. It may hence be inferred without fear of authoritative contradiction that some of the depressed classes are descendants of the *aborigines* of India.

It is a fact that some of the aborigines remained in forests and mountains not being attracted by the rule of the Aryans and others were conquered and brought into the fold of Shudras as *Dasas* and *Dasis*, while some others who were too barbarous to be so included remained outside the fold of the 4 Varans, being more allied to the ways and life of the बाह्याs who lived outside the precincts of towns and villages practising various unclean occupations which these aborigines believed to be acceptable to their capacity and ways of life. Hence it is that the Shudra Kamalakara draws a distinction between the respectable part of the Shudras as being entitled to superior varieties of religious ceremonies and the lower order of Shudras who are not entitled to them.

The definition of Rakshasas in the *Trikandi* supports this view. The fact of Vishvamitra taking Rama to the forest to support the Rishis in their fight with the Rakshasas who were disturbing their sacrifices strongly supports the view expressed above and it can be presumed that in the war that followed some Rakshasas were captured and made Dasas and some voluntarily transferred themselves to the fold of the Aryans and became their disciples and voluntary followers. It may be that these recruits were distributed among the three orders of क्षत्रिय, वैश्य and Shudras according to the intelligence and capacity of the respective recruits and became full-fledged members of the Hindu Varnas. Such of the raw recruits, who were not willing to give up their wild ways of life, may have joined the lowest Hindus who were residing outside the towns and enjoying their barbarous mode of forest (free) life. The same inference may be drawn from the war of the *Mahabharata* with Rakshasas. The case of घटोत्कच is in point. Even though he was the son of Bhima, he, with his mother, continued to live in the forest and did not care to live with his father and uncles but occasionally rendered help to them (the पांडवs) wherever requisitioned. Thus in the wars which the Aryans carried on with the foresters and aborigines in the course of their settlement and progress in India many aborigines were made Hindus and included in the Shudra caste. This is why the custom of a Brahmin marrying a Shudra woman was disallowed by Yadnyavalkya, though from the contents of his Smriti it appears that the practice persisted.

An intriguing and interesting question arises whether Shudras were originally Aryas at all. From the fact of their being considered as created from the foot of God, it appears that they must have formed part of the Aryans, for their origin from the foot of Vishnu is stated along with the creation of the द्विजs from the upper limbs of Vishnu. If a nucleous of Shudras did not consist of Aryans they would

not naturally have been described as proceeding from the foot of the Supreme being. The better inference appears to be that when the Aryas invaded India they had their own menials with them and they designated them as Shudras because they must have been originally men of very low intellectual capacity, and it is not unnatural to assume this. Every Society consists of persons of low capacity in spite of their proceeding from the same stock, and gradation of intellect and capacity is the usual order of humanity.

Thus it appears that originally very low order of Aryans formed the class of Shudras to which in the course of the progress of the Aryans in India constant and voluminous additions were made to this order of Shudras which thus became very large proportionately to the upper classes and thus the distinction between the original Aryan Shudras and the added non-Aryan Shudras became impossible to maintain and all of them were promiscuously designated as *shudras*; but all the same greater consideration was shown to the so called respectable Shudras in the matter of conducting religious ceremonies and also in the gradation of social respectability as is clear from the Smritis and *Shudrakamalakara.*

The class of Shudras was further increased by the illegitimate progeny of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas who may be presumed to have had recourse to association with lower order of women in their absence from home in wars and trade. This is emphasised by the description of रजपूतs in the Shudrakamalakar and is supported by the description of मन of the lower classes of progeny brought into being by the promiscuous union of क्षत्रियs with women of the inferior casets. This fact partially explains the view of the Shastras that very few pure क्षत्रियs remain at present and that whatever pure stocks of क्षत्रियs remained they remained concealed (प्रच्छन्न) on account of the fear created

by the terrible onslaughts of परशुराम. It may also be that some of the क्षत्रिय women were married by the Grecians who settled in India as rulers after the invasion of Alexandar. And this fact too largely contributed to the impurity of the क्षत्रिय class. Further-more क्षत्रियs must have consented to marry Shudra women in spite of the lower rank given to the issue of such marriages by the Brahmin law-givers. This remark also applies in a lesser degree to the वैश्य class. This is how the pure क्षत्रिय and वैश्य classes are so few in numbers.

It is necessary to raise a voice against Mr. Gandhi's constant allegation that the higher classes sinned against the untouchables by failing till now to raise them higher by giving them education and improving their material and political prospects. This attitude is sure to prejudice the higher classes against the depressed ones, because no duty was cast upon them either by law or by public opinion in that direction till recently and to the *credit of the* educated classes it must be said that they have been doing what they could to help the depressed classes in this matter ever since public opinion drew their attention to the question and this in spite of the Shastraic injunction as to untouchability and assignment of occupations to the several classes of the community including the untouchables. The question might be put to Mr. Gandhi himself what he himself did about the untouchables before his return to India from South Africa or for the matter of that what the Congress did till recently though it was at his back and call. Now that it serves him as a plank in his political propaganda he is making much of it particularly after the failure of the civil disobedience movement. Long before he made a fetish of untouchability others were trying to educate the untouchables and to improve their habits and material prospects. It is an extensive reform and has to be carried on against the immemorial tradition and prejudices of centuries. It is a matter in which a change of heart and

angle of vision of the vast body of orthodox classes is an essential preliminary and it cannot be brought about by mere wish coupled with unthinking impatience. Let it be carefully noted that impatience and childish haste would rather operate as impediments, nor would spectacular stunts be of real and enduring benefit in renovating the lot of the untouchables.

It is also necessary to remember that the preaching of the doctrine that the higher classes are to blame for not undertaking the improvement of the prospects of the untouchables would, in addition to antogonising the higher classes, create in the minds of the untouchables undue expectations as to help and concessions and sacrifices on the part of the higher classes. This result would operate as a barrier against the prospects of the untouchables. The great thing at present is to draw out the sympathy and generosity of the higher classes towards the lot of untouchables and for that purpose conciliatory arguments and an appeal to their sense of duty are the proper instruments as also for creating public opinion in favour of the untouchables.

For the prevalence of the present practices there were historical and political reasons and there was also the want of the spirit of self-help among the untouchables. After all the idea of raising the status of the untouchables is apparently new and has to be fought out patiently against great odds and conciliatory attitude towards the orthodoxy of the upper classes is the 1st requiste and therefore attacking them as selfish and hard-hearted and sinning against the untouchables would serve no useful purpose and should be completely abandoned. As said above this matter of the uplift of the untouchables is entirely a modern idea arising from the contact with present day European thought. When it is remembered that even in European countries education of the masses on a universal scale is a comparatively recent phenomenon we should be

convinced that there is no propriety or force in blaming ourselves for not doing a thing which was not considered till recently either as a moral or a political obligation throughout the world. Moreover religious persecution flourished in European countries till the end of the 18th century prior to which theocrasy persecuted people holding views on religion not consistent with their own. A mere mention of the Inquisition in Europe, especially in Spain, is quite enough; and it is well known that wars were fought for mere differences in dogmas and modes of worship. Extensive references to history on this head are not necessary but one cannot withstand the temptation to refer to the persecution of actors in France in the 17th and 18th centuries. Even great writers of plays were denied burial in consecrated ground (vide p. 116 of Vol. II of Leckey's History of Rationalism in Europe). "The sacraments were not tendered to actors who refused to repudiate their profession and in France at least, their burial was as the burial of a dog." (vide Leckey ibid).

The great precedent for bringing about reforms is the कलिवर्ज्य प्रकरण itself. A careful perusal thereof will show that inconvenient and troublesome practices were put a stop to. It must be remembered however, that what at one time appears to be an inconvenient way may at a subsequent time appear necessary and convenient to Society. Since certain important changes were effected in the shastras in the Kali age by the Rishis, similar changes can be effected in them when they are found to be unnecessary or harmful later on. Hindu usages depend not on legislature but on the opinion of the learned in the Dharma Shastras who at the same time have the influence to make acceptable the changes they propose. It would be better if the several Jagad-Gurus (holders of the *Gâdis* of Matasthapanacharyas) were to undertake this work; but for them to do so public opinion must be created which can be done by persuading the educated classes to undertake the work of influencing

the Swamis of religious Maths to formulate authoritatively the desired changes in religious practices and at the same time induce their followers to accept them and this procedure would smoothly operate to bring about the necessary changes without any sudden violation of traditional beliefs and the consequent opposition and unwillingness to adopt measures which experience and conscience point out to be essential to the progress of the community. Great exertion has to be undergone by the reformers to bring the *Swamis* to a sense of their duty towards the community which they rule in matters religious. They assume and act as if they were irresponsible and infallible. As they live in the world and handle questions relating to the material world which is not stagnant but progressive and as it is their duty according to the Shastras to study and assign occupations to their followers they are bound to study the requirements of the times and to bring about changes in matters which apparently are not strictly of a spiritual nature but simply quasi-spiritual and non-essential so far as the substantial contents of true Hindu religion are concerned. The best way to carry the Swamis with the present day thought of enlightened and progressive Sanatanists is to make them feel that they are responsible to their followers and that they must progress with the times by being bold enough to bring about necessary changes in the nonessentials of religion. They must be told that to secure the faith of their enlightened followers they must actively support reforms in religion. They must also know that they are trustees of the property they hold and must so apply it that the religion of the followers will be reconciled to the civilising influences of the times. They must be made to give an account of the application of their income from various sources and to convince their disciples that they pursue the studies required of them and fulfil their duties of rulers in religion by acting up to the expectations of their enlightened and sensible followers.

As for temple entry some of the protagonists of anti-untouchability seem to proceed as if there was no provision in the Shastras on this head, while others seem to ignore it altogether, believing it to be of no force against their impact on the citadel of orthodoxy. The whole tenor of Hindu law and custom is based entirely on the principle of action and forbearance according to the expressed opinion of Rishis (वचनात्प्रवृत्तिः, वचनान्निवृत्तिः) and no faith will arise unless the word of an आप्त (यथार्थवक्ता) is quoted. Hence the extreme importance of the officiating Swamis being made to assert authoritatively that temple entry should be allowed owing to the progress of the times, spread of education and knowledge of the revolutions in Religion all over the world. It is therefore clear that public opinion i. e. opinion of the orthodox part of the Hindu community, should be created so that it can be able to morally compel the Swamis to permit temple entry to the untouchables and this can only be effected by adequately handling the texts on the point and convincing the Swamis of the necessity of bringing about a change in the texts according to the requirements of the world's progress.

Now the शूद्र कमलाकर which is the leading authority on the point says with reference to temple entry of the untouchables that the worship permitted to untouchables (अन्ये) is making a bow or salute to a temple on seeing it. (अन्येषामपि सर्वेषां नराणां मुनिपुंगवाः । पूजादेवालयं दृष्ट्वा प्रणामस्तस्य कीर्तितः vide शू. क. p. 10). The author has in preceding and subsequent portions dealt with the worship by Shudras and women and forbids them to touch the deity. In the निर्णयसिंधु of Kamalakarabhatta it is stated, quoting हयशीर्षपंचरात्र, that a fresh installation of a deity is necessary when it is polluted by the touch of untouchables. [चांडालमद्यसंस्पर्शदूषिता वह्निनाथवा । अपण्यजनसंस्पृष्टा विप्रक्षत्रजदूषिता (with reference to प्रतिष्ठा installation) adding संस्कार्येतिशेषः vide p. 263 of निर्णयसिंधु]; also quoting सिद्धान्तशेखर, it is

stated:—चोरचांडालपतितस्पोदकया स्पर्शने सति । शवास्थपहृते चैव प्रतिष्ठां पुनराचरेत् ॥ vide नि. सि. pp. 263–64).

But it is not to be argued that by forbidding the untouchables to touch the deities the law-givers forbade worship of deities which untouchables should not touch, for कमलाकरभट्ट fully discusses the deities which untouchables should worship and includes the untouchables in all the ceremonies which he deals with in the शूद्रकमलाकर. After differentiating between respectable Shudras and lower order of Shudras and specifying the methods of their worship of the specific deities whom they should worship the शूद्रकमलाकर distinctly states, quoting नरसिंहपुराण, that Antyajas will be rescued from sinful propensities by worshipping god embodied in the form of नरसिंह (ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः स्त्रियः शूद्रान्त्यजातयः । संपूज्य तं सुरश्रेष्ठं नरसिंह–वपुर्धरं । मुच्यंते चाशुभभावैर्जन्मकोटिसमुद्भवैः ॥ vide शू. क. pp. 10 and 11). This authority dispels the queer conception entertained by some propagandists that Antyajas are not Hindus.

It is quite possible that the orthodox diehard may press that the temple premises would be polluted by the entry of untouchables and that therefore they can't be admitted into temples. This is a trifling matter but that too has been answered by the Shastras in connection with भूशुद्धिः as part of the provisions relating to द्रव्यशुद्धिः purification of all things including the ground. The ground is purified in the first place by the rays of the sun and by wind and by washing with water. The floor of the temple is daily washed with water irrespective of whether untouchables have trod on it or not. This relates to the covered portion; as for the open verandah it is purified by the sun and wind. Moreover ground is polluted only by *residence* of the Chandala (अध्युषित) and not by his merely going on it to obtain the Darshana (sight or view) (vide Mitakshara pp. 55, 57 and 58 and Yadnya Valkya, Acharadhyaya Sholkas 188 and 193).

There is the possible objection on the ground of the image of the deity being polluted by the shadow of the Antyajas falling on it. But as images are inside a covered building this puerile objection can't apply, for the shade can't arise except in sun-shine. Moreover the Shastras don't refer to pollution of an image by the falling of a shadow, for only touching is referred to as the cause of reinstallation, vide पुनः प्रतिष्ठा already referred to. At most only a living being in the form of a high class Hindu is subject to the taint of the falling or touching of the shadow of a Chandala and others on him and not on a lifeless image (vide स्मृतिरत्नाकर p. 61). However, all this relates to the conceptions of byegone times; much advance has occurred in this matter in recent times and the touching or falling of the shadow of an Antyaja is not objected to at all.

A compromise can be effected by permitting Antyajas to take Darshana of the images in temples by making it a condition that they should take a bath and wear washed clothes (धौतवस्त्र) when they want to go into a temple, that they should stand at a reasonable distance from the deity for purposes of salutation and worship (which they should perform through the Pujaris). A rope or a pole may be fixed at the line of demarkation from where the untouchables should take Darshana of the deity. By this means the fear of orthodox people as to pollution by touch will be dispelled and the desire of untouchables to enter the temples will be fulfilled without violation to the feelings of orthodox people.

There is the likehood of some claim being put forward to touch the deity in the manner caste Hidus do. But this would be a far cry while mere permission to enter the temples should amply satisfy the untouchables for a long time to come. It is rather a question of sentiment and thrusting the thin end of the wedge at present than real religious fervour and all sides can be satisfied by the arrangement proposed. (vide pp. 23 and 24.)

High caste Hindus should, for the purpose of nipping a formidable quarrel in the bud, observe restraint in the matter of touching the deity, for when they do so they are likely to excite the curiosity of untouchables to do like-wise. The habit of personally touching images and worshipping them with due ceremonies should be abandoned by confining the doing of these things entirely to the *pujaris* who do the worship on behalf of all the community and the habit of again personally doing worship in regular form is mere vanity on the part of the high caste Hindus. They can satisfy themselves in this matter by doing the worship of their deities in their homes. Moreover no one can certify if every one who proposes to perform the worship is really fit to do so as there may be unknowable sins committed by him. The habit has come into vogue owing to the cupidity of pujaris who get some gifts for permitting the worship by others than themselves.

Great consolation will be obtained by untouchables if they are given *tirtha* and *prasad* of the deity when they visit temples and there is no known prohibition against doing this. This practice, if introduced, would bring about greater attraction between touchables and untouchables than exists at present and would reduce considerably the acerbity that now prevails.

Religion

Faith is necessary to believe in the existence of God and his personal rule, being based on inferences in the absence of direct proof. Faith in His design of the universe is also imperative on the same ground.

The theory of कर्म is the charm of Hindu Religion. Christianity has not got this essential moving picture, and perhaps the theory of wholesale sin and atonement for it by Christ's sacrificing his life has to be relied upon. This sacrifice of the son in the narrow sense is inconsistent with God-head, for sacrificing His Son is on a par with sacrificing himself, which is not a happy position to take up with regard to an all powerful deity. This is not the method adopted even by ordinary beings and for God to do so bespeaks incompleteness and ignorance. The Hindu theory of an *avatar* for achieving a particular object is more rational and acceptable. There an *avatarik* entity does not sacrifice himself but exhibits both military and political skill to carry out the object concerned and then finishes his career like ordinary mortals with, of course, some glamour.

The fact of crucifixion implies that Christ was a mortal being endowed with high morality and proportionate courage to maintain his sterling tenets unflinchingly. In the same way Christ's resurrection is rather imaginary than real. The underlying idea is far-fetched and bordering on the fanciful. The idea of Satan trying to tempt him and his rising superior to the temptation is primitive and not of a high order. One feels that it is an attempt to impress people with the sense of Christ's greatness and one easily sees through it. The idea of resurrection can be interpreted as the rising up of a wave of determination on the part of his disciples to press with greater force, ardour and propaganda

his doctrines and tenets and it can also be taken to be the uprising of a feeling of compunction and shame in the minds of his persecutors who were, many of them, learned men in the manner then prevalent and of a repentance for crushing views which after due weighing in a chastened mood after the crucifixtion were found to be convincingly superior to their own doctrines and of a determination to adopt and practise the very views and ideas of Christ. The combined operation of this fact on the minds of Christ's disciples and his persecutors was to propagate Christianity with determination and zest and hence the rapid and steady spread of Christianity after Christ's death which was rather a conflagration of the nature of wild fire than the annihilation of doctrines there-to-fore considered to be heretical.

The faith in revelation is common to all the great religions of the world but it is too big a pill to swallow. The great and far-seeing minds of all the great civilized societies instinctively reach points which seem to be for the abiding good of the community. They are creative geniuses who lay down rules of good conduct for their fellow creatures—rules which are the quintessence of the common experiences of mankind synthesized into terse aphorisms which lesser men take for gospel. To give them (the rules) the power of exacting obedience and observance believing faith as a revelation was instilled into the minds of people and that faith held sway because people found those rules beneficial in the long run. Along with rules of conduct ralating to the mutual actions among themselves they formulated rules of conduct towards God and by the operation of faith secured the belief that they were the utterances of God himself given vent to by the mouth of prophets supposed to be objects of God's endearment. The explanation of this fact is that man is vain enough to believe that what he believes is the only true belief and exerts with all his might to induce other men to that effect and even forcibly compels them to accept and follow these beliefs. This

has been particularly the attitude of the Mohamedan and Christian religions and the result has been the total neglect of the independent and full development of morals. By being wholly absorbed in the propagation of their religions the intelligent and brave peoble of each of the two religions neglected the moral and intellectual culture of the community and emphasising the importance of religious propaganda created a spirit of violence and cruelty which committed havoc in the worldly existence of the community and made them less harmonious and happy than they otherwise would have been. This behaviour was the cause of communal selfishness and interfered greatly with the due development of healthy politics. It must be admitted that though indirectly Christianity in a large measure and Mahomedanism in but a small degree, helped the evolution of culture and morals with many limitations still the spread of intolerance and communal rancour was encouraged and perpetuated.

On the other hand the attitude of the Hindu religion of the Vedic and partially post Vedic periods by being free from the egoism of forcing others to adopt its tenets and doctrines facilitated the development of tolerance in religious matters and thereby ensured the progress of morality and altruism except perhaps in the case of later phases of Buddhism in which there was intolerance, cruelty and use of force in the matter of propagating that religion to the neglect of the maintenance of Hindu religion which in spite of the Buddhistic adverse attitude remained powerfully alive and cogent. If this false idea of one's own new religion being the most correct and true and its being one's duty to force it down the threats of dissentients by the sword had not prevailed throughout the Mahomedan and Christian communities the outlook and prospects ot the world would have been much happier, tolerant and sublime at least by this time and one is sure that the cruelties, and devastation,

and destruction of the wars would have been less disastrous indeed and it can be similarly inferred that the economic development of the world too would have assumed a more hopeful aspect. The misfortune of the world under its turmoil and Chaos is mostly due to religious fanaticism which imparts to those possessed by it inordinate vigour, force and desperation before which people wanting in religious fanaticism can't hold their own and are therefore bound to be beaten. As a result of this fanaticism the hatred of idols and idol-worship is prominent. Mohamedan and Christian prophets were men-like prophets of other religions unable to formulate and grasp the image and nature of the qualities of God. They were therefore aghast at the sight of other religionists worshipping God's images and went out of their way to destroy those images and punish their worshippers as great heretics and ignoramuses. If they had had any inkling of the great tenets of the Hindu religion they would not have developed into instruments of brutal cruelty and ignorant self-importance and infallibility. The Hindu religion declares that images and idols are solely for the ignorant (i. e. not highly contemplative) and that God himself resides in the hearts of the contemplative, and why should the ire of the Christians and Mohamedans rise high if people worshipped images ? And why should they force the latter to give it up ? Does not such an attitude prove to the hilt their own ignorance and imperfect notions and a denial of the omnipotence and omniscience of God ? The existence of simple human beings who are incapable of comprehending Godhead except through the contemplation of easily comprehensible attributes of god is enough ground to permit them to worship images according to their faith.

The most difficult problem of religion is the form and nature of God. No one has yet been able to solve it and all are in their own way intent upon reaching some solution but have failed. Why should anyone presume that God may not have an anthromorphic form occasionally to permit

people to comprehend him at least partially? The Hindu religion should in its cult of image-worship be presumed to proceed on this assumption. Ordinarily mortals want some object to concentrate their attention and energy on worship and they have been doing so in the majority of cases. Simply because you don't like to follow suit and can't have the reach to fathom the reason of image-worship, it does not follow that that cult is so disgustingly immoral as to justify ill-treating, insulting and killing men recklessly. According to Hindu tenets God resides unaffected and uncontaminated in everybody. He has created every thing and how is true religion degraded if people worship some of His creatures in the belief that He resides in them and because they can not soar higher in the contemplation of God's forms. If you believe you are higher in that matter you are welcome to entertain that idea but why hate God's own creatures and make them miserable by your ill-treatment of them or by killing them and incur the sin of homicide! This conduct implies that you are incapable of recognising the different gradations in the mental capacities of human beings and this is sheer ignorance; and what right have you to arrogate to yourself all the knowledge of the world and despise the rest of mankind? If one were to grant that God does not reside in his creatures, this assumption would be plainly inconsistent with the existence of conscience and its dictates, always conceded to be of divine origin, and yet if one worships one of his creatures in the images of man, a calf, a cow or even a crocodile, God cannot be held to be insulted thereby because you can't deny that the worship of your own creatures is pleasing to you or else why would poets and philosophers and artists turn out their creative works? They do so because they feel highly pleased with the worship enjoyment, and appreciation of their creations. And therefore God must be pleased with such worship though He may not be so highly appreciated as by higher contemplation and higher worship.

An important question is as to whether souls are created by god from time to time, or whether they are immemorial and eternal like God. The Christian theory of God's creation of souls does not explain why, if they are created freshly there should be incongruity in the luck of different souls and their bodily environments such as some being born with bodily and mental defects and others with both body and mind perfectly sound. The Hindu theory of souls being eternal gives a pretty satisfactory explanation of the above mentioned inconsistency coupled with the theory of karma by the operation of which it is said that souls are always burdened with the fruition of their past actions and therefore at each revival of the world are sent forth charged with their karmas so that differences of health and social gradation are bound to prevail. There is the question of the world's occasional and regular destruction and recreation as formulated by the Hindu religion, the theory being that the states of infancy, middle youth, old age, decay and final destruction are constantly enacted until the time of the world's periodic full destruction is reached.

The Christian and Mohamedan theories of a simple birth for each person (soul) and its being made to await the final judgment indefinitely in a state of dormant inactivity is not so satisfactory as the Hindu theory. The connotation of life is constant activity and struggle but the notion of a very long waiting after death for the final judgment is not adequate. Of course the Hindu theory of the residence of souls in an inactive state in the bosom of God after one destruction until a later recreation, does not materially differ from the Christian belief but the idea of rebirths between creations of the world and its full destruction at the final stage is a vast improvement upon the Christian doctrine. There is the minor question as to the limit to the creation of souls by God. Does God intend to create a definite number of souls or does he assign no limit

to it! If He is supposed to fix a limit then there is the likelihood of a paucity of population arising. It is therefore to be presumed that in the Christian religion as in the Hindu there is no limit to the number of souls.

The question of the aim of God in undertaking creation is one of the most difficult points in true religion. The progress of contemplation and thought has not advanced beyond the belief that it is for mere pastime that God does so. In the Hindu religion it is further added that God does so for the profit and advancement of the souls. The latter belief is substantiated by the theory of evolution. By constant births and rebirths the soul gets improvement upon improvement retaining perpetually all the good points of the experiences of the respective rebirths so as to be fit to be finally absolved from the turmoil of rebirths. The conception of absolution is similar in all the religions except in the Buddhist in which latter there is total abnegation. That God may wish amusement in the form of creation can be presumed on the analogy of human activity; man can't remain totally inert. He must always be actively engaged in doing something and if God is the prototype of his image man, he too must feel the necessity of some activity which may assume the form of the creation of the world. And it follows that destruction or deluge is the subsequent step to keep up the amusement by successions of creation, destruction and recreation.

The conception of man's freedom of action subject to final control is the most charming part of religion. This freedom implies even rebellion against God and the ruthless suppression thereof by Him proves His all powerfulness brought into play in the last stages of freedom of action. The ambition to rise higher and higher is ingrained in living beings and if in persuance thereof human beings, including angels and other demigods, aspire to challenge God and seek to constrain Him to accede to

their unrighteous desires it is not unnatural nor is it hard that God should in that juncture put a stop to suicidal mischief-making and assert his unrivalled supremacy. It is also logical that God too should invite such overambitious attempts in order that there may be room for keeping up His activities. The Hindu religion especially the Dwaita branch of it clearly emphasises this notion by devising perpetual grades of embodied souls not permitting incapable souls to seek entry in grades for which they are not fit.

That there are universal laws of nature by which the visible universe adjusts itself without any direction and supervision and that there is prevalent the perpetual law of reproduction and perpetuation are cogent reasons why the universe is real and therefore the theory of illusion is not true. It was apparently adopted in view of the constant deaths and decay of animate as well as inanimate things for the operation of the law of reproduction and perpetual succession which is a reality. Even at a deluge the basic forms of all varieties of things are not completely destroyed but preserved in the bosom of God to be again recreated in the forms they had assumed prior to destruction.

The Hindu theory of the constant association of God with the female deity Laxmi or *Ramâ* is unique. This inseparable coordination does not obtain in the Christian and Mohamedan religions, where though the famale sex is recognized it is in a low and subordinate position and not in that of well nigh equality with God with a faint show of less mightiness but all the same recognized as necessary to supplement and complete the idea of Godhood. The point of co-operation and mutuality of male and female in the creation and maintenance and supervision of the universe is declaredly recognized and due prominence and power ascribed to the female element as to the male thereby implying the unavoidable co-relation of the female sex slightly subordinate to the male and thus vouchsafing due

honour due to the female element without which neither the universe nor humanity is complete, or beautiful or good. Laxmi is always the coadjutor of God whenever He adopts different incarnations to carry out his plans and designs e. g. creation of the sustenance and destruction of the physical universe.

The interesting question why the same forms are repeated at each recreation and not varied ones is answered by the theory of evolution and the intention not to undo the achievement already reached at the precedent recreations thus proving the unfathomably admirable providence of God.

God's form and residence have been the subject of enquiry from the beginning of time and no satisfactory theory has been yet reached. The Hindu mythology on this point is contradicted by the theory of Hindu religion for though mythology recognizes the forms and residence of God, the higher theory and philosophy of that religion premises that the forms, qualities and place of residence can't be clearly perceived or reached by the soul. Even Laxmi herself the constant consort of God sees God simply as lightning and Brahma the supremely intelligent demi-God can't rise higher than the sight of God's toe. It is interesting to speculate on this point a bit further. Man is always curious to know the unknown and this particular point may be the unknowable and yet the keen curiosity of man is excited to seek and find it and this keeps the contemplative activity of man deeply engaged apparently to get knowledge of connected subjects though the main subject can't be mastered. The analogy is the search after alchemy and elixir of life and though neither was obtained the extensive and long continued search for them made man an adept in chemistry and physics and medicine. It can therefore be assumed that in endowing man with this curiosity to obtain a sight of God and His

residence and immediate environment He intended that man may thereby be enabled to discover incidentally higher reaches of knowledge,—moral, physical and intellectual though failing to realise his desire to know God fully. It is likely that God has designed that man remains ignorant of the real form, nature and residence of God fully for when known there would remain nothing for him to painfully and anxiously seek after as the highest reach of happiness and therefore there being then no incentive life would become insipid and pine away into dull lethargy and finally perish for want of the salt of life. It appears that God may be right in studiously and sternly withholding from man the knowledge of His form, nature and residence for if they are known he may give up all beatific activity and revert to brutal ignorance thereby negativing the charm of perpetually progressive evolution. More-over the thorough grasp of this mystery may incline man to be equal to God which is unconceivable as all his activities are dependent upon the will of God and a realization of this fact negatives the possibility of equality with God being ever possible. It is evident that the absorbing and ennobling desire to find out the qualities of God is the only incentive for man to remain constantly and progressively active. This argument strengthens the view as to immortality of the soul and its progressive rise to higher altitudes of fitness. May it not be that after achieving great moral and intellectual heights in this world (on our planet) man's soul may be considered to be fit to be transferred to a superior planet or star and there is support for this view in the Hindu theory that after death those deserving the status of progenitors will be transferred to the world of the *moon* to live there permanently and in peace. There are several such ideas interspersed in the Hindu religion and why may we not believe them to be real ones? There must be planets in the solar system, and in the vast starry regions, fit to be inhabited by souls of a higher order than earthly human ones and that such higher souls have

been evolved from the human ones by the process of evolution in the manner dear to the tenets of the Hindu religion? By this train of reasoning one should incline to belief in immortality and progressive ascent for man and therefore higher and higher happiness and celestial enjoyment by means of an active and pleasurable life.

The sectarianism and exclusiveness of most of the main religions of the world deserve deep consideration. If there is one God and one brotherhood of man one wonders why as yet there is not one single religion for the whole world as is natural to expect. It is plainly due to man's vanity and selfishness. Just as man's active instinct uncontrolled and uncurbed by higher outlook is selfish and destructive so also is the religious belief selfish at bottom in spite of the prophets being apparently cognizant of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man and it is also tainted with vanity amounting to glorification of self and those related to self by blood and religion. At the inauguration of a sect the founder wants followers and has to wean them from the clutches of prevalent precedent sects. He has therefore to formulate the notion that his new tenets are superior to those of the prevailing ones and those who adopt them are dearer to God than the followers of other religions and it being the lot of human beings to enjoy vanity and change those who accept the new religion begin with the postulate that they are the chosen people and that outsiders are to be sent to hell for persisting in the older religions and not adopting the new one. This attitude habituates one to the belief of one's superiority in the view of God and the spirit of exclusiveness begins to sway them and ultimately becomes second nature with them and subsequently they begin to hate outsiders and maintain their exclusiveness and then follow all the deplorable results viz. religious persecutions, wars and hatreds.

Why should the founder of a new religion arrogate to himself a particular conception of religious infallibility and the blessing of God? It is simply narrowness of view and perfect degradation and disregard of the basic fact of God's fatherhood. The circumstances prevailing at the establishment of each sect (religion) may have permitted this attitude which is of course puerile and suicidal but now that remarkable progress has been achieved in all departments of knowledge particularly in the scientific, one wonders why a spirit of cosmopolitanism should not spring up in all the religions so as to result in commendable religion for the whole of humanity. The attitude of all religions should be that of scientific research which is made not for one class or country but for all classes and the whole world and the attitude of scientific investigators and researchers is to compare notes with all other contemporary scientific workers and adopt only those results for which there is complete accord. The adoption of this attitude would spare all the misery of the fanaticism and self-importance of all the prevailing religions and bring into being a single world religion which would, in addition to being a wet blanket to all the rivalries and destructive tendencies of sectarian religions, secure the possibility of national patriotism and the consequent sweeping away of hatreds, destructions and retrogressions being duly kept under control and thus permit the spread of the spirit of cosmopolitanism in religion, politics and economics. The realisation of this idea is a far distant event and until the day comes when the majority of educated people the world over hug this idea with determination to adopt and practise it the coming of universal world kingdom and world economics is a mere chimera.

The 'all religions conferences' in fashion now-a-days are childish and being merely attempts to remain goody, goody with the other religions all being aware at the same time that each has a reservation of the

superiority of one's own religion and inferiority of the other religions! This procedure is a luxurious waste of time and can never facilitate prompt realisation of the force and necessity and the firm resolve and attempt to formulate and relentlessly adopt a world religion and discard all others i. e. their respective sectarian and half true present religions. The smooth way to expedite that happy day is to come down to brass tacks and sit down to chalk out a religious creed common to the whole world by selecting from the different religions, points that are the common property of all human beings, taking the most scrupulous care never to discuss the comparative merits or demerits of the existing religions for that way lie great dangers in quarrel, disagreements and the abandonment of the sterling object in hand. There is no fear of people discarding their respective sectarian religions and adopting another if persuaded that the latter is the better one, for history constantly witnesses changes of religions by masses of men the world over from time to time and they can and may do so now if convinced of its use in securing harmony in life and its likelihood of diminishing hatreds and rivalries standing in the way of the real progress and happiness of the world. If some such course is not taken in hand at an early date there is every fear of the world turning out atheist to the disastrous loss of the ameliorating influence. of religion as is amply exemplified by Russia and Germany It is all very well for educated people to indulge in atheism and scepticism and it does not do much harm to them beyond depriving them of the strength and solace of religion but it is quite otherwise with the illiterate masses who form the majority of the world population and for whom religion is very necessary, and if their sectarian religion is not raised to a world religion but permitted to rule them as now then there is no likelihood of world improvement being possible in the near future and false patriotism, religious fanaticism and

ferocity will continue to be the ruling passions of the world. For the majority of human beings religion is a great solace and refuge and it is the foremost matter in regard to which reformers of the world should take prompt steps to propagate a uniform world religion. In the Hindu religion there is great sentiment and imagination and therefore it gives much courage to be resigned and to take the onslaughts of fate with readiness.

In the main the Christian and Mohamedan religions are mass religions in the sense of a body of persons coming together for prayer and carrying out the other formalities thereof and there is particularly in the Christian religion an air of artificiality and formality which hinders the regular spread of individual sentimentality and love for its own sake. There is greater communication with God in the Hindu religion than in the said two and consequently the latter make people more formally religious than imaginative and sentimental and the result is that the latter practise it more as a duty than a necessity and steady solace whereas the Hindu does it as a matter of love and beatitude.

The proselytising character of the Christian and Mohamedan religions debars them from being entirely a matter of pure faith while the Hindu religion is thoroughly ingrained in the soul and is individualistic so as to be free from the blandishments that have to be brought to bear on outsiders for converting them and hence there is a shade of purposeful exaggeration as to their merits from which the Hindu religion is absolutely exempt. It is a matter of indifference to the latter whether people adopt it or not being persuaded that its intrinsic merits will attract congenial souls who will pursue it in a spirit of complete conviction without the aid of verbose encomiums as to its reality and teachability. It challenges people to choose it on its sterling merits alone and enters into discussion only when invited peaceably to do so.

NOTE

These thoughts were provoked while I was recently reading the excellent book, "The good life" in the Home University Library series. I am fully confirmed in my solemn view that the Hindu religion is the best inasmuch as it alone urges the theory of कर्म in explanation of the otherwise inexplicable phenomenon of the veiled subjection to bodily and mental defects and excruciating misery, sickness and naked poverty and unbearable privation of truly innocent people. May He enlighten the human mind to be bold enough to discard the obstinacy of sticking to one's own religion even on a point in which it is painfully silent.

Another distinguishing feature of the Hindu religion is the splendid prominence given to the female sex by treating it as equally essential to the completeness of the power or force which governs the Universe. The position given to the representative of the female sex, Laxmi, is just slightly lower than the predominent situation assigned to God himself and it is implied that without the association of the modest and beautiful complementary ingredient the power of Almighty is unattractive and fear-inspiring. Indeed on account of the perpetual inseparableness of God and Laxmi otherwise of the fixed and moveable reality of the universe, arid and fruitless as it is without the combination of the two, the idea of God is reverently loveable and adorable. In other religions the mention of the female element in relation to God is frankly secondary and a matter of mere etiquette so much so that it is not essential to the content of the Almighty which is complete without the requirement of the female element the addition of which is a matter of gracefulness rather than of an essentially complementary nature. And it is to be remembered that Laxmi is not the symbol of feeble beloved of beauty, but a great lieutenant endowed with powers

of creation and organization almost equal to those of God himself. This treatment of Laxmi's composition is indicative of the idea of the Rishis that She is not only the helpmate of God but a powerful entity capable and ever ready to disburden many of the responsibilities of God so that He can have breathing space to contemplate further development of the Universe by the powerful aid of Laxmi thereby demonstrating His fearless gift of powers to His sweet coadjutant but without misgiving as to Her becoming proud, for He Himself is all-powerful and yet magnanimous.

The great service which religion could effectuate for the prolonged happiness of mankind has not been brought about for the absence of this idea. And it is this—the absolute necessity of taking full rest with proper intervals so as to secure to the energy of one's brain that recuperative state in which it will cease to work and fully hybernate. The absence of this state of things has been the ruinous cause of mankind not enjoying the calmness and steadiness which come from the state of doing no work, which means man could live in the fulness of ripe old age and completely experience longevity and green old age fearlessly, commanding the fruit of the comfort gathered during spells of freedom from work leaving to posterity at the same time the bulk of the accumulated wealth and the keenness to enjoy it to the full.

Such being the reason and control of an all embracing religion we should approach and pursue it in a spirit of humility and hope and thereby improve man's destiny by raising it to the highest possible pitch.

Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2 H. V. Chinmulgund
23-8-37.

Thoughts on the Public duties of educated Ladies of India

The power of vote has been given to ladies by the new reforms and it is the first duty of educated ladies to understand the power and benefit of the right to vote and make right use of it which is the steadying power to keep on the right path the representatives we choose for councils and legislative assemblies. A heavy duty lies on the shoulders of educated ladies to instruct their uneducated and illiterate sisters in this nature and political advantage of the right to vote. In view of the agitation of women to secure rights for themselves both social and political it behoves educated ladies to study the problems of politics first as to the rights and duties of electors and then citizens and also to be able to stand as candidates for election to legislatures. The progress at present reached by India in political privileges requires all educated persons male and female to be well acquainted with the salient points of politics so as to know how and when to ventilate one's grievances and how to secure improvements and modifications of existing rights and how to obtain fresh ones. For this purpose the educated ladies should attend meetings of the liberals and also requisite their aid in getting themselves introduced to politics–local, provincial and national. It is no excuse to plead want of time which must be spared some how or other for this purpose. Even such of the ladies as are government servants can attend the above named meetings without incurring any blame and without being considered as violating the rules relating to the conduct of government servants, for they merely enjoin abstention from taking active part in politics and it follows that attending the meetings of liberals or getting instruction and information from liberal politicians on the fundamental portions of

political knowledge necessary to become good citizens and able to make proper use of one's political rights does not offend against law. Educated ladies should remember that they are entitled to be members of municipalities, local boards and provincial councils and the legislative assembly and Council of State. To be able to enjoy these rights at least elementary knowledge of politics is quite essential.

A knowledge of social services is also necessary for educated ladies for improving the prospects of women in social matters and no activity should be considered as wasted in acquiring this knowledge. Most particularly they should study hygiene and sanitation and the principles of maternity and bodily nurture. Women have to bring forth healthy children and for this purpose they have themselves to be strong and healthy to bear children and nurture and bring them up to be the future citizens of the country. For this purpose some knowledge of ordinary diseases and their home treatment is very useful and should be picked up at an early date. The great social misery of India is the weak health of its women and the consequent weak progeny and terrible infant mortality and high death-rate of women. Rickety health of women is at the bottom of ill-prepared food leading to further ill-health and loss of vigour of the whole family. When ladies realise the force of these defects, they will certainly exert themselves to mitigate the evils flowing from them and they would then be naturally led to consider the insufficiency of the family income and would be driven to think about the means of increasing it to an extent at least sufficient to afford a standard of living capable of yielding strength and efficiency to make the earning desired. This mode of education will put the women on inquiry whether every able member earns according to his or her capacity and to devise means to secure it. This procedure would raise the question of whether women should not also add to the family income by themselves doing some earning

work consistently with their first and foremost duty of running the house and feeding and rearing up children and supplying good food and attractive home to the male bread-winner and head or heads of the family and this question would in turn open the eyes of the male members of the family to the question of whether they themselves are not bound to contribute their aid to the domestic concerns of the home and relieve in part the labour of the women and facilitate the women obtaining good rest, recreation and leisure for higher duties of an ennobling character. The important duty of educated ladies consists in imparting information to their uninstructed illiterate sisters. They can't plead want of time, for however taken up with their avocations of an earning character they have holidays and Sundays and half holidays at their disposal which they must utilize for spreading useful knowledge among their sisters. For this purpose no formal big meetings are necessary and in a sense such meetings cannot impart knowledge really. They are more for propaganda and exhibition of oratorial powers. Nor is it necessary to secure a large audience for that too savours of formal onesided speeches. Real instruction of a beneficial character is possible only through private visits of the educated lady to neighbours and encouraging the neighbours to visit her in her own house and at such visits information should be supplied by the said lady in an informal conversational manner. The topics should relate to history, economics, domestic science, nursing, maternity, sewing, embroidary, knitting, occasional singing and music, and dancing which is being revived and which should be practised by a girl to gather grace of body and agility provided it is done in privacy and entirely in association with women, and rearing up of children, medicine (of the nature of first aid) simple poetry all interspersed with hints as to the chief political rights and duties and the content of citizenship. This habit will improve the abilities of the educated lady

herself, in addition to solemnly helping the cause of adult female education. Occasional classes for such purposes may be held if and when private residences facilitate the holding of such classes. If educated ladies fail in this sacred duty, one would be constrained to dub them as not really themselves educated. One notices that educated ladies are wasting their energies and faculties by omitting to move a finger in this matter and one fears that they are allowing their faculties to stagnate and cause ruin to society, for it implies that they quite ignore their most patriotic and public duty which it is in the hands of every educated lady to discharge with ease and gain that refined pleasure which comes from imparting knowledge to others especially, one's neighbours. Why lose such pleasure for the sake of idleness and shyness? It must be confessed that men have ignominiously failed in this duty thereby discouraging the fair sex to take up this business of love. But much harm is not done thereby to the male part of the community, for education has been spreading among them with great rapidity and expansion but such not being the case with the female part of the community, educated ladies can't slave their conscience by quoting the behaviour of males in this matter. The educated ladies don't mix with illiterate women because they are illiterate while the latter stand in awe of literate ones and don't try to be friendly with them and there has thus crept in the shadow of mutual repulsion. It is apparently the duty of educated ladies to break this spell by extending the hand of friendship and sympathy to their illiterate sisters.

In addition to the items specified above as fit to be taken up by educated ladies for the amelioration of the lot of their illiterate sisters, the need and benefit of outdoor constitution has to be preached by them. This is a rather difficult question to solve satisfactorily. The illiterate women may plead custom against this suggestion and moreover they may urge that they have no time to

take exercise out of doors and it is true to a great extent. At present they should visit temples and parks that are available in the town. Of course the city fathers or for the matter of that all the educated males have omitted to their shame to provide towns with an adequate number of parks and walks for the fair sex. It was the most important item in the duties of municipalities and sanitary boards. The few that have been recently created are open to males and females promiscuously and it is natural that women and girls don't care to resort to them in view of the customs of the country and also shyness to be exposed to the view of males. Agitation should be carried on by educated ladies to secure this provision for women's exercise in the midst or in the immediate neighbourhood of their habitations and it is the most imperative duty of educated males to lead the ladies in this agitation, which if they do success is sure to be attained within a short time. The same remark applies to the management of temple premises and compounds by the managers thereof. Instead of keeping them scrupulously and attractively clean and open to women and girls for walking about and enjoying the open air the managers are intent upon earning rents by building upon the open spaces and letting the halls of temples to build dirty shops and hovels for letting at rent. It is the most objectionable trait in the management of temple property and public voice must be vociferously raised against this sordid use of temple premises apparently intended by the endowers to be kept clean and open for the delectation of the community, especially of women and children. It is a sin to seek to get money from temple premises; if upkeep requires money, the community must readily furnish funds for the purpose, which if they are indifferent to do they are not civilized beings.

Economics is the most necessary subject with which the fair sex should be quite familiar. It is one of the chief means and safeguards to gain health and keep it. Educated ladies

must know this subject to inculcate its importance upon their sisters. The subjects mentioned above as appropriate to the instruction of illiterate women are intended to be studied in their general aspects in outline and there are small handy books available in the market like Benn's six penny library and similar manuals and by a careful perusal thereof educated ladies would derive great pleasure and genuine information which moreover would stand them in good stead in helping their uneducated sisters.

One delicate point I have now to touch upon and it is what is the full connotation of an educated Indian lady. Intellectual attainments are all right so far as they go and they are shared in common by both the sexes. The charm of femininity consists in the full bloom of both body and mind and the proper discharge of the functions assigned by God or nature to her. The prominent duty of males is to instruct women and that woman is really educated and lovely who combines intellectual attainments with the maternal instinct in all its grandeur; and maternal instinct is exhibited in bringing forth and rearing children and loving them for being children. I don't admire an educated lady entirely who does not possess and exem plify the maternal instinct in profusion. And as an accompaniment of nursing and feeding the imparting knowledge of that art to one's sisters is essential.

And an educated lady justifies herself only if she loves cooking and does it with instinctive liking for it and is not ashamed to consider it as one of chief functions of high womanhood. However one's wife may be intellectually developed the husband wants with eagerness the food prepared by the wife with her own hand or at least under her direct and loving control and therefore cooking and domestic work form a chief ingredient of a woman's education, for it is by its means mainly that a husband's love is kept green and rendered immoveably permanent. It therefore follows that a great modification in the curriculum of a woman's or

girl's education is imperatively called for, and is bound to be much different from that of a mere man or boy. For the generality of girls the following items are necessary —education up to and including the 7th standard of English interspersed with simple music and dancing and singing not of a dry and high scientific character but of a sort which amounts to natural singing in a sweet voice and playing on simple instruments just enough to give pleasure to an ordinary man or woman and to lift the soul to sentiments of love and worship of God and attract the attention or one's husband, children, brothers and sisters and intimate friends in the neighbourhood ; embroidery ; knitting; sewing ; all of a simple practical nature; domestic economy, hygiene, sanitation and a thorough grounding in first aid and domestic remedies (of a scientifically successful nature) and an elementary knowledge of medicine and diseases (something like the contents Moore's Family Medicine) and a knowledge of political economy (of an elementary character), and an outline of politics (like the contents of Lasky's introduction to politics), eugenics (like that in Benn's series) and to crown all thorough grounding in religion. Of course Hindu religion is overcharged with gross superstition as an incubus but the religion as practised by the majority has to be mastered in its outlines by every educated man or woman for in spite of the crust of superstition.

The Hindu religion is a most ennobling one, and for imparting character, stability and altruistic propensity it has to be learnt in its substance. And to be able to separate the chaff from the pearl it has to be mastered. Without the basis of religion there can be no lasting faith in morality and without religion one can't bear the unavoidable distresses of life with courage and resignation.

This review of the essential ingredients of female education of a practical type frankly implies specific exertion for imparting it with effectiveness and if public opinion feels the need thereof, agitation shall have to be

carried on by educated ladies with the sympathetic support and co-operation of educated men. It is not fair to expect government action in this matter. For government has to provide for primary education and village uplift which are very urgent and hence public contributions alone must be relied on which if not forth-coming in abundance will make higher education of woman proceed in a wrong and suicidal fashion resulting in the ruin of society. There are so far no schools and colleges of the character required. Even if schools and colleges were prepared to modify the curriculum of the male schools and colleges they would be after all of the same type turning out male and female graduates fit for clerkship and for teaching in the orthodox style. They are of the nature aiming directly at government employment in one form or other and not capable of turning out educated women of the sort herein advocated.

The question now arises whether higher i. e. university education of the type pursued by men is necessary and useful to the generality of the women of the country. In my view for the majority of women it is neither necessary nor useful, for it entails very heavy strain on the brain and nervous system of women who would and should as a general rule marry and be mothers. To expose them to the strain of going through the university course and also wish them to be healthy mothers is burning the candle at both ends. In the circumstances and tradition in which Indian womanhood is at present placed university education of the orthodox nature emphatically enfeebles their constitution rendering them unfit to bear healthy children and maintain a healthy life. One notices with regret that highly educated girls when they marry and bear children often develop tuberculosis and succumb in the prime of life rendering the lot of their husbands and children thoroughly unbearable and also undermining directly the vitality of the nation and curtailing its prospects. By nature Indian women as a rule are prone to marry and like

married life. It is only in exceptional cases that marriage is disliked and entered into against the grain and maternity avoided altogether. Therefore it is evident that only girls who are bent upon not marrying, either on account of bodily and mental aberrations or on account of extreme coldness and frigidity of temperament or on account of a stern resolution to remain maidens for ever to pursue a literary course or business careers untrammelled by the existence of husband and children or because they are mannish and would be unsuitable to be wives, should take up university course of the orthodox type so as to be able to compete with men in the lines pursued by the latter. Fortunately for humanity the number of such girls or women is small and they are welcome to get coeducation with males in colleges and universities and become teachers, lawyers, politicians, economists and authors. For the rest in the interest of the country the type of education exemplified above already is more than enough.

Now the question of the employment and economic independence of women naturally crops up. So far as the majority of women is considered in the view formulated above, this question does not assume a formidable character. At most they would do some subsidiary work as a source of earning and that would not cause unemployment among either men or women. It is only when women trench upon the fields of employment hitherto exclusively reserved for men as their equals that competition of females with men may be conceived to lead to unemployment. In the first place the number of such women competitors would be too small to cause unemployment to any noticeable extent and there is a vast field for the exclusive employment of women where males can have no entry and therefore the question of the competition of women causing unemployment for males is not of material account in India. The fields exclusively to be filled by women are the following:—Conducting Maternity Hospitals, doctor-

ing women, teaching girls in girls' Schools and Colleges, nursing, tending children and serving ladies in matters in which males can have no concern or aptitude, in doing the business of waitresses where male waiters are not of much use and in administering relief to suffering womanhood.

There is a great likelihood of schools for girls, maternity hospitals, hospitals for treating female patients and kitchens of sorts being created in very large numbers in the near future so as to give employment to a large number of women and no fear need be entertained about education of women being likely to cause unemployment either among men or among women. The foregoing are the thoughts of a mere man. It is for educated ladies to deliberate and come to a decision in all seriousness on this matter which is very vital for the renovation of the nation. Educated men have of course to add their weighty approval to the scheme of education herein adumbrated. In view of the heavy moral responsibility of educated Indian ladies they have to take counsel and begin work with due ardour. I confess it is a colossal task but it has to be tackled by educated women and men conjointly provided the former raise their voice in its support and work in earnest to achieve it gradually even though the progress is bound to be slow. It is a far beneficial and absorbing work compared to which the cry for public schools is child's play. Special public schools are not so urgently required and the proposal relating to public schools is plainly sectarian (i. e. a luxury of rich people and they should be left to it if they are so keen) but compared to the need and benefit of the scheme of general female higher education public school affair is insignificant. I would go the length of saying that no separate public schools are wanted in India in view of the existence of the Rajkumar College and the Poona public school. If needed at all some of the existing high schools can be raised to the status of typical public schools.

I concede at once that middle class educated ladies engaged in the profession of teaching are the first to weigh the benefit and urgency of the scheme in question and unless non-professional edueated ladies put their mind to it and study it and encourage their educationist sisters to propagate the scheme and begin to work it with stern decision to make it a success it cannot take shape in the near future. At the same time rich educated ladies should be ready to lend pecuniary help on a lavish scale and use their influence with men to add their liberal quota to it and this would be a great encouragement to the ladies who may be inclined and determined to carry on the work until it gains powerful momentum. The All India Women's Council can do a great deal to encourage and support this project. It is admitted that the environments of the educated women comparatively few as they are, are not such as to instil a spirit of adventure to take up this project courageously but it is they alone who have to take the initiative in the matter and I hope some of them will courageously come forward and initiate this nation-building work. They should discard their natural shyness and excessive modesty and be brave to undertake it.

As to the adult education of illiterate women educated ladies should begin that easy work instantly and set up a small beginning. It may be they will have to brush up certain subjects and study others to cope with the education of their illiterate adult sisters but it would be an easy and pleasurable task if pursued on the lines and with the aid of simple books already enumerated. I request educated ladies to give this matter immediate attention. They may discuss it among themselves and if desired I shall be delighted to take part in their discussion. There are well-to-do rich young ladies highly educated and devoted to the profession of teaching without the burden of families and such ladies would be the best persons to take up this cause in a spirit of social service of a high

order. The spirit of self-sacrifice for social service has yet to be developed among educated ladies and one hopes it will at an early date. And when it does there will arise a splendid body of educated ladies prepared to take up the task of educating their sisters and daughters in the fashion advocated above, in a spirit of selflessness and the exhibition of such spirit and work will of itself secure sympathy and funds which will support and encourage them in this ennobling work. One wonders why educated ladies have not yet developed the tendency to spread knowledge among their neighbours informally and insidiously. Really speaking this is a primary motive and should work of its own accord as a habit but it is kept down by false ideas of self-sufficiency and self-importance which is the trait of both the male and female educated portion of the Indian community. It may be explained partly as the symptom of a new attitude but it should not totally suppress primary instincts of communication, intercourse and gregariousness and it does so only because of the strain and exhausting nature of the defects of our education as at present imparted and it is also due to promiscuous adoption of educational courses by men and women incapable of pursuing those courses or else why the sight of total divorce from books and contemplation as soon as the course is completed and why the absence of great energy and of the evolution of steady fullness of faculties in after-life on the part of educated men and women? It is therefore the sacred duty of the well-wishers of India to exert their utmost to correct the mistakes underlying the prevailing lethargy and listlessness of educated men and women towards public good and to induce them to organize themselves to take up the work herein touched upon?

This is a vast field in which a very large number of teachers of both sexes can be employed to a large extent, and adult and infant illiterates can be sufficiently

educated to convert them into skilful workers i. e. producers and consumers and thus a large number of the unemployed can be relieved of their distress and penury. The immediate effect will be to create large numbers of educated citizens. The education need be generally of an elementary nature—e. g. agriculture, carpentry, smithy, tailoring, weaving, book-making and umbrella-making, book-writing, boot-binding, instruments-making and cleansing, and thereby securing longevity. The nature of the education should be of a frankly practicable nature and need only confine itself to reading, writing, arithmetic, darning, embroidery, singing, dancing, simple music, commercial geography, athletics, astronomy, general history and purifying music all of a simple nature. This reform will engage a considerable number of teachers of both sexes and afford facility to train oneself to be teachers in rapid succession and there would be manifest in a short period a changed appearance for the better and an incentive to rise higher and higher. Teachers should be pensioned off so as to make room for the young generation of teachers and thus facilitate their employment in large numbers. The schools are bound to increase as primary education advances and the result of all this will apparently be to release a large class of trained teachers whose habit it will be to devote themselves to leading adults who are wallowing in the dust of illiteracy. They may further be utilised to help local bodies and similar institutions to extend the operations of these associations and therey make people more happy. Therefore it is necessary to incur lavish expenditure on this head and prepare public opinion to carry it out with due expedition, hopefulness and enthusiasm.

NOTE

These thoughts occurred to me while anxiously contemplating a solution for the recent continuous discussion in the papers. As we are changing the existing curriculum and bifurcating the courses of studies for boys and girls, respectively, may God give us the capacity and strength to formulate from this mass of bewildering vague opinions a course of studies by which the rising generation may equip itself to carry on the battle of life with confidence and courage and minimum exertion.

One feels small and humiliated at the sight of the self-sufficiency of our educated sisters and daughters, and God grant them some measure of sympathy and sense of duty to remove as far as possible the ignorance, misery, poverty and admirable resignation of their uneducated sisters.

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Thoughts on present-day Education.

An important change in the curriculum of studies in Schools and Colleges is urgently called for. The main reason of unemployment, is the total absence of manual work which results in making students believe that it is undignifying to work with hands. The definition of gentlemanliness should be restated in view of the world's progress. There was a time when only the aristocracy attended Schools and Colleges and being, owing to peaceful times and inherited wealth, free from the necessity of earning a living and the possibility of being instructed often and long they retained no connection with manual and hard work and became soft and the teachers and professors having to handle boys mainly of this class and of the clercial profession who were as soft as the scions of aristocrats enjoying large wealth addressed themselves to train them in the way they desired and deserved and therefore the aristocracy and the merchant class and clericals and the teaching class and sons of the learned professions all adoted the fashion of acquiring learning, divorced from manual work and later on though members of classes belonging to the hand-working category joined Schools and the Colleges in large numbers the custom of schools and colleges continued unmodified by the progress of the times and all became addicted to the pursuit of learning in the originally conceived gentlemanly style.

At present a gentleman is believed to be one who does every skilful work requiring close application of brains, aided by hands and muscle, honestly and in a civilized spirit, whether it be that of an artizan and high class worker in all departments of life and who does not shirk manual work but willingly does it and

considers it as one of the emblems of a gentleman. It is indicated in the field of sports, in schools and colleges where manual work is considered necessary and also dignified. By stretching this spirit a bit further and applying the principle thereof to all honest manual work a marvellous change would be brought about in the prospects of the educated world. The tendency of the ideology of education has now been the preparation of all round efficiency and good character and therefore it is necessary that manual work should be inter-mixed with literary training which latter is not now considered to be whole unless connected with the former.

From the beginning seeondary education should include the practice of the manual arts as a compulsory item in the school studies viz. carpentry, tailoring, electrical engineering of an elementary type, smithy of the same kind and agriculture. Though some primary schools try their hand at such training it is more for show and fashion than for real equipment of the students to fit them for the struggle of life in the 20th century. And that little show too is completely discontinued after the primary stage. It looks that in High Schools and Colleges the above-mentioned arts should be seriously and continuously taught throughout and made an in-separable part of education by which means the future generation will be trained not to despise manual work as a means of earning a livelihood though possessing literary knowledge, and their prospects would certainly be brighter and unemployment would recede rapidly and the succeeding generation would moreover be healthy and strong possessing a practical turn of mind and fit to compete with any one even in manual arts and agriculture. Though it is not practical to examine the students fully as to their proficiency in the manual work named above still they could be tested if they are voluntary pursuers thereof by constant visits of the heads of districts and occasional visits of the minister of the province to

ascertain the efficiency of the students by applying proper criterions in these branches to encourage them to assiduously pursue this variety of study and constrain teachers and the taught to practise them although they have no liking for them. Indeed these visits should be an important part of the duties of heads of all the Government departments and Government itself. Provisions shall of course have to be made by Government for the proper supply of the equipment of these branches of manual work and the cost on this head should not be considered redundant or excessive as they are of the greatest value in the nation-building activities of Government and no one would cavil at it.

In this connection the question of closing the colleges from March to practically the end of June at the end of the second term has to be seriously considered. In the eighties and nineties of the last century the Summer Vacation extended only to about one and half months and there was really no Winter Vacation. Practically colleges were only closed for about a month because all the examinations used to go on during the whole of November which is the best time for examinations and students are not at all so completely exhausted as when they are held in the rigour of Summer. Granted that European Professors have to go to England every year they should not be allowed to do so. Such Professors used to remain annually in India in the 19th century and why should special facilities be granted to them now? They can go once in three or five years by taking special leave as they did in former times. If the Governor-General and the Governors can remain in India for such periods I don't see why the European Professors should not. Moreover the great drawback in the prevailing system in this connection is that Indian Professors unnecessarily get three months leave in summer which reasonably they should not. The number of European Professors is very small compared to that of the Indian ones and the latter should be quite satisfied with a summer

vacation of just one and a half months. They should teach for one and half months more than they do now (both Europeans and Indians) and this course would spare the misery of students from being made to follow hurried lectures. This system of lecturing has eminently been the cause of college students remaining mostly raw seeing that they cannot apparently profitably follow the rapid lectures or digest the subjects tought, for to do so requires much slower pace of lecturing than now. It is one of the causes of the students (of the steady studying type) keeping unsound health and maintaining a dejected outlook and thoroughly wanting in energy after graduation to be able to profit themselves and the country to fight the difficult battle of life.

The nature of the tuition and of the examinations should similarly change. The fetish of specialisation of studies is overdone now a days. It looks as though the University expects to turn out high class experts in the period of College tuition without remembering that experts can't be made in this fashion. How can young boys command the hard long continued scientific exploration and research in the respective specialized subjects with their undeveloped minds in such a short time? Specialisation in a subject is a lengthy process pursued by developed minds of a well-nigh mature age and the present expectation and trend of College education seem to be to do the impossible and the effect of the course pursued is to make specialisation a farce and the students incapable of carrying on specialisation at the proper age and with leisurely persistence. The students get stunted in their minds and as soon as the College course is ended give up studies altogether and hate them heartily and pursue a course of mental behaviour sure to make them forget even the little that had been forcibly stuffed into them by cramming to get their degrees in honours as it is styled!

The habit of expecting students to be acquainted with the contents of books other than the prescribed ones is a sure way to lead the students astray and they neither master their text books nor become such giants as to know the various views of all possible authors on a subject appointed for an examination. One professor is fond of one or two outside authors while another of some others and they both mention the views of these pet outside books in their classes and if appointed examiners ask questions on these views not dealt with in the text books appointed, or dealt with differently. There is thus a scramble to know what notes the professors of different Colleges have given in their lectures and to collect them and try to cram them with the result that they get a view of the subject of a very superficial and volatile nature. The proper course is for teachers and examiners to concentrate their attention wholly on the appointed text books and teach them and examine in them alone with a view to impress on the students the salient points and full lines of the books handled and to find out if they have done so. The task of knowing the views of other authors and comparing them and determining whose views the student admires is not yet. Their outlook is not so broad based as to tackle the subject so deeply. They have to do it later on after finishing the regular college course. It is certainly better to know one's text books thoroughly by an accurate and intelligent study of them so far as their young undeveloped intellects permit and lay down a solid foundation undisturbed by a smattering view of different authors without knowing well those of the appointed authors, and hence the prevailing tuition and examinations lead to the avoidance of reading up the subject after graduation. The test of tuition is whether a love of the subject is created in the students so as to give room for the expectation that they would study the subjects later on in the intensity which

gradually developing brains premise, for the sheer love thereof and that is substantial education.

The division of classes into pass courses, and honours courses is a meaningless innovation. Boys have to be examined in a subject to test how far they are proficient in it and they are classed as 1st and 2nd and 3rd class passes according to the number of marks they get in the examination. The addition of a few more books and calling the reading of them as the honours course is simply a make-belief. Man's intellect and memory and power of reproduction vary with the variety of human nature and accordingly they come in one of the three classes and that is enough test. The difference of the degree of proficiency is found in the said classes and no separate honours category is called for which implies that there are varieties of human nature among students! They are all human beings of one species and the test applied should be one and the same which pursues the ascertainment of the different degrees of their attainments. The categories of pass and honours is a slur on the student world and should be done away with. These categories imply that students taking up the pass course are inferior to those who take up the honours course, and if so, why graduate them at all! The thing is simply a mess and should be done away with. The aim of the University and of Government should be to turn out graduates of different calibres by giving them identical tuition promiscuously and classing them as pass, 2nd class and 1st class, leaving them to seek their fortunes in the various departments of the world's activities and there would be room for them therein according to their worth, provided the madness of their thinking and being thought to be too high to do any other work than writing and calculating in offices of Government or of firms or of shops and in the profession of teaching. The real test of graduation is fitness to be ready to take up and rapidly learn any work irrespective

of its being required to be done either by sitting on a chair in black coat or by doing it without chairs by the use of hands and muscles and the handling of rough and heavy things and tools. It is only by this attitude that unemployment among the educated can be minimized and better distribution of incomes secured and some sort of equality of income according to work and worth realised which is the crying need of the day.

Regular College tuition and course should stop with the acquisition of the B. A. degree which is a certificate that the holder thereof has secured the capacity to follow up higher study unaided by regular tuition and properly speaking he is fit and it follows that the M. A. degree is a redundancy and waste of work; it is sought to gain entry in services particularly in the educational line and it is encouraged by the M. A.s being given jobs under the idea that they are superior to B. A.s. This is mere fancy and an insult to the B. A. degree. Tuition in schools and colleges is to train students up to the B. A. course (or other courses of an equivalent degree in different departments of learning) and it should be a B. A. who should be given this job. An M. A. is no whit superior to a B. A. Teaching is a matter, as all other work, dependent on practice and proficiency and not upon reading a few books for some two years immediately after graduation. The same remark is applicable to the B. T. degree which is a useless appendage. Experience alone teaches how to handle pupils and teach them successfully. No reading of books on the subject of infant and youthful psychology should be made a condition precedent for appointing a teacher. He has to read psychology to be able to train boys and youths successfully. Mere reading of psychology etc. before beginning to teach is waste of time and energy and such a course in no way renders such students better fitted to be classed as good teachers. Cf. Servant of India (1-10-1936) p. 466 Col. 2. (Educational reform. The

new Matriculation). Let them begin to teach and gradually study books dealing with teaching and that would be the better course. The reason of the M. A. course and the B. T. course being prescribed as preliminaries to getting appointments in the educational department is not far to seek. The rush for getting these jobs was so great that the device of requiring the degrees of M. A. and B. T. was invented for lessening the number of applicants for posts in the educational department. This step was not successful. No amount of additional embellishment would lessen the supply which is always too much for the demand in India at any rate and the course adopted is simply undermining the energy of the graduates without imparting superiority of attainment and making one more fit for teaching than a simple graduate. Another reason is the manoeuvering of the teaching profession to secure income by creating such classes and making them necessary and hence the classes for teaching for the M. A. and B. T. and LL. M. and M. D. degree! The University has been an abettor in this matter by undertaking to hold examinations for these degrees. Such degrees are properly honorific and should be conferred on renowned teachers and professors and research workers and high class men in the learned professions.

It would be better if examiners are appointed from other universities for there is the possibility of their putting general intelligent questions and the practice of professors of our university asking questions on their pet views and thereby giving advantage to students of their own college over those of other colleges will be greatly curtailed. I would also suggest that highly educated gentlemen of other than the educational line should be appointed examiners along with professors and teachers whereby freshness of outlook will be introduced in examinations and avoidance of technicalities and excessive cramming of notes would be discouraged since outsiders

would test rather intelligent understanding of the main contents of the text books than the parrot-like repetition of their professors' notes. I am strongly of opinion that outside examiners should always be requisitioned.

The custom of six monthly examinations for the degree should be discontinued. What further preparation can students who have failed be expected to make within four months when they did not care to make use of full two years? It looks as though the University does so for financial advantages rather than giving a chance to failed candidates within six months. That policy rather encourages idlers to take chances without real work. Failure to pass even in the lowest grade implies that proper preparation has not been gone through and therefore the failed students should be made to work seriously for another full year. There is a chance of useless students being eliminated by adopting the suggested course and so much the better for relieving unemployment among graduates. In the same way the experiment of giving no more than three chances for appearing at examinations may be tried, for if a student fails thrice it can be presumed he is not fit to compete with those who pass within three chances and that he does not deserve to get a degree.

As for the remedying of unemployment the best course is the one suggested already viz. the compelling of undergraduates to do vocational manual work whatever may be the degree for which they may be studying for in this manner the keenness of false dignity will be considerably blunted and they will not feel shame or dishonour to take up any manual work that may be available and likely to fit the capacity of the educated youth. The hope of getting jobs in the departments of Government and of getting a living in one of the learned professions should be abandoned in view of the fact that the supply is tremendously excessive for the demand at the present time. In the inception graduates and other educated

persons possessed scarcity value and got good jobs until demand and supply got into equilibrium and later on supply went much ahead of demand and it is suicidal to wait for a job to fall in. We notice graduates accepting clerkships on 20 or 25 Rupees a month and it is surely a humiliation and a starving wage. We also see that ordinary uneducated carpenters and tailors get 50 or 60 Rupees a month and one wonders what harm there is for educated persons to take to these and similar jobs which can easily be undertaken instead of rotting in anxious waiting for clerkships and similar low services.

Agriculture is a vast field of employment for the educated youths and they can show their powers of organization by following this occupation which is healthy and sure to secure a decent livelihood in addition to developing the faculties of experimentation and self-reliance and fore-sight. Surely they are to be pitied for being led to expect a profitable job in the learned professions and Government services for they witness the affluence of and respect paid to men at the top in these jobs but top men are very few in each line and they have to be exceptionally intelligent and lucky. The lower ranks are as good as, and perhaps worse than, any work in the agricultural and other manual lines and as entry in the former is possible for the majority they should adopt it promptly before it is too late, always remembering that the lot of the majority of citizens whether learned or otherwise is to subsist on starvation wages at any rate under the prevailing economic system.

The time is past for poor parents to send their sons to colleges by incurring heavy debts for them. They had hopes of seeing their sons engaged in some Government office as a matter of certainty. Now that there is not the least chance in that direction it is hoped they would cease to do so, for with them it was investment as a business proposition which it cannot be now. Some serious agitation

in this direction seems to be called for. One would like that free studentships in colleges should be confined entirely to students standing very high up in the Matric and not to others at all and it should be conditional on their standing high up (fixing the necessary percentage of marks) in each examination later on until graduation. To aid parents in giving up this gambling the college authorities should require a statement from every student of his or her father's income and if the same is insufficient to maintain a student at a college and if the boy is not ranked very high in the Matric or entrance examination, the college authorities should not admit him. There is likely to be a row on this point as most of the private colleges depend upon increased entrance for their funds but if the public and Government become strong on this point, lowly-run colleges may not spring up as now and the affairs of existing private colleges would have to be carried on much more efficiently than now.

The hobby of arts colleges thinking of opening vocational branches looks absurd. They cannot serve two masters well and moreover vocational training and commercial courses require large and costly equipment which private arts colleges can't possibly afford to furnish and there would be poorly equipped commercial and vocational classes in those colleges which would not enable them to impart sound training and tuition in those subjects and the devotion of attention to other branches would slacken that on arts which would be ruinous on all hands. Arts colleges should be entirely arts colleges and commercial and vocational ones should be exclusively such and only then would education advance with real benefit to society.

"How to do away with Communalism"

Communalism is a hindrance to development of nationalism and if permitted to rule politics would be as disastrous as religious sectarianism and should be discouraged by every available means. The best way is to prepare electoral areas on the basis of professions, trade, industry, agriculture, education and labour. All the professions and other divisions above named contain members of the separate communities and if election is based on representation of these branches of the society there is a great likelihood of communalism disappearing from the field of politics. It is much better to proceed in this way than in the prevailing method of haphazard representation and power to vote. If it be objected that classes are not included who do not belong to professions and industries and trade the answer is that the adoption of the proposed method would induce idle classes to take to some of the professions and enlarge the productive power of society; moreover the idle classes should not meddle with politics as they make no exertion to produce wealth as is their social duty to do. This method is less artificial than the prevailing one for it relates to merit as a worker and not to the fact of belonging to a particular community. It would be a source of selection of better representatives and more enthusiastic and well informed ones than those who are elected by the prevailing methods. By representation on the basis of one's own work every member of society would be alert to develop attainments fitting him to perform public duties of a political nature and practical education shall have been given an impetus to and shall have light thrown on the impending changes in educational systems. And the several trades, industries and professions will be adequately cared for and led to improved prospects. For

instance, if agriculturists are taught that they have a right of representation as agriculturists and must take steps to educate themselves in branches of learning relating to political work they would have due stimulus to learn necessary things essential to the discharge of political power and a veto will be given to the cant of people posing as doing things for bettering their prospects whereas the fact is the cant has, as its object, personal aggrandisement or bettering the prospects by posing as representatives. Any one can obtain entry in the councils and assembly bragging that he is actuated by the sole desire of helping the masses whereas in reality he wants to help himself exclusively in the name of high sounding and sympathy-exciting slogans of relieving the poverty and misery of the masses and it must be confessed that many sins are committed in the name of the masses by unscrupulous and selfish agitators. The same remarks apply to special representations now permitted. There being few places in each special electorate there is no extensive competition by different varieties of candidates and the result is the easy election of one individual who cannot be expected to have the capacity and energy and equipment which would come into play if a larger representation is given to members of that class. If a representative is required to belong to the class which he will have to represent there would be a desirable blow given to the appropriation of seats by members of only the educated vociferous classes, prominently the lawyer class or the merchant class. There would also be the advantage of the bringing to light statistical information of the remediable defects in each class and a motive for improving them. And there would be a due demonstration of the comparative importance of cach class and there would ultimately be a fair representation for the whole of the com munity.

Communal representation results in vested interest being created in the matter of representation. The same persons will go on being elected in the majority of cases

and there would be less chances for their supersession by more energetic and better informed young men and the particular community will be a loser in this matter. Perpetuation will take place of the refusal to study the nature and contents of the peculiarities of sister communities which is a great element in social improvement and progress. It is the mutual action of community on community that drives communities to bring about necessary changes in their own and society improves. But communalism completely shuts the door to this imperative healthy study and enhances blind fanaticism and selfishness in increasing proportion as time advances. It is comparative study and freedom of thought and action that ameliorate the prospects of a country and communalism vetoes these avenues altogether. Old ways and methods and fashions are perpetuated and bigotry stalks abroad shamelessly and by the mutual aloofness of each coummunity there is the absence of that common thought and common action underlying the maintenance of one's nationality. These tendencies in European countries will ultimately result in the adoption of the change herein advocated. It appears that better political education will be imparted and a keener interest created to exercise the power to vote than is the case now everywhere. And it is expected that by that means there would be less encouragement to gerrymandering and it is very likely that the masses will know whose representatives they are and that in their name people secure benefits to themselves without any great benefit to the masses and this knowledge will put a stop to the masses being made cats' paws to their perpetual ruin. At least they will come to know that they should not sacrifice their existing prospects for the sake of a utopia not even really intended for their advancement.

"Changing the liberal creed and other allied topics"

It is easy to say that social work should be done by liberals. Where are the young workers for doing it in the party in the first place? Where are the funds? Has any industrial or social survey been made as to the fixing of the lives of workers and the methods? Unless there are paid workers it is hopeless to depend on the first flush of enthusiasts, for their enthusiasm is soon perfectly cooled and the work undertaken relinquished without compunction. If self-supporting youths want to undertake the so called work of village reconstruction where have they got the time and energy, and, after applying them to earn a decent and honest living, what arduous and persistent long continued work, essential if it is intended to be effectual, could they do with regard to social service?

With regard to working as adjuncts of congressites they will have no initiative allowed and would be required to work under a formidable dictator who is jealous of permitting any one else to share collaboration with others. Working under such a dictator affords no facility for organising work on one's own responsibility and to gain mastery in the art of organization. Such subordinate work is slavish and is no whit higher than manual labour of an ignorant character. What is the good of making promising and educated youths work jointly with congressites? What proportion of the joint funds should liberals supply, to be managed entirely without permission by the liberals?

If liberals come to the conclusion that they should do social work independently of congressmen then competition would come into force. Congressmen know very well how to drive away persons of a different political creed from their own and the masses are gullible enough to be caught

in the clutches of congress slogans as is the bitter experience of all in the political field.

Moreover it is time politics be divorced completely from religion and social work and if this view is adopted there is no concern in them for liberal politicians as such and the term liberals signifies nothing else than that social and religious matters must be left to social and religious workers who vow dissociation from politics. Moreover when the work is being undertaken by congressites it is better to allow them full scope to effect what renovation they want to achieve. If enthusiastic young liberals want to work with congressites in the social field they may do it individually on their own account as subordinates without losing their liberal politics. We have seen some of our liberals doing social work as an appendage to the congress workers but much work or adequate recognition does not seem to have been achieved. Weightier things are awaiting prompt decision and action and we have no time to waste on futile and indefinite utopian ideas of an inconsiderate nature. It would be much better if energetic young liberals devote their energies to spread the liberal creed and increase the number of liberals.

The reason of the paucity of young men in the liberal party is not far to seek. Youths being emotional, sportive and inclined to practise rowdyism are caught easily in the meshes of slogans being overhopeful and tending to soar too high and it is no wonder that the congress got hold of even highly educated youths and got them to glory in the exhibition of wild pranks which really lowered them in the estimation of thoughtful men and perhaps of themselves which is evident from their subsequent disillusionment reducing them often to non-entities. And it is plain that youths are consequently unattracted by the sombre exterior of the liberal party. It is only youths thoroughly ruled by reason and forethought and practical considerations that are likely to ally themselves with the

liberal party and follow its creed in all seriousness. And it follows that such youths should not waste their high qualifications in doing social work. They have not got much time to spare which they had better devote to mastering liberal principles and carrying propaganda among young men to convince them of the sanity, practicability and statesmanship of that creed and secure them for the liberal party. Gaining proficiency in the knowledge of the sceience of politics and economics is essential which they must do before proceeding to do propaganda work as, in after life, they won't get the time and freshness and energy to master them and it is on account of their mastery over these subjects that outstanding liberals exact the admiration of congressites, and for failing to do so young men would be handicapped in attaining to top places in the political world in middle and after life. And this is more than they can be able to do while in youth, if they have in addition to earn and fit themselves to earn an honest living which is a great asset in obtaining status to command a hearing and acceptance of their preaching. Meanwhile the other constructive work which by their proposal they wish to do, can be entrusted to lower order of youths paid for working in aid of the cause of our party. For the proposers to be really useful to the party their devotion to earning money by honest means would be indirectly the better way of serving the party for thereby they can contribute funds to the coffers of the party which are at present dishearteningly lean. Youths belonging to substantially rich families should devote their full time and energy to the profession of politics and they and youths of moderate and poor means by earning money as indicated above would form a considerable following for the liberal party.

In order to create an atmosphere congenial to the creation and development of liking for the liberal creed colleges should get liberal leaders to give political addresse-

to the students of the nature of the one delivered by the Right Hon. Sastri in the Wadia College recently.

To be able to create a large following, to undertake social work and reconstructive propaganda very large funds are wanted and are the true factors of party organization. Any one can talk and talk as to the necessity and urgency of superfine organization but to undertake it is a hard job and it is for want of workers in this spirit that the liberal party is languishing. It costs nothing to criticise and blame others but sincerity in the matter is evidenced solely by putting one's shoulders to it seriously and with determination. To have an idea of the volume of funds required a glance at the funds spent by the congress is enough. Unless analogous funds are gathered it is waste of breath to talk of better organization and securing of a large following.

To obtain large funds merchant princes and other monied classes have to be approached; but they are a body of men who wont part with money unless prompt advantageous results are promised. The liberals could not do it and no funds on a large scale required for a party organization were forth coming and it should be confessed that the liberals did not hitherto devote due attention to the collection of sufficiently large funds. They move on high intellectual planes and seem to have assumed that high intellectual attainments and a recital in oratorial language of the reforms required would bring in its train funds, organisation and disinterested spade work in the formation of an influential party. Perhaps they did not feel the necessity of these basic matters, confining themselves entirely to oratory without the apparent idea that heavy spade work of a lower order was a condition precedent to the realisation of their political aspirations. This is rather depressing.

To resume the line of argument as to the suppliers of funds the merchants were given an inviting bait by the congress by promising to rescue all trade and commerce from the British and hand these over to them and this is precisely the explanation of the congress being furnished with bumper funds to carry on their ridiculous experiments. Now that the bubble of the glowing promises of the congress to the merchants and traders has burst the merchant class is opening its eyes to the political realities of the Indian situation. And if liberals become earnest to collect funds this is the time to approach the wealthy classes. Let it be once for all promised that without ample funds in hand or under command it is useless to talk of organisation and constructive work.

The second basic fact is the supply of enthusiastic steady disinterested workers in the cause of organisation. If these two ingradients are secured organization can proceed with rapidity and force. Mere theory and criticism of others is nothing short of irresponsible and ineffective talk. And a good deal of harm will be done by under-valuing the services of elder statesmen and politicians for they are the solid stay of the party and an enviable ornament and in the matter of funds it is they who will be the chief source of supplying and obtaining funds. Let young politicians reverence the elders and taking their co-operation proceed to work on the right lines and they will secure a large following. In spite of the noise of the Congress that it is the only representative of the greatest part of India the heart of India is soundly in line with the liberal creed and it is lying dormant on account of lithargy, indifference, absence of political-mindedness, and fear of Congress mischief-making owing to which it flirts with the congress, perhaps with a view to partake of the benefits, if any, which the congress may succeed in obtaining, and therefore the giant of India can be wakened to his right position by earnest work on the part of liberals.

As already hinted non-Brahmins, Moslems and the depressed classes though really cherishing the liberal creed at heart or amenable to its promptings are shying to declare themselves to be of the liberal party for fear of disorganizing their communal solidarity and the hope of getting exclusive communal rights. But it is a blind view that they are entertaining. Joining the liberal party is the proper means by which they can obtain more readily the upheaval of their community rather than by standing aloof and exhibiting a selfish communal spirit. Liberalism stands for the progress of the whole community in all its component aspects and it is the conjoint progress of the whole community that will achieve even communal benefits now separately sought after by detracting from the strength that is available only by conjoint action of the whole body politic and social. Further-more by openly joining the liberal party the communalists are not going to be deprived of the right to press their communal rights.

"Party organization and present work of the liberals"

No importance is attached to it in spite of constant complaint. Without systematic organization no party can flourish. Liberals are hopelessly unorganized. There is no party fund without which no party runs successfully Liberals don't contribute. Being the intelligentia they simply aim at getting proficiency in political theory and other allied branches of learning and at preaching without following it up by practical education of the masses. People having seen the havoc of following congress can now be impressed with the futility of personality-worship and unthinking following and acting. Ours is a policy of gaining consent by persuasion for which purpose paid agents in large numbers are required. They can organize meetings in villages and towns without which no formation of party can be practised. And for persuading the masses no high class oratory or personality is required. Constant reiteration of the benefits of constitutional methods and the ruin caused by extrimist methods and the benefits of moderate progress is necessary. A knowledge of the civic duty of joining a party and of helping the cause of the country has to be incessantly reiterated. People have to be disabused of the idea of gaining direct substantial personal gain by discharging political duty and to be impressed with the impossibility of the protection and progress of the community taking place unless every one disinterestedly and as a matter of duty contributes to the funds of the party according to his capacity. The test of organization is such willing contribution with a conviction that such a sacrifice is essential to the existence of the community made by as large a number of persons as possible-number of contribution and not the largeness of the

contribution is the thing to be aimed at and secured. After contribution no one should be permitted to lord it over the party. Every one is bound to contribute irrespective of the amount paid by each.

Liberals do not observe gradations and fitness of workers. An outstanding leader and a fine orator should not be bothered with the work of collecting funds or securing members for the party. It is enough if he advise and write to friends to make contributions. Men who are not fit to be leaders and orators should not aspire to assume the role of leaders and orators but should take up work for which they have capacity and it is fit that they should do so for they could in that way do better work.

Very many persons sit on the fence without identifying themselves with any party and expecting benefits to come to them without undergoing some sacrifice or exertion by doing their bit of patriotic political duty. They are a danger to the community and should be sought to be absorbed in the party. If safety and opportunity to work are wanted as every one has to want them they must contribute to the party fund and do their bit of unpaid political work

Why should not all Inam-land-holders and Jahagirdars join the Liberal party? There is no objection so far as government orders go. They can't remain unaffected by political and patriotic feelings and their shirking to join one of the parties implies that they are either sitting on the fence or leaning towards extremism. If the latter then they are dangerous to the government which is entitled to loyalty on the part of Inamdars and Jahagirdars. As they cannot join the extremist party so long as they hold the Inams and Jahagirs they had better make virtue out of necessity and join the liberal party, association with which would clear their minds and create an appreciation of constitutional methods

and moderation. As to the youths of these classes and the sons of government servants they could assign themselves to the liberal party as volunteers until they begin to earn or become fit to earn their livelihood when they can become full-fledged members of the party. One has noticed that sons of government servants joined the Youth League and canvassed subscriptions on its behalf and practised all the slogans of the league fearlessly. And one does not understand why such youths should not join the liberal party as volunteers and diligently attend political meetings of the liberals and practise the slogans of that party so as to fit themselves to be members later on. A slight exertion on the part of parents would surely incline these youths to do as above. Government Servants are bound to exert in this matter. In the same way one wonders why ladies and girls don't come in large numbers and join the liberal party. If they could join the extremist party and even court imprisonment they could similarly join the liberal party and do similar work for it. It may be that the emotional nature of young boys and girls is swayed readily by the congress slogans and its catching dresses but after noticing the futile nature of the efforts of youths in the congress party one is entitled to expect ladies and girls to join the sober liberal party. As they don't one is entitled to believe that ladies and girls want spectacular demonstrations and work and are not patriotically minded or public-spirited. This is a field in which paid agents of the liberal party male and female can spread a liking for the liberal creed among the groups just dealt with and parents can aid this cause remarkably.

There should be a staunch liberal in each small town and village who should work seriously to preach the liberal creed and secure recruits to the party. Similarly there should be a lady member for each such place. It is not waste of funds to pay for the services of such men and women.

The paid agents can be made to work in the direction of securing such enthusiastic members in towns and villages—more so in the latter and they can arrange meetings in central villages to educate the masses in constitutional methods which is the strong plank of the liberal party. Occasionally the said agents should call large meetings at which leaders of the party should make speeches—every leader being made to feel this to be the most important duty which should be persistently discharged by every leader as a sacred duty.

Large funds should be collected and ear-marked for specified purposes of the party, one of the purposes being propaganda work and very important. Funds thus ear-marked must be freely spent for the purpose and not accumulated for the pleasure of accumulation. It was bitter experience when the federation treasurers caused great discouragement and disappointment by refusing to give part of the ear-marked fund for propaganda purpases which the Deccan Sabha wanted to carry on enthusiastically. The result was that enthusiasm of respectable workers was damped and no propaganda could be carried on for want of funds even when they were available being in the hands of the federation and ear-marked for this object.

Payment according to means is the test of sincerity as to a party and its maintenance. An educated man cannot exist without political leanings and the question arises whether government servants should not be required to make a declaration of their political creed. The present attitude of government as to this point seems to be to make government servants keep within themselves their political leanings and biases and to show to the world that they have no political partialities as to parties. This is simply a make-believe policy. Every one must be conscious that no educated man in this age can keep in abeyance his political proclivities and if that is so why not make public what is semi-public or managed to be kept secret for the sake of policy? It cannot be

that an extremist or a liberal government servant would permit himself to be swayed by his politics in the discharge of his duties. He discharges them unaffected by his personal politics and that is what an educated being is expected to do. It is well known that some teachers and professors insidiously sowed their extremist opinions in the tender and emotional minds of their pupils which misled the latter. It would be much better if the political convictions of a Government servant are known from the moment of his recruitment, for one can test his official morality and aloofness much better thus than without a specific knowledge of his politics, and handled adequately. All that Government servants should be required to do is to keep themselves strictly aloof from political practice and not to take an active part in politics or to permit themselves to be swayed by it in the execution of their duties. By this means Government will know much better than now how they are situated in regard to their servants. Only there should be no objection to a person's admission to or continuance in service on the ground of his political leanings provided he swears, he will discharge his official duties sincerely and seriously unswayed by his personal politics.

Educated ladies have an arduous duty to perform in imparting political education of a practical and general type to their ignorant sisters and daughters. It is one of their imperative duties for performing which they must fearlessly come in the open and learn general practical politics and teach it to their sex. Omission to do so would be failure to do one's patriotic public duty apart from their other duties or work. This duty they must promptly discharge for the benefit of their children and brothers and the younger generation.

Every sensible liberal should exert incessantly to add members to the party and increase party funds and no one however humble his position is insignificant for party purposes.

There is no co-operation and consultation among liberal leaders nor observance of gradation among them and no harmonious action to increase their following. That would be the height of progress of the party when leaders are made and unmade by the rank and file and when leaders believe they must really lead their rank and file. There is no reason why non-Brahmins should not join the libaral party. It may be they hesitate because they want to obtain special advantages because they are non-Brahmins. Granting that point why should they not join our party for the moderates among them are constitutionalists and it is the charm of the liberal creed that it extends its hands to all castes and creeds. If non-Brahmins have their special and sectional objects to gain they can continue to belong to their non-Brahmin group and yet join our party reserving their points of sectional character for action according to the decision of their special group. The liberal party does not prevent them from doing so through their group and from making reservation in voting and action when the liberal party takes a decision thought to be damaging to sectional interests. Why then do non-Brahmins deprive the liberal party of followers of constitutional methods by keeping aloof when joining it would enlarge their own outlook and render forceful all ventilation of common grievances? It would be a great education to non-Brahmins to belong to and work with the liberal party on matters of common interest, nay it is for their interest to do so for thereby they can understand in fulness what are the common interests of Indians as a whole which permit pursuit of sectional objects if thought necessary.

The same remark applies with equal force to Mahomedans who have not identified themselves with the congress creed and they are overwhelming in the mofussil and in villages and it is worth while to seek to induce them to join the liberal party and success in the matter

is not problematical. The case of non-Brahmins is more hopeful. If these groups join the chances for the enhancement of party funds are very great. It is the duty of Liberals to create opinion in the masses as to the benefit of moderate and constitutional agitation.

To expose mercilessly the tricks of the congressites specially their inveigling ignorant poor people except the hooligans who want the dirty work of rowdyism.

If it is immoral to induce the masses to fight for Kings and war-lords how much more it is when people are duped into doing illegal and immoral things for the congress without remuneration and with the certainty of losing their lands and property and with no prospect afterwards of earning a living decently, resulting in the likelihood of being reduced to down-right beggary and losing every chance of getting employment as people will shy at engaging such uncertain and reckless persons. The constitutional methods work more on reason and logic and less on emotion and therefore people begin to understand and appreciate the practicable and eschew the imaginary. Hence they will remain consistent and no effort should be spared to educate and argue. Paid workers are a great help and desideratum.

Fascism, Hitlerism, Socialism and communism are possible only when there is no powerful and sympathetic and liberalminded foreign dominion. Creating public opinion on constitutional matters is a higher function than getting seats in Councils and Assemblies and working there.

Liberals should renounce their niggardliness and contribute funds liberally towards party funds for want of which there has been no organization which is a condition precedent to the strength of a party and the increase of its rank and file. For want of paid agents and absence of a public and patriotic spirit in the rank and file and the contempt of the leaders and top-men for their rank and

file organization has failed and in fact never came into being. The leaders and top-men of the lower type don't condescend to do organizing work and the outstanding leaders can't carry out organizations with zeal for want of time being occupied with intellectual work; but their defect is that they treat their rank and file with scant courtesy and seem to happy that they don't care whether they have any and what following and of what nature and capacity or to encourage them to do their bit of public work which if they do, there would be marvellous prospects for propaganda. They should not be stiffly exclusive and suicidally self-centered but should try to create leaders and successors.

"Conference of all groups for purposes Common, Identical, and Similar."

The Congress is alone entertaining the idea of rejecting the Joint Parliamentary Report. All other parties and groups are shy of that action and generally are on getting improvements in important details and for that purpose with-hold acceptance of the contents of the report until social matters are improved. The Mahomedans, the Tilakites (vide the Bhala), the majority of non-Brahmins and the depressed classes are one with the Liberals on this point. This is an instance of points of common interest on which so many groups are agreed. For the discussion of such matters and voicing such grievances and the demand for remedying them a Conference of all such parties should be called annually. Instead of making much of prestige which has been the main obstacle in the formation and working of an all parties Conference it shoud be distinctly premised that all the co-operating groups do not abandon for all purposes their exclusive group or party and merge themselves unrecognisably in the suggested Conference. Such annual Conferences under the designation suggested would remarkably round the angularities of each group and secure harmonious relations and mutual confidence and joint deliberation and action which are eminently essential in carrying on Parliamentary Government which is coming to India though slowly. By remaining stiffly exclusive and blindly pressing for sectarian and regional advantages co-operative work for carrying on the Government of the day is impossible and without it there can be no hope for the development of nationhood and combined action to work the constitution. Details as to formation can be easily settled on the main principle being adopted.

UNIVERSAL SYSTEM OF SECURITY.

Inter-Parlimentary Conference.

ISTAMBUL (By Air Mail).

"World adoption of a universal system of security 'based on the prohibition of any resort to force' was the chief recommendation of some 300 congressmen, members of parliament and senators from 22 countries taking part in the thirtieth Inter-Parliamentary Union, which recently concluded its labours here.

"Established 45 years ago, the Inter-Parliamentary Union endeavours to unite in common action all the Parliaments of its 36 member states, to secure the "firm establishment and democratic development of international peace by means of a universal organisation of nations.

"The main achievement of this year's conference was the elaboration of the framework of a universal system of security which many delegates consider a re-enforcement of the Kellogg Pact. The nations, it was proposed, should set up a "consultative body" to watch over international relations and "express its opinion at the appropriate moment on any infraction", undertaking never to resort to force. In a crisis, this body would meet immediately at the request of any government. There should also be a precise definition of the aggressor.

FORCE DENOUNCED

"Where aggression has occurred there should be several penalties of a diplomatic, financial, economic or military character. The application of military penalties, the conference held, might be facilitated by an international armed force and particularly by an air police force. Moreover, all the governments should at once adopt preliminary administrative measures to facilitate the immediate application of international penalties.

"Finally, government should refuse to recognize any agreement "or new state of affairs" brought about by the use of force. Lastly, the government members of the League of Nations should refuse to register any agreement "obtained by illicit force." This would render such agreements invalid, since under Article 18 of the League Convenant no international treaty is binding unless registered with the League.

"The conference also felt that security could be reinforced by the conclusion of regional security pacts, which however, should not be directed against any particular power. In the field of disarmament, the conference decided that pressure should be brought to bear on public opinion in order "that it may manifest in favour of disarmament."

"The parliamentarians also recommended for the world's acceptance several "most urgent and most easily realized" fundamental measures to help disarmament. These are the setting up of a permanent disarmament committee, the juridical and automatic control of the real or potential armaments of the governments, full budgetary publicity and the control of defence expenditure, the regulation of suppression of the private manufacture of arms, the regulation of the international traffic in arms, and the internationalization of civil aviation.

"It is interesting to note general agreement among the delegates that the representative form of government is a policy which is making serious universal progress.

In the words of Senator Joseph T. Robinson, chairman of the American delegates, absolutism has been proved worthless and the representative form of government is now finding its true place and steadily gaining round the world over.

If the form of government is representative, war becomes impossible, for the millions who suffered and witnessed suffering are those who govern. This means lasting piece."

(*Exclusive in India by arrangement with "The Christian Science Monitor."*)

You may call it "The National Constitutionalists' Conference" or "The All India Constitutionalists' Conference." It is true the leaders of the several groups or parties feel comfortable when they are brought together to exchange views on matters on which there is common agreement. If, as is undeniable, the nation's and country's good is the aim of all patriotic politicians they must develop the attitude of cogitating together on fundamental questions where there is no difference of principle, for without it no good can be achieved for the country. The rank and file of all the groups should take the initiative in this matter and constrain their respective leaders to meet those of other parties twice a year to ascertain what progress has been made in commonly agreed matters and what further steps have to be taken in hand to achieve fulfilment thereof. This compulsory coming together would facilitate harmony and joint consultation.

The time has come for self-constituted leaders to disappear entirely. It is the evil of self-created leadership that has retarded the coming into being of conjoint deliberation between leaders of different parties. The leaders want to maintain their hold on their followers by hook or by crook and one of the ways pursued in this connection has been to sustain an attitude of antipathy towards other parties and their leaders. And this method has also been the cause of there being no uniformity in the actions of the party concerned and there are conflicting pullings in different directions resulting in weakness of the party whereas if leaders are systematically chosen by the rank and file at stated intervals by gauging the merits of the

several leaders of the party this practice of despotic dictation of one's whims by acknowledged leaders would be considerably reduced, though the tendency to be dictatorial is human and would run amock if not duly and truly restrained.

To their credit it must be said the liberals are remarkably ready willing and enthusiastic to meet leaders of other parties of however antagonistic an attitude and to discuss with them every variety of salient politics and to arrive at a joint conclusion with a genuine desire to take joint action on it if it be consonent with the good of the country. If leaders of other parties do so India would progress with great rapidity and therefore it is that the rank and file of each party should do as hinted above. As a first step towards it perhaps a town hall for each city should be established as the joint of property of all the parties and for common use particularly for joint consultation on common points. The leaders must arrange meetings of their party in different places at stated times and address their parties on the topics of the day giving the pros. and cons. and then suggesting their own opinion and desiring the rank and file to give theirs and if their conclusions are different from their own leaders must seek to reconcile them and persuade the followers to fall in with the leaders' decision which if they don't then they must resign and make room for a different set of leaders. This is how healthy progress of a party is made and this is the duty expected of leaders in the matter of the so-called education of the masses and if this part of their duty the existing leaders are not prepared to discharge assiduously they are not leaders but selfish dictators and aristocrats.

It is high time to separate social service from political propaganda. The mixing of these together gives a false colouring to the work of a political leader. A man may be a very good social or religious leader and reformer but it does not follow that therefore he is a fit political leader.

In fact the two capacities are quite distinct. Simply because a man does or is fit for social work it can't be presumed that he can be a success in the political field; on the contrary he will be a man of visionary outlook which is damaging to the cause of politics and he may lead people astray by that trait in him. In politics a leader has to be profusely practical and thoroughly versed in the science of politics, economics and historical outlook. It is inadvisable to work upon the mind of the masses in the combined capacity of a social and a political reformer for the masses are too ignorant to differentiate between politics and social work and will follow a man unfit to be a politician only because he is a social worker and has achieved some success in that variety of propaganda. The same is the consequence in a mixture of religious and political propaganda and it is more disastrous, for a man may attract the imagination of the masses by his religious purity and moral grandeur but these are not the qualifications which ought to make a great political leader.

Moreover one can't do together the two works—political and social or religious as in that case the qualifications and extent of work are impossible to find in one and the same person; and mixing the two varieties of work does not permit the development of leadership of each branch in its fulness in one and the same person. It is also seen that mixing these works together a person who is quite unfit for one of the works handles the branch he is not fit for and bungles and cannot attain proficiency in the work he is capable of doing satisfactorily. There is urgent necessity to educate the masses in the most elementary knowledge of politics when electorates on a large scale are about to be formed. All those who are enthusiastic for doing political propaganda work must devote their whole energies in doing this work and those fitted to do social work must do it whole-heartedly so that there may be progress on both sides without the one diminishing the rigour and ardour and exclusiveness of the other.

Religious propaganda should be carried on like Christian missionaries wholly and soley unconcerned with political propaganda. Social service should be done exclusively on the lines of the work of the Salvation Army.

In Western countries religion is being entirely divorced from politics for the bitter experience of the conjoint action of religion and politics. Some of them have gone further and been raising a strong crusade against the practice of religion at all. And in India the congressites have their bitter experience in the cessation of the sanatanists from the congress who were its staunch supporters before and this is due to the havoc played by the attempt at religious reforms of a devastating nature.

"Relief of Agricultural indebtedness"

The question of the indebtedness of agriculturists and of industrial workers has to be handled with great delicacy and fore-thought. On the one hand false hopes should not be created in the debtor class of easy relief from the clutches of creditors, nor reckless disposition to incur debts encouraged by the false hope of relief therefrom in any case; and on the other the likehood of self-help and self-reliance and thrift being undermined by the constant harping on the urgency and imperativeness of relief of agriculturists from indebtedness without proper limitations should not be entertained. The economic motive of lending money should not be completely ignored as is done now in the discussions on the point by the several legislative bodies throughout India, and this disregard of the legal and moral claims of money-lenders would either dry up the tendency and desire to lend money or develop greater tendency in getting promises from debtors for repayment at an unconscionable rate of interest in indirect ways. The hunman motive to lend is profit and it is the lookout of the community to see that inordinate profits are not made by creditors and it is also the business by the community to safe-guard the legitimate and moral claim of that body and to see that the avenues of getting credit and loans are not over-stiffened. A community partly agricultural and partly non-agricultural cannot subsist without incurring debts for one purpose or other, not of an immoral or illegal nature; and to create the attitude of expecting them to be free from debt or to have no resort to it, is aiming at the impossible. The proper procedure to protect both debtors and creditors and to permit the course of money-lending to flow in healthy channels with due force and in an adequate volume appears to be the following :—

The D. A. R. act should be made the general law of the country by converting it into an act applicable to the whole of India with modifications according to provincial requirements. It has stood the test of time and has had sufficient experiment and is on the whole a beneficial measure so far as the entire community is concerned. Its failure to achieve all it is capable of is due to slow and indifferent administration. The courts deal with the cases coming before them as being on a par with contested land suits or suits of a complicated and slowly progressive nature and therefore the debtors do not get the real benefit expected from the operation of the act. The proper remedy is to greatly expedite the trial of cases under the act as though they were criminal cases of the class in which the accused is in custody and is not likely to be bailed out. In the case of relief from indebtedness speedy final decision is the greatest desideratum. There is a paucity of Judges and their number should be promptly increased so as to permit the most speedy handling of the cases and their establishments too should, wherever necessary, be strengthened. The hobby of retrenchment greatly curtailed the number of Judges and the number of their establishments and it may be safely asserted that thereby the efficiency and speed of the administration of justice have greatly suffered in the matter of relief of indebtedness in particular. The judicial line should have been treated in the matter of retrenchment on a par with the police Department and the axe should not have been applied to it with the recklessness with which it was done. Expenditure in this matter must be decently lavished as it is a matter of relieving distress which is the foundation of the nation's property.

If this proposal is adopted greater attention shall have to be paid to the appointment of a better class of conciliators and arbitrators and steps would have to be taken to ensure that they perform their voluntary duties with sufficient expedition and zest. Great attention should be paid

also in the matter of expediting the execution of decrees sent to the collector by the courts under the C. P. code.

The co-operative societies too have not been all that they are intended to be. Money-lenders and semi-moneylenders and well-to-do land-holders predominate in the matter of getting loans easily and no real relief is vouchsafed to the lesser order of agriculturists and artizans who are the real objects of the beneficial operation of the institution. In fact the well-to-do and powerful classes get the benefit of the act who would have taken proper care of their interest without the working of the co-operative Society's act. If the principles of the co-operative movement are worked in a spirit of utilitarianism and by persons of a disinterested enthusiastic capacity it will do an amount of good in the matter of relief of agricultural indebtedness.

Along with this the prospects of agriculturists can be improved by taking the following steps :—

Enlarging the operation of the agricultural department, increasing the staff on definitely lesser pay than what it gets at present and impressing upon the staff the fact of its being a department of serving the community, and not ruling it, and of spreading the knowledge of improvement in agriculture among all varieties of agriculturists especially the poorer ones. If full effect is given to this principle and the department made to work with sericusness and diligence abandoning its lordly ways real good would accrue to the agriculturist class; and by undertaking all manner of agricultural propaganda the expected results will be sooner achieved on a large scale and the indirect effect would also be to relieve unemployment among the educated youths by engaging them on low salaries in the agricultural department on the various duties essential to its extensive operation, such as imparting information and knowledge of improved methods of agriculture, use of new implements and other aids to agriculture, distributing among agriculturists good seed and supplying proper manure to

them and running retail shops supplying good implements of husbandry of the kind that ordinary poor agriculturists can afford to purchase and use, and working in government reserved fields to experiment upon improved methods of cultivation and thereby supplying models for imitation to illiterate agriculturists. These educated youths can also do touring within a radius of 4 or 5 miles occasionally to give lectures to agriculturists on matters relating to agricultural and allied subjects. Thus a vast field lies open for engaging educated youths on the distinct understanding that they must be satisfied with very low pay. Similarly doctors and nurses on low pay should be engaged to improve the health and sanitation of villages therey absorbing another batch of the educated unemployed. Some youths can also be engaged in preparing manure so as to turn out large quantities of it costing as little as possible to render it easy for agriculturists to purchase and use it on their lands. If along with this work primary schools are opened in every village, work shall have been supplied to youths following the teaching profession on the strict understanding that they have to work contentedly on very low pay. If the constant reiteration of the urgency of improving the prospects of agriculture is to be a practical proposition these things should be taken up with seriousness and the flimsy excuse of want of funds should be kept at arm's length fully remembering that government exists justifiably by showing boldness to carry out such nation-building activities by borrowing profusely; and who would condemn such borrowing so usefully to be employed? Nor need government go at once to the market for this loan for a vast amount is lying idle in the coffers of Government in the form of famine relief fund which can be utilized for this purpose, since the relief to agriculturists in the fashions suggested is the highest form of famine-relief; and government can replenish the fund, by creating a sinking fund for the purpose from the annual revenue and it will accumulate

into a large fund again in a few years–few in consideration of its being a national concern and not a private one. On a large amount being required for the purpose under discussion Government should unhesitatingly resort to the money market for the required amount of loan. The main concern to be all along cherished is the up-lifting of poor agriculturists i. e. those of meagre means who form the vast majority of Indian population and without bringing relief and bright prospects to whose door no reform will be complete or adequate which is the crying need of the day.

In order to draw the attention of the majority of peasants and agriculturists it is very necessary that their own lands should once be cultivated at public cost by educated youths and the crops of one year carefully looked after by the said youths, of course utilising the labour of the agriculturists concerned who would readily give it, supplementing it with out-side paid labour at public expense whenever the agriculturist concerned is unable to pay the labourers so engaged. It is also very necessary to supply cheap machines and implements so as to bring them within the means of ordinary agriculturists and unless and until this matter is soon and adequately handled no extensive up-lifting of agriculturists is possible and the undertaking of this job will absorb still larger numbers of the educated unemployed.

There should be shops to sell the above-named implements such as tractors etc., produced for cheap sale and to supply good healthy seed and cheap manure for groups of villages within a radius of five miles. This point is also important. Along with the shops there should be dispensaries dispensing cheap good medicine to families of agriculturists to improve their health without which no improvement in their prospects is possible. This would engage a good many educated unemployed, of course, on the clear understanding that they will be paid the lowest possible wages or salary.

After these things are secured it would be enough to offer loans in the nature of Tagai advances with proper and reasonable facilities created for easy repayment taking special precautions to see that the debtors are not driven to borrow from Sowkars for making these repayments, for then they would be forced out of the frying pan into the fire, and if so, the whole system of relief would be simply nominal.

Respectable pawn shops should be encouraged and strict rules made to deal with unscrupulousness in money-lending and this, in addition to the land mortgage banks which should be much more numerous than now with smaller capitals located in the immediate neighbourhood of villages, would afford enough aid for the present.

If all these things are done by paid agency on very low scales of pay—they must be effectuated speedily, systematically and at the lowest possible cost while at the same time inspection and supervision of those thus engaged should be exacting and effective.

Though the introduction of the principle that those alone should hold lands who are able and willing to cultivate them personally is beyond the pale of practical politics, yet, the prevailing unwillingness of cultivators to take leases of lands and the colossal reduction of rent of lands at present are matters to think out for the abolition of rack-renting. Many landlords are unable to recover the agreed rent from their tenants and have often to forego it altogether or be satisfied with 1/3rd or even 1/4th of the usual rent paid before the present depression. The general understanding should be to allow rent to the extent of double the assessment and it is usually the practice of courts in calculating mesne profits in the absence of satisfactory proof of agreement to pay more. Though government i. e. the legislature cannot pass a general law to that effect the practice of not recovering

more than double the Government assessment should be established by Jahagirdars and Inamdars and big landlords and other middlemen and this would be the best way to stereotype the receipt of rent by middlemen from the produce of lands let on lease.

The duty of Jahagirdars and Inamdars and higher landlords to invest a stated part of their landed income in introducing better methods of cultivation and using superior class of implements and resorting to variety of crops should be constantly dunned in their ears and moral pressure brought to bear upon them by which method unemployment among agricultural labourers would be greatly curtailed and instances provided to mediocre and poor agriculturists to imitate these better ways of raising crops. They, the big landholders, should also be constrained to improve their villages by providing good buildings for schools and small decent town-halls and also to provide for the reasonable sanitation of their villages.

Finally the Government should consider it to be its sacred duty to appropriate only a reasonable portion of the revenue of each village for provincial purposes and those of district boards leaving the greater part of the village revenue for the exclusive use and benefit of the village and this system would renovate the prospects and aesthetics of every village with great rapidity and in a comparatively short time.

The Taluka local boards should be used for educative purposes by encouraging them to deliberate ways and means to improve the lot of agriculturists within their jurisdiction in addition to the simple easy work of supervising the P. W. D. nature of the work. The board should consist of a large proportion of members of the agriculturist class when the taluka is mainly agricultural, and when industry (with commerce) is also the general source of living along with agriculture in a Taluka the merchant class

members should not exceed 50 per cent. in the board. The local boards can easily develop into healthy institutions for the propagation of national, particularly provincial, politics of a sensible and country-serving nature and they would surely be the proper foundation of the country's all round development.

NOTE.

Relief of agricultural indebtedness.

The thoughts of this essay took shape while I was studying the various wild remedies suggested by the clientele of the Times of India for rescuing agriculturists from the heavy load of indebtedness. May the Almighty throw light in our brains to suggest appropriate remedies to alleviate this misery in a sensible and practical manner uncontrolled by concealed selfish interest and bent upon simple ticklish hollow spectacular shows organized by self-sufficient persons.

The Jahagirdars, Inamdars and big landlords can do a lot to renovate the misfortune of the agriculturists by ceasing to rackrent, by keeping a stock of costly agricultural machinery for the general use of cultivators, by storing good seed of various sorts, by making a survey of their lands to astertain what kind of crops can be grown on them, by occasionally cultivating the lands of poor agriculturists to give them encouragement and to prove what varieties of crops can be profitably grown on the cultivators' lands, by lending to them at very low interest moneys wanted for their industry and the purposes of their families and providing for the return of the loan in easy instalments in the manner that will not cause any detriment to their cultivation or the necessary comforts of themselves and the members of their families. By adopting this attitude of showing sympathy to cultivators the landlords will be justifying their existence and showing humanity ingrained in every human being. Moreover by seriously undertaking these activities they would provide employment which alone saves one from tedium and gives zest to life. They can establish model farms and crops of various kinds can be profitably grown in their village lands. They can keep a stock of good cows and bullocks to give facilities for the selection of draft animals and milk-yielding cattle.

By these means the Inamdars and other land-lords can establish their keen perception of their duty as trustees thereby also securing prosperity for their villages and supplying employment of various kinds to their villagers and gradually lifting them up to higher planes of increasingly progressive and happy life while securing gradual intellectual advancement of their cultivators and also smartness of appearance and initiation into various skilful jobs and contentment and a rising comfortable life.

Sadashiv, Poona 2
23-8-37.

H. V. CHINMULGUND.

Relief of unemployment.

The conjoint effort of government, local bodies and municipalities can relieve unemployment to a very large extent. The settling of young men and women on lands and on works in their neighbourhood is the point on which they should concentrate their attention. Municipalities must exercise their discretion in building tenements to be let on easy rent to their working citizens and should employ young men and women on small industries and work in their vicinity and give them good wages and tools. The building of roads and repairing them at stated times, creating parks, gardens, play-grounds, theatres, and cinemas thereby inducing them to engage themselves in healthy sports and occupations is the ready way of relieving unemployment. Trams, local trains and horse conveyances and teams of bullocks would attract many men and fix them on productive works. Schools, court houses, town halls would attract men and women to make full use thereof. Men and women who have after strenuous work retired from different occupations would be well employed in teaching the young men and women the art of respective occupations whereby abundance of the ordinary comforts of life can be provided at cheap rates to all the inhabitants of villages, towns and cities. After initiating young men and women in these businesses they can work along with them to generate interest and zest in those occupations facilitating thereby the turn-out of various kinds of wealth to supply the craving of people for the same.

Temples, Maths and Karyalayas can be made sumptuous and employment provided to the young generation. Sports, military exercises, and performances will engage a good many youngsters and the progress of the community

will be assured. The managers of maths and temples should exert their utmost to make the work they can offer more attractive than now and the co-operating with them will succeed in attracting young men and women to these occupations.

The landed aristocracy should expend their wealth in improving their lands with the help of improved methods of cultivation and machinery and tools thereby securing large quantities of agricultural products and thus exercising their important functions for the benefit of society.

The making full use of the accumulated knowledge for extracting the secret stores of nature by teaching them the main points in the accumulated store-house of learning.

Writing books, creating beautiful articles and thereby enhancing their skill in the arts and writing poetry to enliven the jaded energies of young people would be an immensely ennobling exertion making both teachers and taught really advance towards higher modes of life.

Pensioners should settle on lands and improve them by their intelligent methods of work. Young people should be taught thrift, frugality, cleanliness and neat appearances and this simultaneous process will enhance the reputation of the country. Heads of maths, temples and karyalayas can educate the younger generation to turn out good work and supply all the needs of the public at pretty cheap rates and rise higher in the estimation of the world.

The high salaries now given to the employees of government in the several departments of administration should be forthwith considerably reduced to engage larger numbers in each department on reasonable salaries and generate confidence in the minds of the public.

Immense quantities of good lands are lying undeveloped and should be brought under yoke for the use of the masses.

Women should seriously engage in the ideal work of bringing up children to cope with different classes of work according to their capacities thereby rendering it possible for wealth to accumulate and their application to this work will make human beings happy and contented for having discharged the functions satisfactorily to their conscience. Children will thereby be smart and helpful to enhance man's estate.

Industrial surveys of towns and villages should be promptly undertaken to make sure what industries can be taken in hand to increase happiness of the public and the anxiety to supply funds for their realization will make people work with redoubled energy. In the same way a survey of landed property should be immediately made to find out what various crops and fruits and flowers can be grown therein so as to increase the skill of the generality of the populace. By this means owners of lands will secure good income from their lands and the skill of the public will enhance considerably.

Schools should be conducted by energetic scholars to train children in the skill of putting forth good things for the use of the public and by their example they can train teachers who by bringing out an array of brilliant boys and girls will achieve the progress of the country. Women would thereby become adepts in the instruction of children and bring about steady sources of comfortable enjoyment to the public. Managers of maths and temples should study the several avenues open for youngsters to work and bring about the best development of which the country is capable and thus there would be general upheaval of contentment and comfort and the chance of religion which is the last resort for consoling the miserable life of the people. Religion is a vast subject which can occupy the life of intelligent men and women who can by its means impart relief to stricken persons.

The department of medicine offers a vast field for the exercise of scientific investigation bringing relief to persistent sickness. The mountains and hills of India contain such a supply of herbs that a study thereof is very attractive and catching and can supply medicine to remedy the ills of mankind and the time spent in this pursuit is very satisfacorily spent, for what higher employment can there be than educating ourselves to grant relief to sick people? Along with tendering relief they can instruct people how to avoid ways of life bringing sicknesses of all kinds and imparting skill to avoid being entangled in them. The study of the causes and cures of diseases is very gratifying and by undertaking this work they can make themselves and their disciples happy and contented. Princes, Chiefs, Jahagirdars and Inamdars should make it a point of distributing cheap agricultural machinery, tools and seed readily and at easy prices and thus improve lands to serve as models for the imitation of their cultivators, women can shine in this field and prolong their useful life and secure enjoyment and contentment and supply full data for the imitation of young girls who should be the objects of their special care. The survey of their lands for different sorts of crops and fruits and flowers and herbs is a desideratum which cannot be postponed any longer. Longevity and zest in life will be secured as the progress in this sort of work is secured and abundance is sure to follow by the practice of these virtues.

Merchants alone can encourage the turn-out of skilful work and the supply of good clothes and carpets and furniture and crockery and can impel people to secure the means of obtaining them and lead happy lives and the skill obtained in the pursuit of these industries will give them abiding comforts; and there would be the field for the writing of instructive books to give an insight into the mysteries of these avocations.

Kings and Princes should lose no time for securing these advantages of civilized society. Their own lives would be prolonged by the exercise of this work and would render it quite likely that their own descendants will follow these and similar progressive ways of leading good lives by means of which they will be able to make their wives and children practise these healthy occupations.

The mineral wealth of India is steady, and phenomenally profuse and by arranging to classify and sort out the minerals, literature will progress pari passu and adventurous spirit which is the soul of civilization will take hold of men's minds driving them to increase happiness by the practice of these arts. Good food and milk and its products will be forthcoming in abundance and the skill obtainable from riding and military exercises will make men confident of success and contented, good water supply for drinking, culinary purposes and bathing and rearing plants and trees will still more improve man's lot and there would be an all round progress leading to further beneficial development.

A good deal of time will be enjoyably spent in gaining an insight into literature, science, history and poetry and the attempt to write books on these subjects will make men highly skilful in urging and convincing others to make them converts to these arts. The constant study of these works is sure to make men and women highly skilful writers of books on varied subjects to make men and women highly pleased and inclined to write better and better books. The art of building houses, court-rooms, theatres and play-grounds and schools would secure healthful occupation to make mankind happy and perpetuate its species. The science and art of governing people is a very skilful business and men will be inclined to apply themselves to the exercise of politics and administration to make men highly organized and prepared to meet attacks.

The co-operation of the inhabitants of the different nations in these matters will bring out the best in man so as to fit him to transport himself to higher fields.

Foreign trade will certainly become of a higher order driving men to put forth their best to create things attractive to other nations and the mutuality of this attraction will still more improve the skill of the populace.

The agricultural department can bring about great changes in the practice of agriculture. By reducing their salaries quite a large number of teachers and servants can be supplied and they will devote their energies to raise good crops.

Out of the mineral wealth of the country metals for coinage can be procured and skill employed in creating beautiful coin and supply it in large quantities to enable exchange to be carried on in great volumes.

History and geography and natural science will be absorbed keenly by both sexes and there would arise a spirit of rivalry to produce better class of books.

The science of politics is a subject highly instructive. Co-operation and combination will enable men to command the resources of nature and the skill gained in the exercise thereof will impart contentment to men and women.

It won't do for people to be satisfied merely with acquiring wealth during their life time and the life time of their sons and grandsons. This is a small achievement for man. It is only when people have been trained to acquire similar wealth and instruct them to go on doing so and training their descendants to imitate them that they shall have discharged their social duty fully by making mankind happy.

Women will be ready to aid the cause of this advancement and both they and the men can enjoy the fruits of their labour with due zest and statisfaction.

Excellent gardens, beautiful houses, broad roads and conveyances of sorts and the ability to study literature, science and politics will enhance man's prospects.

Coins and notes will be available in the mass for exchange purposes and being well dressed and looking tidy and nice men and women will enjoy life and obtain gratification. The appearance of the country will be beautified by these achievements and the nice habitations and the command of the comforts of life will drive men and women to taste the sweets of life for a very long time and thereby secure that contentment which will justify man's effort and secure it permanently.

Soldierly exercises will make men smart and admired and applauded by women which is the culmination of man s progress. Smart dress and appearance secure respect of the public and the labour of governing men is to be approved if it secures all round smartness in men and women and boys and girls.

A deep insight into the literature of the different countries and a comparative study of the religions and morals of these people will instil in men and women the desire to gain mastery over the secrets of life. This is the Utopia preached by prophets and founders of religion.

Ladies should spend their time in the sanctuary of their homes and render themselves capable of doing any hard work. Even now, late though it is, they should apply their energies to teach their daughters all the simple trades and make them do some work to add to the income of their families shaking off their indolence so that their girls will become respectable mothers.

Doctors, lawyers, teachers and religious preceptors can improve man's lot by inculcating the secrets of their professions to men and women and preparing them to acquire wealth and give instance to others to pursue these occupations.

To sum up, variety is the gist of all the efforts and struggles of life. The essence of life is first the emerging from darkness and then the gradual unfolding of faculties which are hidden from sight and then gradual ascent to the highest point designed by Providence to be reached by man and after that the enjoyment of what has been achieved by incessant effort thereby securing rest and aptitude for contemplation for further light and the attainment of the further achievement of fresh effort and a repetition of the process from beginning to end.

The intention of God appears to be that the accumulation of knowledge and wisdom should go on until the capacity is secured to search for fields of work to see what further improvement and variety can be practised and achieved.

The result is the preservation in all its freshness and glamour of what has already been secured so that the combination of the variety, struggle, and care to preserve what has been peacefully and patiently gained may be perpetuated.

There must be more difficult planes of ascent and trial to be entered into after acquiring the fitness acquired on this earth.

The theory of science that nothing is lost is exemplified in this continuous effort to rise higher. There is a succession of highly efficient entities one supplementing and relieving the other and all combining later to introduce that harmonious combination of bodily and mental efficiency that secures the happiness of man. It is then that all round enjoyment is attainable and is experienced for a sufficiently long time.

Finally the combined operation and work of these acquired capabilities will result in the power to create more complicate, beautiful and enjoyable things in all their amplitude.

Then the conscious admiration of the real greatness and magnanimity of God whose intention from the beginning is the manifestation of the mutual combination of creative faculties of a high order and the exemplification of the charm of variety will grow tempered with mildness and beauty, thereby evidencing the brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God. This is not a small achievement after undergoing this labour—rest, comfort, enjoyment and the creation of beautiful undiminishing goods of life whose justification has to extend so far and to subsist in such varied forms fit to perpetuate the love, worship and admiration of God with willing readiness.

The secret of the working of the mind is a mysterious job whose potentiality has to be studied and un-folded by sustained study and observation. The harmful propensities of man have to be allowed full sway for them to clear and set forth the power and beauty of the higher and beneficial faculties of man. It is his nature not to be convinced of his vicious tendencies until their harmful nature is shown and exposed in all their ugliness to vacate the field and disappear gradually. It is then that the greater and abiding qualities of man will be seen in their pure working of the grand destiny of man and then follow the great virtues of the mind of man whose development is the culmination of progress in its integrity and his blissful existence in all his prestige, glory, co-operation, combination, and sympathetic encouragement are the true aids of achieving the higher attainments of human effort and the consequent enjoyment to the full of the achievements gained; and on the other hand envy and grudging recognition are the signs of slow progress, achievement and fruition.

The resources of the country have not been fully tapped and developed and therefore we are unaware of the possible power over nature which we can employ for the advancement of mankind. A complete survey thereof and the probable demand for it would be a proper incen-

tive to concentrate our efforts in that direction. There is the opportunity for different varieties of aptitude to be extensively developed and the country made rich in the possession of all possible items of the resources of the country. Undreampt of rare skills will come into being and the energy of the kingdom devoted to the full development of the resources of the country and the consequence will be the wielding of the power generated by the continuous devotion of energy to the resources of the couutry.

The development of the resources of the different countries will be of great avail to the world, and one may expect the development of higher capacities of mind and a rise to still higher planes of rare virtue.

There would be mutual admiration of the nations and more frequent visits to one another and the enhancement of the thirst for higher enjoyment and the consolidated effect of the simultaneous evolution of various virtues will advance the cause of humanity and a nearer approach made to appreciation of the gifts and good wishes of God. History will exhibit the unconceived progress of mankind promising development into angelhood and demigodhood. Language will command the exhibition of pleasing thoughts and felicity of expression will delight men and women beyond expectation.

Remedies for the real Political Progress of India

Relief from indebtedness is harmful in that it deprives agriculturists of self-help (or reliance) and thrift which are the only means of progress of Society and the pleasure of making money by personal effort. Relief from indebtedness should be obtained through courts by increasing their powers in that behalf, if necessary. The immediate reform in court-work is to require courts not to deal with indebtedness of agriculturists and non-agriculturists in routine manner. Special days should be fixed for dealing with these cases exclusively and with promptitude, adjournments being the exception and not the rule as is now the case, for courts have to adjust all varieties of cases pending before them. The number of Judges may be increased to facilitate the speedy disposal of these cases if it is found that the present cadre is unable to cope with them if after strict supervision an increase of Judges is necessitated.

It is surely better to create conditions facilitating the voluntary effort of the masses to improve their prospects in life. The propaganda in the legislatures in this matter is merely a vote catching stunt. The villages are the fundamental basis for this remedy : Agricultural improvement, the imparting of literacy, improving and imbibing sanitation. Centres within a radius $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles should be formed in each of which a school, a town-hall, post office, medical advisor of a sympathetic nature with a sense of reponsibility and public duty should be established; the agricultural department should be made to be more energetic and conscious of its duty and farms should be models for imitation and not luxury folds of the Superintendent and his Subordinates or for mere show and

pretence, the farms must offer for low prices seeds and ordinary implements of husbandry of an improved type, all public works in every locality should scrupulously engage local labour and artizans (this being the only way of developing skill and earning capacity and securing their improvement). The P. W. D. should support local works and seriouly supervise them being carried out by local men and instructing them; pensioners should be induced to settle in their respective villages. I don't approve the prevailing idea of settling raw graduates in villages to which they don't belong; it must be distinctly understood that they must seek employment as the masses do and that is the only way to make them self-reliant and resourceful. Why should Government specially provide for them? Only because they are College products? Before entering colleges they must make their choice without expecting undue favour on the part of the Government or Society. Moreover being able to afford college education they should be presumed to be generally more well-to-do than the ordinary masses and can be expected to shift for themselves. In admitting students to the Agricultural College the first condition should be that they want to follow the business of cultivators as a chief occupation of their life, Government service or non-agricultural employment being exceptional and incidental; and Government and Society must be unyielding on this point. These students can't compare themselves to ordinary graduates who are entitled to be clerks, in all departments of Government and also all manners of Revenue Officers, School-masters and employees of merchants etc. The agricultural college is assumed to have been established to create a class of intelligent cultivators with a view to improve agriculture, the staple industry of the country. The salaries of that department are too high and should immediately be reduced to reasonably low proportions, thereby facilitating the employment of a larger number of teachers, thus relieving unemployment. These preliminaries being

postulated, it is easy to appreciate the force of the point I am going to emphasise.

The Taluka is the real foundation of India's progress. Develop it and there would be astounding upheaval of the country all round. The existing Taluka Local Boards must be maintained in all their vigour and the ones which have been mistakenly abolished, immediately revived. The villagers are the feeders of talukas which are in turn the feeders of the province, while the District Local Boards are intermediate links. D. L. B. are not so important as T. L. B. To concentrate on the former is to educate the educated and to relegate the vast mass of the country-side to the position of deeper ignorance and greater incapacity. The D. L. B. should manage the Taluka in which the District head-quarter is situated and that is enough and would form a model for T. L. B. to imitate. It is incongruous to expect D. L. B. to cater for the whole District for it must be able to improve the Talukas and villages; at most the D. L. B. would be advising the natural development of the Taluka and would derive the benefit of interference with others without doing good to the latter and no substantial benefit would accrue. The D. L. B. should concentrate its energy entirely on looking after the affairs of the Taluka to which the District town belongs and aim at serving as a model to T. L. B.s. The collector and other supervising institutions should concentrate their energies to advise Talukas and villages. Each Taluka must have a full-fledged High School and it is to be hoped in time most of the Districts would possess colleges. The providing each Taluka with a high school is to relieve congestion in the few high schools in existence at present, facilitating closer attention of teachers to students whose number in each class would decrease to the desired figure of not more than 25. It would save the excessive expenditure of parents who have now to send their children to distant places for high school education.

Perhaps also high schools for girls may come into being as female education advances and it is an advantage to the nation and would give employment to many ladies who are in need of employment. The salary of teachers should be reasonably low in view of the poverty of India. The remarks made as to local works in villages apply with greater force to Talukas. By these means the Talukas whuld achieve progress all round including local industries and trade. Attention should be centred also on engaging local men for local works of all sorts, by which means necessary opportunity shall have been given to all and this is the essential condition of general development which is the index of healthy civilization. There would be better distribution of population than now and it is evident ordinary industries would develop all over the country in greater profusion than now to the great benefit of the nation.

As for doctors they should be encouraged by advances of small amounts and even small salaries to settle in villages, which action can alone secure the sanitation and health for villagers. M. B. B. S.s and L. C. P. S.s should so settle and care should be taken to induce lady doctors of both designations to do the same, the latter being even more essential than men doctors in view of the fact that mothers and infants who are sources of man power require to be carefully looked after in the first instance. Government doctors and private practitioners in cities and towns must aid this cause as part of their duty and citizenship. The time has now come for a sharp distinction to be made between genuine social workers (reformers) and those who pretend to do it for political propaganda and vote catching. This matter has been chaotic and in the cauldron till now but it should no longer be left unhandled. Genuine social reformers are a class by themselves and should exclusively confine themselves to that work and it would be dangerous if on its strength they seek entry in the political world. Political work is one of specialization and politicians are excepted to be highly educated people

with strong common sense and worldly wisdom. They are more for laying down policies than for doing detailed work. They have to be proficient in politics, economics and history and geography and can be of no use if they fritter away their energy in gallery playing. In fact it is necessary for progress that they should be higher men than mere orators.

The cities and towns should not take any money from talukas and villages but should be satisfied with their own resources which are more than ample for their purposes and should spare some part of their income to devote to the development of talukas and villages, which act would redound to their benefit in the form of greater trade and to the enhancement of the whole country's prospects. Proportionately to the noise made there is no spread of public spirit and sense of responsibility and effort should be made to develop the latter. The deterrent of general prosperity is the inordinate love of profit and it is essential that a check be put on this destructive vice by the Society as a whole.

Among the educated and thoughtful citizens more than necessary time is wasted in sports-indoor and outdoor and no harm will be done if it is tangibly reduced.

The hobby of vocational training is certainly misdirected. It cannot be imparted in Schools and Colleges, which are eminently seats of theoretical and scientific instruction. On the other hand vocational training is essentially practical, theory being secondary and it is to be obtained in industrial factories alone and the condition precedent is the advent of industrial works which demand apprentices for being trained in the particular vocation and care to train and instruct them. Thus industries must develop first and spread before vocational training comes into being. It can't be brought into being by mere wish and noise. The public must become adventurous and public spirited enough before industries arise and develop and demand boys for training in their respective industries.

Waste of money and time by the menial classes in unessential and weakening luxuries should be prevented as far as posible and idle men and women looked down upon so as to make them through shame do some social service.

Relief of Indebtedness

The agricultural classes are much maligned by characterising them as extravagent in their expenses. This view is uncharitable indeed. If there is any class which is, by nature and on principle, frugal it is this class and to stigmatise it as wasteful is a great irony. One has to watch the villagers carefully in the matter of their husbanding their resources and he will find that the generality of them are exemplary in thrift. One wonders and admires how they can live on such meagre incomes and the handwork they undergo in carrying on their agricultural operations is stupendous and unremunerative. But they can't help their lot. In this state of things to blame them for incurring unnecessary debts for marriages and obsequies indicates want of observation and sympathy. They live the most lonely lives and even in their marriages and other rites they don't generally spend more than is absolutely necessary. But they have to incur debts for absolutely unavoidable ceremonies for performing which they have no cash in hand or property on the security of which cash can be obtained and have therefore to approach their Sowkars who naturally charge heavy interest for providing against risk and irrecovery of the debts. No one would risk his money except for some reasonable profit and the apparently high rate of interest after all does not yield more than reasonable interest in the long run. It is all very easy for well-to-do and inexperienced utopian reformers to castigate the poorer classes as reckless without suggesting any sensible remedies for them to tide over their pecuniary difficulties in ordinary house-hold matters. The

generality of Indians live from hand to mouth and have to borrow money to meet sickness, famines, epidemics and necessary religious ceremonies, which are the life blood of their existence and they have to pay the so called high rate of interest.

The Co-operative Societies and the Government advance money only for stated stereotyped purposes and that too on sufficient security and on the furnishing of unobjectionable sureties but this is for men possessing property or influence but what about the vast majority of propertyless and influence-less masses in the matter of getting loans for ordinary family purposes of an inescapable nature? For instance a daughter has come home for her first delivery or a newly married daughter has to be sent to her husband's house or a son is to be sent to school to a neighbouring village and what facilities does society give them for the raising of the petty amounts needed for accomplishing these acts which can't brook the least delay? There is no other way than resorting to their Sowkars who are a necessary institution in the economy of Indian Village life and for the matter of that of even town life. A close observation is sure to convince one that indebtedness cannot be instantly dispelled by the magic wand of pious resolutions or stringent laws though both are useful to keep Sowkars on the right path. The only remedy is that visualised in the beginning. Of course it is not implied that efforts should not be made to relieve indebted-ness but impatient, utopian ambition in renovating the prospects of the masses and visionary hurry should be kept in the back ground and reforms pursued slowly and steadily without expecting spectacular speedy results and with the firm conviction that it is the sacred duty of every honest reformer and well-wisher to pursue the subject and suggest remedies with sincerity and due humility.

Thoughts on the Present World-distress

BY

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Thoughts on the present world--distress

If you wish to supply *a remedy for the present depression and dislocation and chaos*, then put a stop to foreign trade, as carried on now, completely and relentlessly and bring about the proposed changes in the distribution of employment.

This may at first sight look absurd and disastrous; but on weighing all the subterfuges hitherto thought of these seem to be better remedies. No institution in politics and economics—and for the matter of that in all the departments of life—is either perfect or permanent. Man's progress indicates creation of institutions, scrapping them and creating different ones and this process will go on interminably so long as evolution holds away. Foreign trade has had its use and benefit but its true time is likely to pass and something else has to take its place.

At its commencement it was a great advantage and served as the key to development of trade, industry and commerce and gave rise to allied services of an educative and profitable nature. We have seen its operation sufficiently long and its disadvantages are staring us in the face and are the stumbling block in the way of our progress and are debarring us from setting up solutions for our miseries.

It was the cause of the inordinate and hasty rising of the standard of life and of giving false values to all related institutions and made a few persons very rich and the rest of the vast majority hopelessly poor and it is no longer able to maintain a healthy standard of life. It has, moreover, brought about extensive unemployment in its train which, though directly due to machine, is augmented by the unhealthy competition of nation with nation all over the world.

It has brought about the hunger for foreign markets and the consequent desire to maintain them against rivals ; and has caused the increase of armies and navies and air force to hold one's ground. In fact, the seeking after and holding exclusively foreign markets has been the main cause of wars and hatred and military preparedness of a crushingly expensive nature.

In the same way the investing of capital in foreign countries has also led to wars and bitter enmities and evasiveness and subterfuges and misdirection of industries and public services. The drive for foreign trade has been the motive of large profits not available at home to the extent derivable from foreign trade. Economics-literature supports foreign trade on the ground of facility of mass production on a vast scale at places possessing raw materials or unique skill not possessed by other countries. They, the economists, also assign big profits and development of special skill as reasons for the necessity and benefit of foreign trade. Foreign trade has been given due trial till now; and its effects beneficial and deleterious sufficiently experienced.

The benefits of stoppage of foreign trade, in its present form, are as under:—

(a) The trade rivalries and cut-throat competition would be minimized,

(b) A nation would develop all-round skill in all the trades and businesses,

(c) There would be infinitely less unemployment,

(d) Greater sympathy for foreign nations and co-operation in common concerns would develop to a large extent and common concerns would be readily recognized,

(e) There would be time and tendencies for the cultivation of altruism and humanitarianism, for people will be less purse-proud and less engrossed in the mere acquisition of colossal wealth.

It will be convenient first to state how the cessation of competitive foreign private trade can be achieved and then unfold the benefits to follow therefrom.

By the practice of foreign trade a country's resources were less extensively developed and some of the higher virtues of research and struggle against nature were stunted, for people exercised their skill more in the exploitation of foreign peoples and countries than in handling fully all the available resources of their own country. They further adopted the avenues of greater profit (and profit only)rather than employ their skill fully on things at home. The work of luxurious pioneering in foreign lands was easy compared with hard work at home and it kept back, therefore, the development of higher work and thus deprived their home country of the benefits of all-round development of all faculties in the proper ratio by a vaster number of nationals than with the prevalence of foreign trade. The greater earnings and profits in foreign trade, introduced living on a more luxurious scale than would have been possible in the absence of extensive foreign trade, thereby giving false ideas of values and imparting too high ideas of standards of life not possible in the absence of foreign trade, nor necessary for the majority of human beings. The result in many instances has been to make families miserable who could not maintain the unnecessarilly high standard of life adopted in the heyday of their large acquisitions by foreign trade. The indirect consequence has been to create an idea of an inordinately high standard of life in the minds of the masses which makes them dissatisfied with ordinary standards of life and drives them to join the ranks of communists.

The misery of unemployment and the excessively heavy expenses of giving doles to the unemployed neither keep the unemployed content not the employers pleased, (for being made to contribute to the maintenance of the unemployed) and they perpetuate a view of too high a standard of life which is impossible to be upheld if the whole

world has to have a decent sufficiency of the necessaries of life by a proper distributions thereof on a universal scale.

The selfish view of confining one's attention entirely to the securing of unlimited comforts of life for one's own nationals even at the cost of depriving other nations of the bare means of healthy livelihood and of remaining callous to the well being of other nations has greatly contributed to the undue raising of the standard of life in western and central European countries. This policy has been the main cause of scanty production and maldistribution as also of non-distribution of the necessaries of life among the inhabitants of the whole globe, which, as sensible human beings, we ought to have from the inception sought to achieve as far as possible. The selfish omission to do so has been the cause of the creation of the bad effects of foreign trade.

The present tendency to encroath upon the territory of weak nations for providing room for one's expanding population is the death of weak nations. The conquest of Abyssinia by Italy and the furious attempt of Japan to push into China are recent instances of the operation of this idea. Whatever may have been the advantages of the past conquest of and entry into backward nations—and there have been admittedly many advantages in the matter of material prosperity—it can not be denied that the miseries inflicted upon society and the bad effects upon morality and social evolution more that outweigh the benefits, and after all the dangerous theory is perpetuated that for the sake of the assumed good and happiness of one's own nationals a nation is justified in despoiling weak nations of their territories and independence. The continuance of this policy is sure to perpetuate war and preparedness for war and it will be only the nations who wield force that will be the only ones enjoying material prosperity and a high standard of life while weaker nations will continue to be still weaker and revert to savagedom even in this 20th century which boasts of the progress and conquest of science and know-

ledge. What knowledge is it which is so selfish and regardless of the misery its possessors inflict on the less knowing and less forceful and selfish ?

(*A*) *Modifications of foreign trade* :—

I should at once say that no foreign trade should be permitted to private persons, firms or companies. In order to secure goods not produced in one country but required for its use or comfort the Government of that country should purchase store and sell them as private persons or companies do at present. In this manner there would be no competition of a cut-throat character and therefore no inducement to practise this brutalising selfishness. The Government store of each country will make whole-sale purchases of things imported at present by private traders from foreign lands and will sell them at fixed prices without any idea of profit-making. The people would thus have their imported articles at stated reasonable prices and they would be economical in their use in view of there being no temptation for them to buy such things recklessly and there would also be no temptation for their production in the producing country in a recklessly competitive spirit, for the volume would be considerably reduced on account of absence of excessively competing sales or exports. The proper distribution of different productions of different things which a country can produce would be secured and the level of the development of the skill of the country would rise high, there would mostly be no unemployment, and there would thus be a natural turn-out of work all round and every one would be comparatively content leisured and enabled to develop morality, ethics and arts and sciences and get time for religious and philosophic studies and there would be a general rise in the level of the intellectual and moral capacity of each country. The hankering after spheres of influence, of exclusive possession of

parts of foreign countries and the consequent hatreds, wars rivalries and militarism would have no foothold; and there would be time, energy and tendency to practise sympathy, philanthropy and humanitarianism. When this is secured the real and proper standard of life for the poor masses would be naturally fixed at a much lower and healthier level than that prevailing at present in Europe and America.

There would be great reduction of unemployment, for then the spectre of turning out abnormally large quantities of goods for export would recede and different and hitherto neglected industries and services would be taken in hand and employment given to the now unemployed and the removal of the frenzy of efficiency with high wages would be achieved and work would go on in the natural pace and with a comparatively slow drive. The view of developing high efficiency by the bait of high wages is suicidal to the country as this course undermines the energy of the so called efficient workers and makes them unfit for work in a short time while at the same time only a few men are trained and national all round skill remains at a low level.

The policy here advocated would cut the ground from under the feet of the excessively ambitious industrialists and traders and the sight of a few extremely rich and a vast mass of the extremely poor would disappear while there would come into being a larger and larger number of ordinarily well to do people in the country.

The chief thing for facilitating the introduction of this system is the fixing of the political boundaries now subsisting without violently disturbing them or giving rise to interminable disputes as to the rights and wrongs of the boundaries of existing nations for it will be reopening old sores which cannot be cured. Minor adjustments here and there in the light of the compromising spirit visible since the treaty of Versailles have of course to be made.

It would be well if the mandated territories are treated as belonging to the League of Nations constituting a nucleus for further additions and gradually making in essense the Leagues of Nations a world sovereign. All the new lands and territories that will hereafter be discovered and acquired by any of the present nations should be considered as belonging to all the nations of the world and be added to the territories of the League of Nations so that in course of time the League would be a full-fledged world-government rendering possible the realization of international co-operation in the future. Perhaps it would be beneficial if some of the ex-prime ministers of all the civilized countries are appointed to the executive offices of the League and this point, if worked out in detail, would show that they, as a body, would be able to exercise international functions with care and satisfy the thoughtful citizens of the world.

Each nation should attempt to develop its own resources to the fullest possible extent taking only the most necessary things from other countries through the mediation and instrumentality of their respective Governments as noted already. Very small nations which do not amount to self-sufficient ones would be driven to organize themselves into a group of the extent of an ordinary model nation so as to secure ordinary self-sufficiency. The groups should be made up of neighbouring small nations where there is a chance of harmonious amalgamation or beneficia lco-opera tion and such associations are desirable as they contribute to the spirit of mutually supplementing and combining for smooth progress by a large body of different varieties of human beings for the command of many resources and materials. And it does not matter if no grouping is possible or desired, for they can subsist as before with the change in foreign trade as suggested. The uniformity that will thereby be secured is sure to engender noble traits in civilised

human beings and the brutality and extreme callousness snd selfishness now experienced will be considerably reduced.

There is naturally to be expected violent opposition to the idea in question but persistent propaganda would minimize it and render the acceptance of the said idea quite possible. In the inception the practice of this system would be felt to be a descent down but the propagation of all virtuous actons is always like that, and one has to persist in view of ultimate benefits and values. It is only when the force of the sacred duty of wishing every human being to be as comfortable as possible is realised and practised that true civilization can be said to have sway and until then selfish aggrandisement and acquisition and individual accumulation will prevail to the total suppression of true sociability which is the prerogative of every human being.

The disentanglement of foreign investments and business connections will be a hard affair but it has to be accomplished being the essential preliminary of the matter under discussion. It will be only then that bright and driving intellects will search for outlets in their own country for the application of their energy and it will be on the way of full development. And people will then seek the rapid education of the masses and bring it about easily and there will be general upheaval of the nations in a sensible spirit, and harmony of an international and cosmopolitan nature will begin to be experienced and enjoyed. There would then be greater congeniality and reciprocity between nations and the disappearance of keen poverty on a large scale would be realised.

Spheres of influence may be forthwith abolished where reasonably possible and where not possible they may gradually be done away with. When the resources of a country remain fully undevloped owing to its backwardness and inefficiency and their full development is essential for the

progress of humanity it should be done jointly by the neighbouring States with the full consent of the owning country with due regard to its rights and for the benefit of the whole world, the developing countries taking nothing more than a proper compensation for the developing work they did. Another precaution to be taken would be for civilised countries not to enter undeveloped and backward countries, if there are any left now, with a view to personal profit to the exclusion of other nations of the world.

The cult of propagating one's own religion in other nations than in one's own should be peremptorily discontinued, for it has always been the thin end of the drive for economic and political conquest and it has besides been the cause of untold miseries and confusions. Priests and churches have often been the cause of fomenting and intensifying and prolonging wars however much they are expected to be aloof from wars and the causes thereof. This phenomenon is due to the prevalence of different religions which are for one reason or other inimical to one another and as priests wield enormous influence over their followers their intimations and directions act powerfully in matters of war. The only remedy against this misfortune is a strict prohibition against priests aud churches dabbling in politics and also the creation of a world religion being the essence of the contents of the main religions of the world having for its creed unreserved recognition of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. If this method is not appreciated and priests and churches do not reciprocate one would be constrained to believe that religion is a mere pretence and a source of encouragement to selfishness and rank brutality and mutual destruction.

The ideas suggested are not considered the sole remedy for minimizing the misery which the world is undergoing at present but one of several ways seeking advancement of man's

lot, and as every political and economic system is a piece of experiment this one deserves patient pursuit and a sufficienty lengthy and fair trial to be in turn scratched if a better mode of life is found, as it is plain man cannot discover at once a permanently satisfactory method of living. This policy would impart strength and virility and cooperation to the League of Nations which will become more useful and effective than now. There would then be no mutual hatreds and rivalries and war inclinations among most of the nations, and if one becomes the aggressor the rest would not brook it but would heartily combine and support the League with greater seriousness than now.

(B) Benefits of the modified foreign trade :—

There being in this manner absence of cut-throat competition from all the nations an impetus would be afforded to world services of different kinds and they would be manned by different nationals and co-operation would exhibit its potentialities of universal benefit. And the absence of keen competition in foreign trade would engenger a spirit of freely teaching by a proficient nation of other nationals the skilful conduct of industries to the general advantage of the world. There would further develop the free movement of labour from country to country if and when there is the necessity for it. The present tendency of importing skilful workers to the detriment of local workers would diminish to a great extent for the desire to turn out excessively large quantities of goods would be curtailed and the sight of foreigners carrying away a large part of wages would be rare Skill and efficiency in work would evolve in every country if importation of so called foreign workers is stopped, for when a country's nationals are excepted to develop skill in all branches of industry by ceasing to import forign workers the nationals would exert their utmost to be skilful

where-as the policy of importing so called efficient workers from foreign lands is the sure way of starving the development of one's own people. The fetish of some others country's people being more efficient than one's own is an index of failure to give opportunities of advancement to one's people and of the nation's cupidity aud neglect of its duty towards one's country. Why make foreign workers rich and purse-proud and skill-proud at the cost of one's own workers ? One should, as far as possible, be satisfied with one's own men and materials and not give preference to outsiders. Human beings all over the world are generally capable of doing all the skilful work necessary for any nation provided opportunity, help and sympathy are forthcoming on the part of the respective nations !

The difficulty of over-poulation would be greatly minimized by this policy for population would adjust itself in each nation and it is hoped that the demon of unemployment would disappear.

Owing to the currency of each country being for the greater part confined to that country and foreign trade being reduced to a small volume the kaleidoscopic fluctuations of currency and the havoc and terror caused thereby would gradually diminish and brisk trade would be the rule of the day brought on by a natural distribution of income and prosperity enabling the masses to be great consumers of goods.

Wars being then very infrequent and military preparedness being unnecessary Governments would have no reason to hoard gold on a large scale and thus the price of gold would come down and render scarce the fluctuations in prices an l price levels.

Owing to the curtailment of suicidal competition the high salaries now commanded by managers of industry and trade would no longer be maintained and there being no importation of special foreign experts there would be considerable lowering of high salaries all round.

Taxes would be low and few and capacity to purchase the necessaries and comforts of life would increase on a large scale.

Militarism would diminish and there would be a considerable reduction of expenses on military equipment and on maintaining a large army, navy and air force, thus releasing a large number of productive workers to be engaged in producing the necessaries and comforts of life which would thereby be comparatively cheap.

By means of the thorough restriction of foreign trade dumping would disappear and the killing process of artificially forced (so called) high efficiency drying the seed of reproduction of efficient people and bringing on premature decay of efficient workers would not prevail, and eugenics would be secured.

(C) Changes in methods of employment:—

The problem of unemplyment would be manageable with ease on account of the great saving effected by reduction of the prevailing excessive millitary costs and of high salaries as argued herein.

One important factor of unemployment is the employment of military and other pensioners in government and semigovernment services. Pensions are mostly given to support the recipient without any necessity to work for a living. To engage pensioners as government servants would be bestowing double income on them while many families are famishing for want of a single income. Pensioners should on no account be engaged in government service of any government and if in extremely rare cases they are engaged as in native states or in government service where no unpensioned employees are available for work requiring specially developed skill, their pensions should be stopped while they are thus engaged and the saving thus effected can be available for other necessary and useful government purposes. The same remark applies where pensioners get jobs in industry &c.

In this connection an important point arises which is of an emergent nature in the matter of unemployment. One is forced to observe that the really competent poor and the comfortably rich get ordinary government employment promiscuously, the rich more so for obvious reasons, quite ignoring the fact that a large number of the competent and fit candidates but poor and in need of employment is left without employment. This practice unnecessarily swells the number of the unemployed.

It is undeniable that all the citizens of a state or nation cannot be equally affluent and that a large number have to be constantly on the verge of starvation and some actually starve owing to this failure of government to notice the injustice of employing the well-to-do and the poor without distinction on ordinary government jobs. For instance suppose two graduates one beloging to a pretty well-to-do family and the other thoroughly indigent are candidates for a government post for holding which both are equally competent. Mostly the rich candidate gets preference owing to various sorts of influence and the poor one is thrown out thereby making the rich more rich and the poor made to remain poor without gettiug any opportunity to rise higher. In such a state of things there is a fear of the rich employee not doing his work with due diligence where-as the poor one for fear of being fired would do his work intently. The strict observance of this suggestion would put a stop to the voracity of rich persons and restore some sense ef proportion in the morality of people. In order to apply this principle govt. shall have to pry into the private affairs of their subjects but as justice has to be done govt. should do such prying and give an instance of the desire to do justice by securing due distribution of incomes as far as possible and thereby induce other employers to follow suit. Moreover there shall have to be a strong Public service commission,

and a large one, to decide this question and the expense on such a commission is a necessary one and laudable.

It is very necessary that super-annuation and invalid-ing should be more strictly practised than at present and the age of super-annuation should never exeed 55 and in some highly skilled jobs it should be brought down to 50. Invaliding is now very lose and sympathy is misapplied. To help sickly and feeble employees the proper course is liberal sick allowance and proportionate pension. To connive at the retention of weaklings is waste of resources and increase of unemployment.

The present practice of awarding high prizes like the Nobel prize is not in the long run beneficial. It is true that the special desire of the donor cannot be generally interfered with but if it is likely to make people desirous of gain as an inducement to make discoveries or inventions the progress of Science will not be as satisfactory as it was when such prizes were not instituted. The whole affair would be rather artificial and lame. Discoveries and researches are undertaken for the love of the matter absolutely unconnected with personal profit and knowledge advances only when it is its own reward. There is the noble satisfaction of enriching man's knowledge and that is the real reward and drive or it is the discoveror's or researcher's nature to go on making discoveries irrespective of reward and it is therefore that in ancient times discoveries were made where there was no reward to be expected. There was no connection whatever between earning a reward and making a discovery. It may even be said that earning was made as a separate affair along with the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. A poet creates poetry or an artist a picture because he loves to do so and instances may be quoted when poetry was written while experiencing extreme poverty and it is a moot point whether poetry and art when produced for the

sake of money either paid or promised or even expected is really superfine. It must he second rate being forced to work for the sake of the reward or pay or payment.

When the original founders of religion wrote or created their religion they never did it for mercenary reasons nor did genuine poets (like Milton) do so Some of the inventors and poets lost their property in the pursuit of their intellectual and spiritual hobbies. Now-a-days vast resources are required for scientific investigations and the better policy would be for philanthropic donors to endow research institutions to furnish them richly with all available instruments and plants affording all the materials necessary for such work gratis to persons who wish to carry on researches. But no remuneration for doing this work nor reward should be offered. It is argued that unless such big rewards are offered researchers would not exert their utmost and the world would be the poorer for it, it may be refuted by stating that such artificial stimulants are not necessary and it is also apparent that the acquisition of sush excessive amounts would still the flow of brain power and imagination and would make the recipients supine and conceited. These rewards moreover would enhance the misery of unequal distribution of wealth which has been the great thorn in society's side. Such amounts are wanted for the relief of miseries which are devastating the masses It may be argued that unless research workers are employed on salaries there wonld be paucity of discoveries and inventions and the world's progress suffer. This is a fallacy. Greet spirits are born for achieving great things and it is the will of God to send down such spirits at stated intervals and they do their work irrespective of salaries and enconragement and in the face of great difficulties. There can be no doubt on this point. A Galileo and a Gibbon were sent to this earth to do their work for its own sake and they did it irrespective of reward. Many instances in other fields can be quoted in support. Shakespeare wrote his dramas not for profit but because there was the urge of his spirit and profit was incidental. Therefore the idea of creating

such personages by human efforts in the form of pecuniary rewards cannot bring forth souls competent to be epoch makers. As for lessor souls turning out good works for profit they are in the nature of suppliers of services of a high order and get profits for their performances but they are emphatically not the supreme creators of high class literature or art or science. Real creators are born and cannot be made.

There is another impediment to the better distribution of wealth and it is the excessive fees charged by the so-called expert lawyers, doctors and industrial managers and film stars &c. They are apparently gifted by god and that gift they should be made to feel they hold in trust for the good of the community and consequenly it is overselfishness in them to demand excessive fees. The fetish of free and untrammelled contract and its soundness and enforceability has added to their power of extracting excessive fees and emoluments from the seekers of their services. One wonders why possessors of specialised skill are not endowed with a spirit of generosity and altruism. Perhaps God intends to punish them with the inconvenience and misery of excessive wealth as the reaction to their cupidity. Their own councils and also the community itself should curb their rapacity by fixing the amount of fees they should receive. If Government servants and industrial managers have a limit set to their acquisitions by fixing their salaries and remuneration, one cannot see why a limit should not be set to the amount of fees demanded by the experts in question by which means they can be made to spare some energy and time from their greedy work and do some unpaid research work in their respective fields which would be compensation enough for the gift of intellect they possess. If this suggestion be adopted, the community can devote the money thus rescued to purposes of relieving the miseries of the populace.

The madness of offering inconceivably high salaries to women who are smart and beautiful and who work as actresses, singers and stars in reality misleads them; for in order to earn the salaries they develop, at great cost to their health, their capacities which cannot last long. This sort of activity should be condemned thereby bringing about the diminution of artificiality which has prevented the development of real appreciation of inimitable nature and has depraved public taste which, it is high time, should be withstood with courage.

Rich countries like Great Britain have adopted the policy of giving large doles and other relief to the unemployed, but they are giving a difficult and dangerous instance to poorer and larger countries. Take the case of India and China and Russia. Whence can these countries have the means to distribute sumptuous doles to their vast populations and where would they be if constrained to do so? No doubt the Government is bound to supply the means of living to people who don't get it for want of employment but it is a proposition subject to conditions. As the unemployed of such countries are numerous, these countries can't do so, their wealth and revenue and power to raise money, being comparatively very limited. This is a point requiring very anxious consideration.

The famine relief, as elaborated in India, is the highest aid which poor countries can afford and that is enough. When unemployment prevails starving maintenance is all that is necessary. The great mass which stands in need of relief during times of unemployment or famine or scarcity is the class of agriculturists and agricultural labourers and low paid urban workers and the aid suggested is all that they deserve. Comforts or luxuries should not be expected by the unemployed and the imaginary difficulty of larger doles being necessary for skilful labourers accustomed to comfortable life is not to be taken into account and the fact that there is want of means of livelihood among a very large mass of workers, should be a serious warning to high class artizans and they must be prepared to do with a very low standard of life for the time being. It is not quite correct

that living on a lower scale than their usual one affects their efficiency. Experiencing privation during a time of pretty universal want of gradational employment, cannot diminish the skill attained already; but it is only suspended for a time and human nature is elastic and retentive enough to exemplify dormant skill as soon as things improve. Moreover the lavish dole system of rich countries where laborites have secured it parches the fountain of private charity which is a spiritual solace to well-to-do citizens, and the recipients lose the virtue and charm self of help and occasional deficiency of necessaries, while they become concealed parasites on the well-to-do portion of society. By the better distribution of wealth (income) already suggested and the lighter system of taxation hinted at workers in towns have great facilities for saving against a rainy day; and by a reasonable lowering of the present high standard of life there would be less penury and more extensive distribution of the actual necessaries of life and private charity would flow with profusion as in ancient times and the distressing sight of a few closefisted very rich persons and a vast mass of people on the verge of starvation would be a rarity.

The prevailtng theory of equality of sexes and the economic independence of women is likely to play havoc, if not kept under reasonable restrictions. Such theories fly at a tangent and are pursued recklessly without due regard to their ultimate deleterious consequences which is the natural incident of human nature. No one grudges the spread of literacy aud artistic and political efficiency among women, on the contrary, one is proud of it; but one can't at the same time ignore the other side of the shield. The process of attaining proper efficiency for careers is very laborious and damaging to health and the power of reproduction, and as it is the best woman that would shine in these fields, the race would deteriorate, if this fetish of equality of rights of women is practised wholesale For turning out the best types of women in these departments a very large number have to try their hand at such attainment with the result that almost the whole of the

brainy womanhood is absorbed in this experiment and the perpetuation of the race is left to women of a low order and the future generation would thereby be mainly inefficient and incapable.

By the unrestricted oberation of the equality of rights of the sexes, the moral grandeur which is the peculiar prerogative of woman-hood is given the go-by and the community is the poorer for it. There are two varieties of moral grandeur—one peculiar to the male sex and the other to the female. By the pursuit of the present tendency among women to compete with males whole-sale they lose the charm of mother-hood and wife-hood and destroy the co-ordination of males and females in family life which is the true foundation of a healthy and harmonious society. The administering of solace to stricken males and of nursing them to health and effeciency and bringing up children to be good citizens are the ennobling traits of woman-hood and the source of their beauty and they are depriving themselves of the happiness of the discharge of these functions and rendering society a whirpool of material cut-throat competitions between males and females. This attittude on the part of women is rendering the race rather cruel, stiff and self-sufficient and thoroughly rest-less. It is difficult to suggest a remedy for this far reaching state of things. It is for men to weigh the pros and cons of this matter with an eye to the good of the race and to the probable design of Providence as to the reality of the universe. One can only diffidenty suggest that men should not thoughtlessly encourage the wholesale economic indepenence of women and they should carry on a constant discussion and agitation and propaganda about this matter. It appears that they (men) forget to gauge the ill effects of the universal acceptance of this fetish and the likelihood of men workers being brutal and overtaken by inferiority complex-where-by all the beautiful relations between the sexes attained hitherto would be marred and mutilated. Men shonld beware how they over

applaud women who take up careers and earn wealth thereby and don't take care to respect and heartily applaud women who pursue the beautiful virtues of maternity and the exercise of the peculiarly soothing acts of nursing and helping and encouraging men to put forth in all their amplitude the virtues and exertions becoming the male sex. The remark already made as to the selfishness of well-to-do men competing with poor men to secure ordinary jobs, apply here with equal force. Finally, women should themselves be appealed to to beware of contributing to the conflict between manly and womanly virtues leading to the gradual recession on the grandeur of essentially feminine virtues. Specially ladies of high intellect should be appealed to to remedy the insidious operation of the over-lapping of women's work in the fields for which men have been considered to be specially fit and superseding whom in those fields would conduce to take humanity back to primitive savagery.

There are types of women who are unfit to be housewives, or who believe they would be happier by pursuing a calling or profession instead of entering into matrimony, or who are compelled to earn a living to support their children, or who being widows don't wish to remarry and desire to take up careers and they may do so if their number is very small, but this procedure should not exceed a small part of womanhood, but to hold that all women should be encouraged to do so is suicidal indeed, It is fit that every one should take up this matter in hand for the sake of the cause of humanity.

Is not the prevalence of excessive and over-refined luxury the cause of cupidity and money grabbing ? it looks as if it is. Man is a creature of imitation and in proportion as effiminating luxury devolps and spreads without limit, the masses are enamoured of it and pant after getting it by hook or by crook, and hence it is that a great part of the

earnings of the masses is spent on useless luxuries. Take the case of races, lotteries and speculations on the stock exchange. It is human for people to expect to get rich by gambling and it is neeessary that Government should, as far possible, restrain this tendency by passing strict laws to gain this object. By permitting race meetings and lotteries, and speculations government in a way connives at these vices, and rich people give an instance to the poor to gamble in these ways. This is, of course, due to unequal distribution of wealth which develops a spirit of speculation among the idle rich and, therefore,they maintain such ruinous institutions and the poor are the real victims. These races and lotteries absorb wealth which ought to be utilised for the good of the Community.

In the same way excessive expenditure in giving sumptuous feasts with all the paraphernalia of lights and bands and costly dresses aud drinking indulged by the rich and upper classes is a snare in which the poor are easily caught and waste money on them which they cannot spare and thereby either stint necessaries and real comforts or neglect to bring up children on the proper scale or are taken up with the fallacious idea of such expenditure being a necessary and part and parcel of the due standard of living which thereby becomes too high. This discussion is intended to impress the rich to take care how they give ruinous examples to others to follow, for it is a truism that whatever is practised by the great (or rich) is practised by the rest. It is necessary that luxuries should be simple and not too costly in order that imitation may not undermine the natural simplicity of human beings as a whole. It may be necessary to pass a few sumptuary laws, though they have been discouraged at present, to stem the uncontrolled rush of excessive luxury.

(D) Retrospect ;—

It appears that Providence intends that occasional violence should go on perhaps to secure a balanced population

of the world, for along with great progress in the healing art, its operation is confronted by the operation of man's selfishness and cruelty. And the marvel is that in spite of the progress in the sciences and general literature. cruelty is gaining ground and religion, by the fault of its followers and preachers, is being detested for its failure to operate to curb cruelty, selfishness and vanity.

It is also evident that God intends that man should go on trying to withstand the ravages of the abovenamed tendency, and therefore, it is that there have been bitter complaints and studied attempts to confront the activities of selfishness and the conflict of the two tendencies seems to be to leave a balance of some progress along with the existence of the miseries caused by man's selfish cruelty; and this phenomenon seems to be perpetual and, therefore, man should do his part of supplying force to oppose force. Hence the importance and charm of the social sciences and the keen need of strengthening and encouraging the League of Nations.

Constant agitation is necessary to impress upon mankind the duty of recognising the right of all the human beings of all nations to enjoy the goods of the earth and products of man's brain and the fact that communities endowed with greater vigour and mental activity than others are trustees thereof for the whole world and that the fruits of the operation of force and mental activities are to be shared by all promiscuously, and this fact, if brought home to all, is the only means of slowing down the ravenous operatien of force and brain blindly exercised hitherto.

Perhaps the theory of representative Governments encourages selfish blindness to the higher duties of the thinking men of the world. Politicians have to coax constituencies and for this purpose they have to advocate the cause of their own constituencies to the total exclusion of

the claims of the rest and this policy in turn helps to perpetuate selfishness and cruelty and thus the brainy men and women are engaged in urging parochial policies being stupified into forgetting the dictates of their consciences and thus fight and war are maintained with increasing spirit.

It appears possible that Plato's ideal of rulers will be tried in place of the cabinets of parliaments now in vogne. There would be no members of parliaments elected for the executive government but there would be the specially trained rulers from among whom executive administrators would be appointed for a fixed period. They would, after hearing the suggestions of parliaments or similar bodies, come to their own conclusions as to the policies to be adopted and actions to be undertaken with promptitude. And this suggetion would put a stop to the cult of dictators and all the havoc and dislocation brought about in the process of the rising of dictators like the Fascist and Nazi ones. This suggestion many be given a fair trial.

To strengthen the League of Nations, it is necessary that it should have an independent army composed of the nationals of small states intersperced with nationals of large and powerful ones, so that the fear of the natinals of the latter guiding the actions of the League army may not be realised. As soon as war is undertaken by a nation for purposes of aggression without consulting theLeague, or in defiance of its decision and without recourse to the Hague Court, the League should order its own army to oppose the aggressive nation and fight it with due seriousness, so as to compel the aggressive nation to resort to conciliatory arbitration and the Hague Tribunal and to obey the decision arrived at by these instruments of peaceful management of disputes between nations.

Indeed, aggressive action by a state is very unlikely, if the limitation of foreign trade herein discussed is seriously and universally adopted.

Hitherto trouble has arisen mainly by the competition of nations to get their own products purchased by other nations in spite of the latter producing the said products equally well and at reasonable prices. The policy should be to prevent such competition and to insist upon the consumption by each nation of its own products, if it is able to produce them in quantities demanded by the people of the said nation, taking care that prices charged are fair and not far above those offered by competing nations. The purchase of the products of other nations should be confined to goods which the country in question cannot produce except at prohibitive costs and in insufficient quantities so as to be unable to meet the demand of the people of the country concerned. There would then be due adjustment of things in the proper time. And the League of Nations should see that such ways are adopted by every nation. The result would be a due distribution of wealth, as far as possible, throughout all the nations and a reduction of the power and wealth of the present powerful and rich nations to reasonable proportions, thereby reducing to a minimum the chance of powerful nations dictating the policy which the League of nations should adopt or rendering the League importent in the matter of discharging its duties fearlessly impartially and promptly. And the test of the sincerity of a nation's peaceful intentions to live and let live would be its hearty support of the League of Nations properly constituted.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE INDIAN LABOURER

KANJI DWARKADAS

ONE RUPEE

The Emancipation of the Indian Labourer and other talks were broadcasted from the Bombay Broadcasting Station by Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas in January, February and March 1938.

Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas was a Member for Labour in the Bombay Legislative Council 1921-23 and a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation 1922-34. It was on his resolution in the Council that Government of Bombay appointed the Industrial Disputes Committee with Sir Stanley Reed, Kt., M.P., as Chairman and Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas as one of the members. This Committee made a unanimous report and the Government of Bombay were about to act on it, when they were stopped from doing so, by the Government of India.

Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas was the Hon. Treasurer of the All-India Trade Union Congress 1925-26 and he is now the Labour Officer in the E. D. Sassoon group of mills in Bombay, where over 24,000 men are employed.

FOREWORD

I congratulate the Bombay Broadcasting Station on having spared time for talks on the welfare of Indian Labour and I congratulate Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas on having initiated discussion on that subject. I have known Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas for over twenty years and we have worked together in the cause of labour. I am not expected to agree with everything said by Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas. It is enough that he recognises the central fact that the labour problem is a human problem and labour is not an article of sale and its price cannot be fixed by merely the laws of supply and demand. When this fundamental principle is recognised, it does not require much argument to prove that the immediate need of Indian Labour is the provision of a properly constructed scheme of State controlled system of Social Insurance, protecting workers against unprovided-for sickness, unemployment and old age. They next need the enforcement of a living wage, reduction of hours so that no worker need work more than 8 hours a day, adequate housing, provided by State or Statutory Public Bodies and compulsory system of mass education. Central legislation on these subjects is preferable, but if the Central Government hesitates to act, Provincial Governments must act, if possible, in co-operation with each other, but even single handed, if co-operation between them leads to delay.

The Bombay Broadcasting Station will do well to continue these talks to make the public think on this important subject and I have no doubt that the beginning made by Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas will be followed by other talks, so that a right policy may be evolved and public opinion roused to give effect to it in the immediate future.

Bombay,
18th May 1938.

N. M. JOSHI,
M. L. A.

THE PAST OF INDIA'S TEXTILES

(*3rd January* 1938)

One day in September 1920, when I was driving through the Howrah Bridge at Calcutta with the late Dr. Annie Besant during a busy hour, she pointed out to me the Bengalees walking, attired in a dhoti, kurta and chaddar and drew my attention to the change that had come over India again as regards its clothing during the last 30 years. She said, "When I first came to India in 1893 and passed through Calcutta, I found the Bengalees all dressed up in black suits. They had given up their old national costume and had taken to Western way of dressing. That was a great mistake. The Indian dress, white cotton dhoti and white cotton or silk kurta is beautiful, artistic and clean and suits the climatic conditions of India." Another distinguished visitor to India some years ago said, "Let India change in whatever way she likes, but in one respect at least, I hope she will not change. I am referring to the Indian Saree. There is nothing more beautiful or graceful than the Indian Saree and I hope Indian women, so noted for their modesty and grace, will never discard their national costume."

A further revolutionary change has been brought into India in its simplicity of clothing by Gandhiji. A hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar dhoti and equally pure khaddar kurta and a khaddar cap is recognised today not only as the Gandhi dress, but as the Indian National costume. Gradually, the political significance attached to khaddar has disappeared and people who are not followers of Gandhi have adopted the dhoti-kurta-Gandhi cap costume. But how far clothing is a necessity of life and to what extent, both for men and women? Different parts of India have given their answers to this question. Whilst the Punjab and the North of India have their tight pyjamas and long Achkan, while Bombay has its dhoti, shirt and long coat, whilst Maharashtra has its dhoti, shirt and short coat, whilst Calcutta and U. P. have their dhoti, shirt and chaddar, the South has kurta and dhoti, but one notices that the kurta is not considered as much a necessity in the South as in the North of India. Gujerat and Maharashtra have taken to Gandhi dress and have come more in line with the South. But the difference in costume of North and South India is more marked in the manner in which the women clothe themselves. Till almost

yesterday and even today, neither the Saree nor the blouse in any way was or is considered the minimum necessity for clothing. Bare right up to the waist, the women of South India, without the slightest feeling of awkwardness or self-consciousness, walk in their graceful figures through the open streets. Giving oral evidence before the Cinematographic Committee in 1927, I stated that nudity was neither vulgar nor obscene, but that a person heavily dressed and cloaked from the neck right to the feet, can express vulgarity and obscenity in no unmistakable way. Gandhiji himself has set an example in scantiness of clothing by adopting the plain and simple loin cloth for his clothing. How few people realise what lay behind the mind, which suddenly decided over-night to discard his white coat and white Pugree, made famous during his South African Campaign. It is nothing but the oneness of feeling and being which Gandhiji has with the lowliest of the low in India that made him take to the loin cloth.

All these thoughts are provoked by the subject matter of today's talk on the "Past of India's Textiles."

From the beginning of time, the manufacture of textiles has been one of the major industries of the world. The arts of spinning and weaving, which rank next to agriculture in importance, have been found among all the nations of the world. They existed in Egypt during the time of Joseph 1700 B.C. and from authentic history, it is quite evident that cotton manufacture was conducted before that period in India, as Herodotus wrote in about 445 B.C. "Indians possess a likewise plant which instead of fruit, produces wool of a finer and better quality than that of sheep, of this the Indians made their cloths." Also cotton cloths and corded twine were found during recent excavations in Mohenjo Daro in the valley of the Indus in Sind and the archeological evidence places this civilisation at the period of 3,000 B.C.

This and other evidences show that the birth place of cotton textile manufacture was India, where it was conducted with primitive instruments. The four principal materials, which furnish the clothing of men are cotton, flax, wool and silk, of which the first two belong to the vegetable world and the last two to the animal world.

Romeshchandra Dutt in his History of India writes, "The excellent manufactures of India were known to the traders of Phoenecia and in the markets of Western Asia and Egypt long before the Christian Era." Magesthenes says, 'that the Indians are skilled in the art as might be expected of men, who inhale a fine air and drink the very finest water.' With regard to finery and ornaments, Magesthenes further says, "in contrast to their general simplicity and style, they love finery and orna-

ments. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones and they also wear flowered garments of the finest muslin."

In the different professions in Manu's time, is mentioned the profession of 'Tanti,' a weaver. Reference to agriculture, commerce and to arts and even to the vices of men give some idea of the state of society in the puranic times. We find a humane rule laid down that a pair of bullocks should not be worked in a plough for more than a pahar (*i.e.*, 3 hours). Of great interest will be found rules under which companies were formed to carry on commercial transactions. With reference to profits and losses, control of profiteering, etc. merchants were told to be satisfied with 10 per cent. on imports and 5 per cent on home manufactures. These artificial rules may seem crude in these days, but we in the fourth decade of the 20th century have to admit sorrowfully that laws still more crude regulate trade in the world today with its prohibitive tariff duties on imports and exports and with its consequent economic wars waging furiously.

With regard to artisans, Magesthenes informs us that he, who caused an artisan to lose his eye or hand, was punished with death. I suppose the employers of labour today would much rather prefer the hardest provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act to the system of compensation referred to by Magesthenes.

Yoganavalkya speaks of woollen and cotton fabrics skilfully woven and fabrics covered with wool, as also of silken stuff and fabrics made of fibres. Reference has also been made to the cultivation and manufacture of Indigo.

We learn from the Greek writers what we already knew from the ancient literature of India that the time honoured dhoti and chaddar formed the national dress of India. Arrian quotes a passage from Nearchos that Indians, "wear an undergarment of cotton, which reaches below their knee half way down the ankles and also an upper garment which they throw partly over the shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head. They wear shoes made of white leather and they are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated and made of great thickness."

Under the shadow of Royal Power dwell the peaceful merchants and bankers in the Exchanges and merchants' quarters, quiet unostentatious as Hindu merchants always are. These banker merchants had their branches in the great towns all over Northern India and carried on extensive operations in silk, etc., etc.

Jewellers and artists flocked in the vicinity of merchants. The artists found a market all throughout the known world and

the products of their skill were appreciated in the Court of Harunal Rashid in Bagdad and astonished the Great Charlemagne and his rude Barons, who looked with wonder on the silk and brocades and jewellery which had come from India to the infant trading marts of Europe.

Only a passing reference may be made to the records of the most eminent of the Chinese travellers, Housen Tsang, whose story has shed a flood of light on the history of India after the Buddhist period. He travelled in India in about 650 A.D. Housen Tsang refers to the clothing in India being ornamented and of bright shining fabrics. In the early days of East India Company's rule, fabrics produced by the Indian weavers supplied the markets of Europe and one can still recall the days, when every village in the weavers' districts had its looms and millions of Indian weavers were supported by their profitable industry.

How this industry was gradually strangled and destroyed, first by protective duties on Indian goods in England and then by an unequal competition, how Indian weavers, who were content with 3 annas and 4 annas a day, found themselves ruined by the cheaper products of English Looms and how Weaver Communities were compelled to abandon their trade and to depend on agriculture or petty trade or on humble, ill-paid appointments in public and private offices; all these form one of the saddest chapters in the History of India.

Coming to recent times, the first cotton mill called the Bombay Throstle Mill was started in 1853. Between 1853 and 1870 ten mills were running in the City, having an aggregate strength of roughly 3 lakhs spindles and 4080 looms. From 1870 onwards cotton mills began to multiply steadily from year to year.

The mills just referred to spun coarser yarn upto 20s generally for the China market and mostly coarser cloth for consumption in the City and in the country.

Steady progress was made by the Textile Industry after 1899 and it received a great impetus owing to the Swadeshi Movement all over India as a result of the Partition of Bengal. During this period, there was a mass alteration in the character of the Textile Industry. At the outset of the period, Indian cotton mill industry was essentially spinning industry and nearly half the yarn produced was exported. By the end of 1920 whilst the number of spindles increased by 39%, looms increased by 142%. This change is more marked in up-country mills. Bombay was affected by the decreasing importance of export trade in yarn.

I have mentioned above the number of spindles and looms in the early seventies of the last century. Today the total number of spindles in the equipped mills of the country stands at 97,31,000 spindles and the total number of looms is 1,97,810.

In Bombay City and island, the number of spindles is 28.90 lakhs and the number of looms 67,000. The Mill Industry consumed during the year ended 31st August 1937, 15,73,000 candies of 784 lbs. cotton.

The number of operatives employed daily was approximately 4,17,000.

There was and to some extent still is an erroneous impression that there exists a competition between the hand-loom and the power loom, that the latter would not only partially replace, but totally crush the former. This is not so and it should not be so. As I have already pointed out, the hand-loom industry in India is one of the oldest of the world. Though it has had its set back in the past for reasons into which I need not go now, its future is assured and will be as bright and glorious as during the long past. For the politically-minded Indians, who rightly understand the economic benefits of the hand-loom industry, have already given proof by their attitude and their action that they would not only not neglect, but would do all that is in their power to help the further progress of the hand-loom industry. This again does not mean that the Mill Industry would suffer. India today is a big importer of foreign cloth from Japan and Europe. The most striking feature which stands out from a survey of the Textile Industry during the first 25 years of the 20th century is the expansion in every direction, but particularly in weaving. Spindles increased by 50%, looms increased by 223%.

At the commencement of the period, *i.e.*, about 1900, the Indian Mill production of cloth was only a little over one-fifth of the net imports and about half the production of the hand-loom industry. By 1925, it was 77% greater than the one, and 50% greater than the other. In 1899-1900 Indian Mills supplied 9% of the Indian requirements of cloth against 64% met by imports and 27% by the hand-loom industry. In 1921-22 the percentages were 42% Indian Mills, 26% foreign imports and 32% hand-looms. If the hand-loom industry and Textile Industry work hand in hand together and are supported by the Government of India, there is nothing to fear about their future prosperity.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE INDIAN LABOURER

(*5th February* 1938.)

I

The problem of labour in India is so large and vast that I shall have to make arbitrary limitations to the scope of the subject-matter of to-day's talk. Labour means not only industrial labour, but also agricultural labour. Inside and outside these two divisions are included skilled and unskilled labour, organised and unorganised labour. It is not my intention to make a detailed survey of the problem of agricultural labour, but amongst the different types of labour that must be kept in mind, are included workers in the textile industry, building industry, sweated industries like match, clothing, beedi, etc. and unregulated factories.

It is truly said that India was and is an agricultural country. The major part of India even today lives on agricultural labour. But there is a big difference between people living on agriculture 200 years ago and the present conditions.

Today agricultural labour has to spend major part of the year in laziness or in unemployment. There is no subsidiary employment for occupying leisure hours. Agriculturists are overwhelmed with indebtedness and for this and other reasons agricultural labour hardly gets enough to eat, and the result is that the agriculturist and his labourers live a life of semi-starvation.

In India, once upon a time, home industries were flourishing. The Spinning Wheel was seen in every agriculturist's home. Old women and widows earned their livelihood on the spinning wheel, which was a leisure hour source of production and income.

There were no big cities in India and villages had not to depend for their needs on big cities. The needs of the people were few and villages were self-sufficient.

Introducing the Debt Relief Bill in the Madras Assembly, the Hon. Mr. Rajagopalachariar, the Prime Minister, truly stated that it was necessary to save this industry from the evil condition into which it had fallen. It is necessary to put it on sound basis by removing the difficulties in its way by giving relief. The moment

the agricultural labour is put on its feet, prosperity will set in again in this country and the purchasing power of the people will go up and other industries will reap the benefit.

Besides agriculture, there are many other industries, *e.g.*, cotton textile industry, jute industry, iron and steel industry, mines, railway workshop, tea plantations. The Factories Act makes it compulsory for each factory to be registered. In 1934 there were 8658 factories in the country, employing 14,87,231 men. Out of these, the Bombay Presidency claimed 1678 factories, employing 3,75,833 workmen.

Of recent years, labour has naturally assumed its rightful importance as one of the major problems of the country, ripe for solution. As a result of the Congress Ministries in the seven provinces, the labour problem has been brought to the forefront. It will not be out of place to quote, therefore, from the Bombay Government resolution setting out their policy on the welfare of the industrial labour:

"Government are aware that they are in a special sense responsible for the welfare of the industrial worker. The process of industrialisation, which has gone furtherest in this Presidency, takes away the independence of the worker, places him in a different environment and creates social and political problems of a peculiar and complicated character. Keeping these circumstances in view, the Indian National Congress has envisaged in its Election Manifesto, a policy and a programme in respect of industrial workers, which constitute an undertaking to "secure to them a decent standard of living, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity as far as economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment and the right of workers to form Unions and to strike for the protection of their interests." The earliest resolution of the Congress on the Fundamental rights, generally states in addition that, "the State shall safeguard the interests of the industrial workers" and makes special reference to women workers and children.

There are four agencies through which labour can be helped, namely, (1) the State, (2) the employer, (3) creation of strong public opinion, (4) the labour itself. During the last six months and more we have heard quite a lot about the responsibilities of the State and the employer. There is no doubt that such responsibilities exist, but it would be wrong to lay too much emphasis on relief and help from these two sources; for unless labour makes up its mind to set its own house in order, whatever the State and the employer may do, would not come to much.

It should be noted, however, that complete co-operation of these four agencies can alone bring forth satisfactory results.

The standard of living in India is far too low. The miserableness of the few budgetary needs of the Indian worker can be seen from the Report of the Inquiry into Working Class Family Budgets in Bombay City published in 1935. The working classes in Bombay City live in one room tenements. Out of the total population of 13,00,000 people, as many as 8,00,000 live in one room tenements. This state of affairs should not last. It may not be practical at this stage that the workers shall each have a two-room tenement, for it is obvious that the cost entailed in making this extra housing accommodation would mean lakhs and lakhs of rupees for building purposes. But even while this system of one-room tenement continues, there is much that labour can do to improve the housing conditions. The tendency of the working classes to over-crowd their rooms with near and distant relatives, friends and paying guests, needs particular mention and no other than working classes themselves can remedy this evil. Apart from over-crowding, there is a further tendency to close up their rooms and stop light and fresh air coming in. This habit of over-crowding is responsible in a large way for loss of efficiency, sickness and heavy infant mortality.

I am one of those, who knowing first hand the present conditions of working classes, would strongly advocate higher standards of living than prevail at present. At the same time, I hold very strong opinion that it benefits neither the country nor the workmen if the standard is made too high. This remark applies to the rich and the poor alike. A simple life and simple taste with as few personal needs as possible, would lead to greater happiness in life and it is the purpose of all well-regulated societies to promote well-being and happiness of the toiling masses of the country. I should not be misunderstood. I am not shouting "Back to Nature" slogan, but I am definitely suggesting, with all the emphasis that I can command, that we in this country have no justification to imitate the standard of the West, but we can take what is best from the West with discrimination and at the same time, preserve the best in the more simple and less complicated Eastern standard.

It should be pointed out that improvement in the standard of living of the working classes in the different parts of the country must proceed on uniform and parallel lines, otherwise the low standard of one centre will adversely affect attempts to improve conditions in other centres. For example, unless conditions are improved in Cawnpore, Madras and Calcutta, not much improvement can be made in the conditions of Bombay working classes. The question, therefore, of the improvement of

the standard of living becomes more difficult owing to the different habits and customs of various classes in the country.

Particular emphasis has to be laid on the social and religious customs of the working classes. The reports published by the Government Labour Office on the Inquiry into Working Class Family Budgets in Bombay and Ahmedabad make a very sad tale in regard to their indebtedness and most of this indebtedness is due to the heavy expenses incurred on marriages, funerals, death ceremonies, birth of sons, periodical religious and feast days. Unless the working classes see for themselves the necessity for controlling within reasonable limits the expenses on these items, no amount of State legislation or welfare activities on the part of the employers or increase in the wages would bring any permanent benefit to them. This is a matter for the careful consideration of social workers in the country and they will realise that this is a question of slow and laborious task, rather than of tub-thumping platform oratory or political slogans or any 'isms.'

Under the conditions prevailing at present, what would be the effect of an increase in wages? Ordinarily the effect of such increase should be an incentive on the efficiency of the workers. But the present conditions of the worker and his mental development and outlook are such that the advantage gained would not be in proportion to the increase given. Along with this question, must be considered the problem of spending leisure hours. This problem becomes more acute as the working hours are reduced. Formerly, not long ago, they were 12 hours. They were then reduced to ten hours. Now the Factories Act permits working for 54 hours per week, that is on an average 9 hours per day. Unless an organised effort is made to provide for healthy occupations during leisure hours, there will be waste of time, money and energy in unhealthy surroundings and in unpleasant activities, *e.g.* the drink shop, etc. These factors would not lead to increased efficiency.

It should also be pointed out that in the work of the working classes, effort is not intensive. Whose fault it is and what the remedy should be, is a big question, but there is not the slighest doubt that this is a matter that the working classes should and can tackle for themselves.

Mr. Harold Butler, Director, International Labour Office, Geneva, said in one of his speeches in Bombay: "How can we expect the best of efficiency from an illiterate worker?"

So long as the Indian worker considers himself not only a part of the machine, but a servant of the machine and not what he really is—a master of the machine—he will not be able to

exert his best and to get the best results from his work. Questions time and again arise whether methods of efficiency lead to some sort of heavy strain and fatigue. This should not be and is not so. Concentration on work causes neither strain nor fatigue. What leads to fatigue is lethargy, laziness and a happy-go-lucky way of doing work.

The Indian worker has to improve his earnings, which will enable him to improve his standard of living; he has to educate not only his children, so that they may turn out to be more happy and contented workmen than he has had opportunities to be, but also it is not too late for him to educate himself. The Indian workman has to get rid of a good many beliefs and superstitions, which are a drag on his energy and purse. The Indian workman has to improve his social habits and give up the habit of drink to which he is unfortunately accustomed. The Indian workman has to find ways and means for indulgence in healthy activities and recreations during the hours that he is not working. What these recreations should be, is a matter for the more educated classes and the Government not only to consider and decide, but also to provide for.

I have concentrated in this talk on the emancipation of labour through itself, but it is hardly necessary for me to add, what is already implied in what I have said that there are other factors and agencies which can help in this great and interesting work of up-lift, namely, State, Municipality and employers. I shall deal with this in my next talk.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE INDIAN LABOURER

(19*th February* 1938)

II

In my talk a fortnight back I dealt with the Emancipation of the Indian Labourer through himself. Today's talk deals with the duties and obligations of the State and the employers in regard to helping in the work of emancipation. But it is clearly understood that there are no water-tight compartments between the responsibilities of the State and the employers and of the workers themselves; for in many ways the duties, obligations and responsibilities are over-lapping and inter-dependent on each other and the fullest co-operation is essential between all the three agencies. In the not remote past, emphasis was laid merely on the question of wages and it was thought that improvement in wages would solve other difficulties. But it has now been correctly realised that there is another factor at least as important as wages, namely, conditions of work. Unless the conditions of work are satisfactory, the worker will not be able to give the best results of his efforts, as his health would deteriorate and his work would be a cause of irritability and he would always be physically and mentally unsympathetic with his work and it is one of the most elementary duties of his employer to provide for suitable conditions of work.

What makes the conditions of work satisfactory and suitable? First, a healthy body, refreshed by rest, relaxation and recreation and a healthy mental and emotional atmosphere both outside and inside the place of work. The main cause of trouble in India in regard to the working conditions of the labouring classes is that not much attention is paid to the human factor, by which is meant all the influences, mental and physical, which make for the happiness and efficiency of men and women at their work. This is where the Governments in India and the employers should assume their joint and several responsibility.

The Government, backed by public opinion, can enact legislation which would soften the hardships of working conditions and help in the preservation of a physically and mentally healthy tone in the working classes. In India, since the last

seventeen years—since the inception of the Montagu Reforms—have been put on the Statute Book the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Maternity Benefits Act, and the Indian Mines Act, and the Indian Factories Act has been amended with a view further to safeguard the interests of labour.

The Congress Governments have a definite labour policy and have under contemplation the feasibility of legislation and one of the important problems that face the present Governments is in regard to the provision of better housing. The duty of the State in this matter is important and this problem is to be tackled at once. I have visited rooms in Bombay chawls in the working classes area, where it is pitch dark at midday and to see a face at no more than an arm's length, one has to have a light. This condition of affairs has been tolerated too long and it is upto the Municipality to co-operate with the State and start the work of slum clearance and undertake building operations for the comfortable housing of the working classes and their families. The example of England, Germany and Austria in these matters may well be followed. England, with a view to provide better housing for the labouring classes and with a view to find employment for its thousands of unemployed, carried out a bold building policy. Alexandraplatz, one of the worst slums of Germany, which has given its name to a famous psychological novel by Doblin, banned by Herr Hitler, was transformed into a very big business centre and healthy working class dwellings, when I visited Berlin in 1933. Vienna rightly claims to have the best working class houses. They are provided with laundries, shower and swimming baths, places of recreation and gardens for the children, plenty of water and electric lights for the comfort and convenience of the toiling and sweating workers. It is satisfactory to note that Government of Bombay have recently appointed a Departmental Committee with the Prime Minister as its Chairman, to go into the question of housing facilities for the working classes. The co-operation of the Bombay Municipality will, I hope, be sought and obtained, if not willingly, then by peaceful persuasion. Vested interests have refused to tackle this question so far, but means must be found to set things right. Is it too much to hope that the Hon. Mr. Kher and his Committee will not only tackle the question of making more satisfactory the Development Department chawls, but will also find ways and means for providing ample public baths and swimming baths throughout the City.

The question of the evil of drink is being tackled by the Bombay Government through the enforcement of Prohibition by slow stages. Whether it is by prohibition or by temperance and propaganda, this evil of drink has to be checked. With a view to get more and more revenue, the policy of the Provincial Governments in the past has been to open liquor shops round

about the factories and dwelling place of workmen. Government of Bombay have decided that from 1st August next, liquor shops will be closed on the pay day and the day after the pay day. It goes without saying that this is a slow and laborious task, which cannot be solved by passing legislation and it will need the co-operation and tax the patience of all classes of society.

Along with the question of housing and of the closing down of liquor shops, comes the question of open spaces and gardens for recreation. If the hours of work are reduced, as they have been, if the workmen are to be kept away from the liquor shops, how are the working classes to spend their leisure hours? It is not enough merely to provide for open spaces and gardens, provision for healthy activities must also be made, *e.g.* akhadas for physical exercises and wrestling. Radio sets must be installed in public places, not only for the amusement and entertainment, but also for educative purposes. Provision should further be made for interesting lectures and not only through Radio, by experienced speakers, who are experts on various subjects.

The City must be dotted with free reading rooms and libraries. There are not enough facilities in the City for the education of the children of the working classes and much human material is allowed to waste and rot for want of such facilities.

All this is the work of the State and the Municipality.

It is part of the duties and functions of Government to collect and keep up-to-date through a separate department, *e.g.* Labour Office, Government of Bombay, full statistics and information regarding the position of the different varieties of labour, skilled and unskilled throughout the Presidency. The only Labour Office maintained in the country is that by the Government of Bombay since 1921 and it has reached a state of perfection and efficiency and impartiality, for which achievement, it can well be proud. The information collected by the Bombay Labour Office is accepted without any hesitation by all sides concerned and credit for this excellent result is due to Mr. Gennings and his colleagues, Mr. Deshpande, Mr. Maherban and Mr. Joshi. Mention must be made also of the good work done by Mr. Pryde, the Government Labour Officer.

Other provinces are contemplating the formation of such Labour Offices and the sooner they do it, the better it will be for the industrial peace and the well-being of the working classes.

A word of caution is perhaps necessary. The Government, in their zeal for the welfare of the working classes, must not lose sight of the fact that all the moral influence at their command would only have beneficial results, if they realise that absolute impartiality on the part of Government is essential.

Though the Government may have a labour policy and may back up the working classes, as they should be backed up, they must make the employers realise that in the long run, the industry and the employers stood to gain through their regime. It is not asking too much of our Governments to expect them to rise to the height of such impartiality and win the confidence of both employers and employed.

Political stability and industrial peace, which can be secured by the Government, must compensate the employers for the extra burdens put on them through social legislation.

The first duty of the employers is in regard to paying adequate wages and equally important is their duty of efficient management, which means that the machinery must be in a tip-top condition, so that the workman has not constantly to attend to setting right small dislocations, which are the cause of much irritation, strain and loss in earnings. There must be scientific management. But the employers must realise that scientific management depends for its success on more than routine application of abstract schemes and mechanical principles—above all on mutual understanding and co-operation between management and labour.

Associations of employers, like associations of employees, were originally founded in self-defence and for negative purposes and purely for self-interest, namely, to control and regulate previous suicidal competition in the selling prices of output and in the selling prices of labour. Originally, the chief object of all industrial associations was to increase earnings by controlling prices and markets and by controlling wages and other conditions of work. This negative attitude of the employers' associations must give way to constructive co-operation amongst them to ameliorate the working conditions of their employees. Research work can be undertaken by the employers' organisations in a more comprehensive way and with much more satisfactory results than by individual employers, for in the former case, the expense to each employer would be infinitesimal and profits to the whole industry, including labour, and to the country, would be more.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that it is one of the primary duties of the employer to realise the fact that the man working under him is not a "hand," but a manual worker, a human being. The employer must realise the dignity of labour and he must treat his workmen in such a way that they may feel interested in the work. An atmosphere of friendliness must prevail throughout the working hours. The employers must lay all the cards on the table. Mr. Shankerlal Banker, giving evidence on behalf of Ahmedabad Labour before the Bombay Textile Labour Inquiry Committee, rightly pointed out that the

employers had nothing to lose by giving the fullest possible information in their possession. The employers must not let the feeling abroad that they are trying to conceal something. This leads to suspicion, suspicion leads to small bickerings, which get collected and end in industrial strife and bitterness and class warfare. All these the employers can avoid and they can set an example to the working classes of class equality and of brotherhood. Snobbishness and an air of superiority, always wrong in any case, is fatal for the employers.

In my last talk, I referred to the heavy burden of indebtedness of the working classes. The employers can help in this through co-operative societies of men under their employment. These societies would not only help the workmen to borrow at lower rate of interest, but they would also help in the redemption of debt and in fostering and encouraging the habit of thrift.

Employers can make provision for the supply of healthy food through canteens, which would make possible for the workman to have his drinks, light refreshments and meals any time throughout the working hours and outside. Carefully managed canteens will in no way cause any financial loss to the employers. On the contrary, the workman will get good food cheap and will remain more content and, therefore, more fit for his work. It is upto the employers to organise occasional excursions, trips to places of historical interest and to places of pilgrimage. This would remove the monotony of work and would give the relaxation and recreation, so necessary in human life, would help in widening the out-look of the working classes and would help in their mental development. These trips would foster a spirit of camaraderie not only among the working classes themselves, but also between the management and the working classes. They would further serve the purpose of making satisfactory provision for the use of leisure hours.

It is upto the employers to inaugurate and develop efficiency schemes, which would enable the workers to earn higher wages and to purchase at reduced costs. But it should be realised that the needs and welfare of the employees demand full consideration, if efficiency methods have to be conducted successfully.

Bad working conditions, inadequate training and inadequate leisure not only make for social ill-health and low culture, but also re-act on the efficiency of the industry itself. Increase in wages is socially useless unless it conduces to hygienic, cultural and ethical progress and the advancement of physical, mental and moral welfare of the communities and of entire humanity.

LABOUR IN THE INDIAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

(28th February 1938)

The problem of textile workers in India has assumed an importance in much greater proportion than its numerical strength warrants. Compared to agricultural labour, industrial labour in India is numerically very insignificant. For example, in the whole of Bombay Presidency, there are only four lakhs of textile workers distributed as follows in the various important centres.

In Bombay City, there are altogether 1,30,000 workers, including 24,000 women. In Ahmedabad City, out of 84,000 workers, 11,000 are women, in Sholapur out of 18,000 workers, 4,200 are women *i.e.*, throughout the Presidency, there are in the Textile factories 2,60,000 workers, of whom 45,000 are women workers. The number of children employed is just over 1,000. There are other centres in Bombay Presidency like Ahmedabad, Kaira, Panch Mahal, Broach, Surat, East and West Khandesh, Sholapur and Satara districts, Belgaum, Dharwar and Bijapur and Bombay and Suburbs, giving employment altogether to over 30,000 men and women.

In Madras Presidency, the principal centres for textile industry are Madura, Madras, Coimbatore and Tinnevelly and the number of operatives they employ are 13,000, 11,500, 15,000 and 8,400 respectively; a total of 50,000 for the year 1935 against 34,000 in 1934. It will thus be seen that in Madras the Textile Industry has made good headway since 1935.

The third principal centre in the country which has grown and is still growing is Cawnpore in U. P. The Textile Industry in Cawnpore is developing rapidly. From the statistics of the Director of Commercial Intelligence, we find that the total amount of woven goods in the U.P., which practically means Cawnpore (because it produces more than 90% of the total of U.P.), rose from 118 million yards in 1929 to 237 million yards in 1936, which is just over double. This expansion is much more rapid than in the rest of India. The cotton consumed was 72 thousand candies in 1929 and 102 thousand candies in 1936. One special feature of Cawnpore Mills is that they are definitely

turning their attention to higher counts. Some of the Mills have the most up-to-date machinery and practically all are working two shifts, day and night.

This indicates that the number of textile workers has in the eight years since 1929 doubled. It may be mentioned here that in Bombay City, there are large numbers of Pardeshi Bhaiyyas from U.P., whose standard of life is far lower than either the Ghati or Konkani from Satara, Poona and Ratnagiri districts or the Mohamedan weaver from Bombay.

I have just mentioned that both Madras and Cawnpore have made progress during the last few years. Ahmedabad has also made good progress and from 51 Mills in 1919, there are now 81 mills there. The biggest and prehaps the only sufferer is Bombay City where, against 85 mills in 1919 and 81 mills in 1932, there are only now 69 mills. The percentage of Bombay Mills against the rest of India was 32.9 in 1919 and it has come down to 18.6 in 1937. This is not a very satisfactory state of things, one must admit, for Bombay.

It is well-known that the factory workers in the Bombay mills are not all Bombay men, only 20% are actually local men, the rest are migratory and their homes are Poona and Satara districts, Konkan and Deccan and as I have said above, U.P. Most of these are agriculturists by heredity and even today when they go back to their villages, they take up their ancestral work. The result of this is that the turn-over of labour in Bombay is far greater than the situation warrants, *e.g.*, for 1,26,735 men working in Bombay mills, no less than 35,000 were badlies or substitutes, thus showing a heavy percentage of roughly 28.

There are about a dozen acute problems so far as the textile workers in the country go:—

1. Adequate wages
2. Hours of work
3. Conditions of work
4. Housing conditions
5. Conditions of women workers and special amenities necessary for them
6. Leisure hour occupations including places and facilities for recreation and entertainments.
7. Absenteeism
8. Drink evil
9. Medical aid
10. Education.
11. Care of the children.
12. Legislation.

It is difficult for a speaker belonging to Bombay to make invidious comparisons between wages and conditions of work in Bombay City with wages and conditions of work outside the Presidency. It is not my purpose to make any exaggerated statement, which may not be borne out by a close investigation of facts. What I am about to say, can be verified by reference to the Annual Factory Reports issued by the respective Governments. There is not the slightest doubt and I say this without any fear of contradiction, that the wages and conditions of work in Bombay Presidency are on a far higher level than the wages and conditions of work prevailing outside the Presidency. We have been assured that the Congress Governments in the seven provinces have decided upon an all India uniform policy for taking ameliorative measures, legislative and otherwise, for the raising of the standard of living of the workers and bringing happiness and comfort to their families and homes.

The Congress Committee has, however, admitted that information is lacking and therefore insists that in every province there must be an adequately staffed labour department on the lines of the Bombay Government Labour Office and by June 1938 new and inexperienced officers are called upon to collect "all the statistical and other data relating to cost of living, family budgets, rates of wages, average earnings, trade disputes, trade unions, conditions of industry including profits" necessary to implement the Labour Programme. But the Congress Committee forgets that it has taken the Bombay Labour Office 18 years to collect all these materials. What is the result? The result is that only the Bombay Government have a forward Labour Policy, which they are pushing full speed ahead. In Madras, strikes and lock-outs all over the Presidency are daily occurrences and the time of the Minister for Labour, is taken up fully in intervention in these strikes.

In U.P. the Government appointed a Committee of Inquiry more than six months ago, which has sat at irregular intervals and its report is not yet out. In neither of these two presidencies, do we hear of any proposed legislation on the lines of what is being done for Bombay, namely, a legislation on Holidays with Pay, legislation on prevention of strikes and lock-outs and amicable settlement of trade disputes by conciliation and arbitration, etc., etc.

There are several disadvantages from the point of view of labour and the employers and the industry in having this legislation in one province, whilst the other provinces are not following in the wake. You cannot improve the standard of living of one section of labour, if the other sections are neglected and are allowed to live in the most filthy conditions, like the

workers in Cawnpore and Madras and Calcutta. Secondly, the financial responsibilities put on the industry by increased wages and social legislation in one place would make it difficult for it to compete with other places, which have not such legislation. The result may be that the industry in the particular place, where there is a forward legislation, would suffer and some factories may have to close down, as has actually happened in Bombay and consequently the unemployed labour would have to seek work in other places and it would be a poor service to labour, as the Whitley Commission remarked, so to raise standards in one part of the country as to drive industry into another part, where standards are lower. The burden of my theme is not that there should be no forward legislation in India, but that other provinces must fall into line and come up to the advanced stage to which Bombay has already reached.

The hours of work in Bombay allowed by the Factories Act are 54 per week, *i.e.*, 9 hours per day against 60 hours till 1935. Many mills in Bombay are now working double shifts of 9 hours each and some three shifts of 7 hours each. This last makes a week of 42 hours, which is 6 hours less than our labour friends demand. It will also be realised that working two or three shifts gives more employment to workers, reduces proportionately the cost of production owing to over-head and other charges being the same, the benefit of this reduction in cost of production is passed on the consumer and the hours of work and consequently, fatigue and strain are reduced and yet the earnings are at least as much as on the longer working days.

I have watched and observed carefully work during the night shift and I have found that there is no more strain or fatigue as a result of night work. The quality of production at night is as good as during the day. The efficiency of the worker does not suffer because of night shift work and as a matter of fact, he is much less inclined during the night work to leave his work to go out to the compound for a smoke, etc. These are interesting questions for further investigation from the psychological point of view.

Textile workers in India must welcome and make the best use of Efficiency Schemes, which would mean more earnings and less hours of work for them. If properly managed, efficiency schemes should not cause undue strain and fatigue but it must be insisted that the conditions of management and the machinery must be so good as to cause no annoyance, irritation, physical discomfort or strain to the workers. It is easy to realise that unless the employer improves and puts in a perfect condition his machinery and management, his attempts at putting through efficiency schemes would not be a paying propo-

sition. All efficiency schemes have been enforced and welcomed in Russia to the point of religion. Efficiency schemes have come to stay in India and the workers must derive proportionate benefit out of them.

I shall now refer to the 24,000 women workers in Bombay or altogether 45,000 in the Presidency. The age of chivalry is not dead in India. Japan employs young girls for day and night work and gives very small wages in return, consequently is able to compete successfully with the textile industries in other countries including our own. But what does it matter? As I have said the age of chivalry is not dead in India and for the sake of filthy lucre, we shall not permit our women to work at night. Very few, however, realise that a working woman has other work to do besides her work in the factory, both in the early morning before she goes to work and in the evening after she returns from work, *i.e.*, her domestic work like washing, cooking, etc. and looking after children. That makes her working day much more than 9 hours that she works in the factory. And it can leave her no time for recreation or rest. Then bad housing conditions affect women far more than men, for women have to return home direct from work and stay there more than men. What are the consequences? About 97% of the working-class families live in single rooms and infant mortality is greatest in one room tenements. Bad housing conditions are one of the main causes of heavy infant mortality and it is hoped that the Bombay Government, who have made special provision in the coming year's budget for amenities for the working classes, will be able to remove some of the remediable misfortunes of the working classes.

We have now in Bombay a very good Maternity Benefits Act, which gives medical and other help and compulsory leave with pay to factory women before and after child birth. Out of the 24,000 women working in the Bombay mills in 1936, no less than 1,900 received maternity benefits, that is 8%. In Ahmedabad, out of 9,500 women, 1,200 got maternity benefits, that is, 12.5%. I wonder how many people know that the working woman of Bombay never drinks. She is a religious minded woman, full of faith and spirit of resignation, unfortunately too much resignation, is dignified, is graceful in her figure and in her movements and has a sense of humour and understanding, though illiterate. It is our primary duty to help this class of workers, which deserves well of the State and the employers.

So far as textile workers in the presidency are concerned, there is a great need for healthy organisations amongst themselves, not merely for the negative purpose of combining for conducting strikes, but for constructive work of ameliorating their own conditions and their standard of life. We have the

best of such Trade Union combination in Ahmedabad under the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi and under the direct management and control of Ben Anusuyabai, Mr. Shankerlal Banker, Mr. Nanda and Mr. Khandubhai Desai. It has been an up-hill work quietly done for years and years together, taxing the patience of the organisers, but well-worth doing. The Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad has a membership of over 25,000 of the Ahmedabad Millworkers, the subscriptions are regularly paid and it has been able thus to collect big amounts of funds, utilised now in running schools for the children of the working classes and in hospitals. It is the best Trade Union in India, the like of which we would like to see come up in Bombay and in other industrial centres.

Another piece of legislation passed in recent times to help labour is the Payment of Wages Act, which makes it compulsory for employers to pay wages on or before the tenth of each month. It is an all-India legislation, but unfortunately the provinces give different interpretations to the provisions of the Act, which is neither fair to nor good for the workmen. In Bombay Presidency for example, Government of Bombay have interpreted the Act in such a way as to make the payment of bonus illegal and just at a time when Courts of Inquiry appointed by Madras Government recommended such payments of bonus and when these recommendations are being accepted by mill-owners. In the evidence tendered before the Cawnpore Labour Inquiry Committee, millowners have admitted that they have a bonus system in their mills. Now it has been contended that this bonus system has been in vogue in different provinces to take away from labour its proper dues. That is wrong way of paying bonus. Effort in India not being intensive, it is but right to offer an incentive to it by way of extra wages through bonus, but whether bonus is legal or not, the same principle and practice should hold good for all India to remove all suspicion of injustice and unfairness.

The task of amelioration and up-lift is not easy. It cannot be accomplished by bitterness and strife and class warfare. One party alone cannot do it. All have to put their shoulders to the wheel, co-operate harmoniously and without any reservations, and pull together. India is sufficiently big minded, and full of understanding to avoid the mistakes of the West and to get through co-operation and harmony and friendship in a few years, what it has taken over a hundred years in the West to accomplish.

INDIAN LABOUR AND INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

(*5th March* 1938)

In order to understand the influence that the international Labour Office has had in the past or is likely to have in the future on India and Indian Labour, it is necessary to understand the organisation of the International Labour Office and its history since its very inception in 1919.

The International Labour Organisation is a self-governing branch of the League of Nations. Any State that joins the League, automatically becomes a member of the International Labour Office. But a State may join the I.L.O. without becoming a member of the League or still retain its membership in the International Labour Office, after resigning its membership of the League.

The International Labour Organisation like the League, was set up under the Treaty of Versailles. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that whilst the Treaty of Versailles is torn to pieces and the League of Nations is as good as dead, their child the I.L.O. still functions, though the shocks given to its parental organisation, have naturally affected its strength and moral influence.

The aim of the founders of the I.L.O. was the establishment of universal peace based upon social justice. What they had in mind was not the creation of a Super State, but rather of an association of States, which through systematic procedure, could enable its members to better labour conditions by international agreements. Consequently they specified in the Charter, examples of improvements they deemed to be urgently required. These were:—

1. the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of maximum working day and week,
2. the regulation of labour supply;
3. the prevention of unemployment;
4. the provision for an adequate living wage;
5. the protection of the worker against sickness and disease and injury arising out of his employment;

6. the protection of children, young persons and women;
7. the provision for old age and injury;
8. the protection of the interest of the workers when employed in countries other than their own;
9. the recognition of the principle of freedom of association;
10. the organisation of vocational and technical education, and other measures.

The policy of the I.L.O. is strictly non-political and economically non-partisan, as is ensured by its form of organisation. Only a state can be a member, but under its Constitution, the representatives of a State include employers' and workers' delegates. Today its membership of 62 States includes every important industrial country.

The machinery of the I.L.O. comprises three parts (1) the International Labour Conference, (2) the International Labour Office, (3) the Governing Body.

The Conference, which may be described as a World Labour Parliament, meets at least once a year, each member State having four delegates, two representing the Government and one each the employers and the workers.

The Chief functions of the conference are (1) to consider and discuss the Annual Report of the Director of the International Labour Office, which is a survey from the International stand point of the social tendencies of the world and its component parts, (2) to consider specific questions relating to labour conditions, with a view to drawing up international agreements, (3) to receive reports made annually by member States on the way they are applying agreements made at previous sessions.

The International Labour Office is the permanent Secretariat of the International Labour Organisation and its principal duties are (1) to prepare the ground for the conference by collecting, collating and analysing all the available data on questions with which the Conference is to deal; (2) to follow up the decisions of the Conference and generally to act as nerve centre of the Organisation; (3) to collect and distribute information to all members relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labour, in oher words, to act as a Fact Finding Agency and to make the results of its researches available to the world by publications and correspondence.

It should be pointed out that in response to repeated demands by Indian Delegates, an Indian branch of the I.L.O. was opened at New Delhi in 1928.

The machinery of the I.L.O. was designed for two purposes —the 'legislative' business of drawing up international labour

agreements and the collection and distribution of information about labour conditions. The two purposes are closely linked; the drawing up of agreements is impossible unless the information has already been collected. But the agreements are not 'legislative' in the usual sense of the word. The delegates at the Conference reach certain conclusions, but those findings do not automatically bind the States, which sent the delegates. The national authorities are obliged by treaty to consider these findings, but they are free to reject or to adopt. They have to take their own decision; if they decide to accept them and bind themselves to observe the findings of the Conference, then they make themselves responsible to the world for seeing that within their territories, the findings are carried out. Thus in a sense the object of the International Labour Organisation is to promote national labour legislation.

Up-to-date more than 60 Conventions dealing with such subjects as hours of work, minimum wage, child labour, vacation with pay, workmen's compensation and social insurance of different kinds have been adopted by the Conference.

The International Labour Conference has also dealt with colonial labour problems. In this connection, particular reference should be made to the Forced Labour Convention.

The Forced Labour Convention was adopted in 1930 and provides for the progressive abolition of forced or compulsory labour, its immediate prohibition for private purposes and its strict regulation for Government purposes. France, Great Britain and the Netherlands are among the colonial powers, which have ratified this Convention. The Government of India have not ratified it, but have taken some steps to secure the application of its principal provisions.

The question that we have to discuss today is this:—In what way have the work and the decisions, which are generally called Conventions or Recommendations, affected and re-acted on our country. I maintain that the existence and the work of the I.L.O. have stimulated and accelerated the speed of labour legislation in India and during the last 18 years of the existence of the I.L.O., India is proud to have put on its Statue Book, the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923, the Indian Trade Unions Act of 1926, the Maternity Benefits Act of Madras, Bombay and C. P., the Trade Disputes Act of 1929, the Bombay Trade Disputes and Conciliation Act of 1934, the Payment of Wages Act of 1936, Children (pledging of labour) Act of 1933—Indian Dock Labourers Act of 1934, Indian Mines Act of 1935-36, etc., etc.

It should be pointed out that the pace at which Government of India were willing to ratify the Geneva Conventions, was much

faster during the first ten years of the I.L.O.'s existence than during the latter eight or nine years. One may naturally ask the reasons, which prompted the Government of India to introduce legislation pertaining to various labour questions, for it must be frankly admitted that there was not then a very strong public opinion in this country, concentrated enough to bring pressure on the Government in these matters. It was, however, becoming more vocal and all classes realised the importance of labour under the new Constitution. It should be remembered that whilst passing similar legislation in the West has been the result of years of bitter strife and struggle between the employing classes and employed and has gradually replaced anti-labour legislation, here in India in the short span of fifteen years, labour legislation of a far reaching importance has gone through, more or less unopposed by any section of people and without well-defined demands from those whom this legislation was going to benefit. What was the main force, which pushed the Government of India to take action? Some credit should be given to them at least during the twenties for a genuine regard for the well-being of labour. But after giving them their due, it must be admitted—a proposition Government themselves would agree to—that the International Labour Conference of which India is a member, exerted a moral influence on them. The International Labour Conference has thus helped the cause of the sweated population of this country.

The political disturbances in Europe have practically killed the League of Nations. Narrow-minded nationalism has run wild and there is no more possibility of international labour solidarity or of labour of different countries presenting a united front and taking concerted action in cause of peace. Each country for itself and the devil take the rest. There is no attempt at international co-operation either for the maintenance of peace, which alas! exists nowhere or in the interests of labour. Unemployment figures of each country are going down simply because, armament factories throughout Europe are working at break-neck speed in frenzied competition, one to outdo the other. There is no more reasoned and balanced talk of dispassionately considering the cause of labour. Europe is one hot bed of intrigues and unholy, secret alliances and entanglements, where Geneva and all that it stood for, is forgotten. The idealism which created the International Labour Conference is dead, with no sign of revival at any future date that one can imagine. This means almost total eclipse of the International Labour Organisation. Its moral influence has been torpedoed by the selfishness and greed of the strongest members of the League of Nations and the League's moral bankruptcy and the political impotence resulting therefrom.

India can, therefore, no longer look to Geneva for international public opinion for any help in furtherance of labour legislation. That does not mean that India has no more use of the I.L.O. The I.L.O. has supplied and will go on supplying full fodder to India by way of statistical and other information based on research work, involving years of patient, detailed and careful investigation. India can take full advantage of this pioneer work based on such investigation and it ought to profit by the experience of Geneva and the West and do research work and collect statistics and information, which would alone have a permanent lasting effect on such legislation as has yet to be passed in this country and who can deny the need of legislation on various problems in India. But one point has to be remembered that if Government want to carry all sections of the public with them, their legislative proposals must be made after a thorough and impartial investigation. Then alone can labour profit. Hastily rushed through legislation would in the long run hamper rather than help progress.

It would be pertinent to refer to labour legislation covering all India and not province by province and I cannot do better than give the following extract from the Whitley Commission Report—Chapter on Labour and Constitution:—

"So far as Labour legislation is concerned, the question of outstanding importance is that of the power which should be exercised by the central and the provincial legislatures respectively. The arguments in favour of keeping legislation in the hands of a central legislature are strong. The chief argument is that without uniformity, at any rate, in respect of main principles, sound legislation is extremely difficult to secure. When the question was first raised in India more than fifty years ago in connection with the first Factories Bill, the recognition of this point led to the rejection of the idea of a provincial Act. Since that date, the economic and induistrial unification of India has proceeded steadily and the difficulties inherent in the provincial labour codes are greater now than at any previous stage. Recently, indeed, the world has awakened to the fact that lack of progress in one country constitutes an obstacle to progress in others and the need of dealing with labour questions on a scale transcending national boundaries resulted in the formation of the International Labour Organisation. To divide India at this stage, into a series of units which could only progress independently, woudld be a definitely retrograde step. If legislation were left to the province, there would be many occasions on which a province would have a difficult choice. It would either have to refuse to adopt a salutary reform or run the risk of placing its own industrialists at a disadvantage as against their rivals in another province. The difficulties in the

way of introducing a shorter working week in industries in one province would be very serious if the same industries in an adjoining province were permitted to work for a longer week. Even if public opinion in every province desired some such reform, industrialists would insist on a guarantee that their rivals would accept the reform before binding themselves to it. Each province will thus tend to wait upon action elsewhere and all would be at a disadvantage. In more than one connection, we have stressed the advantage of co-operation and co-ordination and we feel in respect of labour legislation particularly, co-ordination is one of the valuable assets for progress in India. The position of India in respect of International labour relations has been urged as another ground for keeping labour legislation as a central subject. We do not think that India's treaty obligations involve any insuperable obstacle to the Constitutional changes which would result in transferring labour legislation to the provinces; but it is certainly true that India's relations to the world of international labour make it desirable that she should preserve her unity in this matter."

Under the new constitution, however, labour is a provincial subject and to meet the difficulties and objections raised in the above extract, co-operation between provinces is necessary with a view to have uniformity and similarity of legislation throughout the country.

It should not be forgotten from the labour point of view that uuiformity of legislation throughout India will rope in the Indian States, in some of which labour conditions are, to put it mildly, nothing short of disgraceful.

"INDIAN LABOURER: TOMORROW"

(19th March 1938.*)*

There are two ways in which a scheme for the future of labour may be constructed. Of these the easier, but less useful is the sketching of Utopia, an intellectual gymnastic in which a power of coherent and vivid imagination is the one desideratum. The Utopist needs no knowledge of facts: indeed such a knowledge would be a hindrance! for him the laws of evolution do not exist. He would be a law unto himself; and his men and women are not the wavered, spasmodic, irregular organisms of daily life, but automata obeying the strings he pulls. In a word, the Utopist creates, he does not construct. In describing a new Jerusalem, the only limits to its perfection are the limits of one's imagination.

The second way is less attractive, less easy, but more useful. Starting from the present state of affairs and society, it seeks to discover the tendencies underlying them; to trace those tendencies, to their natural out-working in institutions; and so to forecast not the far, far off future, but the next social stage and the one next after it. One has to fix one's gaze on the vast changes wrought by evolution, one has to study the inner and outer aspects of progress forced by what you may call the spirit of the times. The second way is the one, which I shall endeavour to follow in my talk today, the title of which is "INDIAN LABOURER: TOMORROW."

Trying to visualise the next few years is not easy for me, as I do not claim to possess clairvoyance either intuitive or based on clear conception due to political wisdom born of experience and knowledge of the past, a gift which Dr. Annie Besant possessed in full measure.

It would be easy perhaps to give full vent to my imagination and speak of my dreams of what Indian Labour should be in the future. But I only want to dream such dreams as can come true. I shall, therefore, give my imagination not a free and wild licence, but just the freedom of the cage, for it would be futile to try to build a house of cards and to create a heaven on earth for fools and half-wits to live in.

In short, I want to be practical and that is not easy, for how can one talk of tomorrow and day after tomorrow, when one does not know what is happening today or this very minute.

Who could have, for example, when the Treaty of Versailles was being signed in 1919, dreamt of the possibilities of a Hitler and a Mussolini and the systems they are responsible for.

The conditions of Indian labour tomorrow depend on so many outside factors. If you can tell me what the world political conditions would be, what the world economic conditions would be, what the Indian political, economic and social conditions would be, then perhaps I would be able to make a guess as to what the conditions of our labour will be ten or twenty or thirty years hence.

Yet in a way, that is not perhaps quite correct, for it seems from what has happened during the last twenty years that whatever form of Government prevails in a country, whatever political party may be in office and in power, even ultra conservative and tory, notwithstanding all these, conditions of labour have improved and are improving and there is much more progress towards ideals of Socialism than people are willing to admit.

Whilst in the struggle of world supremacy or of self existence, European countries have become brutal and men's hearts have hardened towards human suffering and do not pause to consider pain and misery caused to humanity by cruelty, so far as treatment of labour is concerned, more humane ways have been adopted and are being put into force in all the countries, whether they are democratic or totalitarian or communist Governments.

To judge of the immediate future, one has to make a rapid review of the immediate past, say the last twenty years since the war ended. There has been progressive legislation throughout the world for reduction of hours of work, for better factory supervision, for better conditions of work inside and outside the factories, for more care and special amenities for women and children, for better housing of labour, for providing for healthy leisure hour occupations, for provision of more nutritive food, for better education, for improvement in the standard of living, for better health, etc., etc. In short, the dignity of labour is recognised and respected more and more, as days go on and it is, therefore, to be naturally expected that progress in India for the improvement of labour will continue on these and other lines, particularly so now, as the Congress Governments, who have come to power, have a definite pro-labour policy and are bound by their promises and pledges, given in their Election Manifesto of 1936. It must not be forgotten that under the new Constitution, labour has a right to vote and much use can be made of the constitutional weapon of the Ballot Box. The legislatures must be used for all they are worth. There are bound to be attempts at exploitation of

labour for objects other than the advancement, up-lift and amelioration of labour. They will be concealed under well sounding slogans, but that way danger lies. Direct action will be one of the weapons suggested. That must be resisted and stopped.

So far as labour problems are concerned, there have been revolutionary changes in the minds and attitudes of not only Governments and employers, but also in public opinion. The angle of vision has changed, but needs still further change. Business and its conduct are coming to be regarded not merely as the concern of the employer, the Directors and the Share Holders, not merely as the concern of the employees, but as the concern of the Government and the entire community. The conduct of business is being regarded no longer as a private affair between the employer and his workmen, but one exposed to the lime-light of public opinion. Business must in course of time be regarded not only as having for its object the making of private profit, but as being concerned, even to its own advantage, in increasing the welfare of the employee and the consumer and the entire community.

The old ideas must die out that the worker is to be considered and treated as a piece of mechanism, that craftsmanship must be maintained as a secret system of unrecognised traditional scheme devoid of scientific basis, that pay is the sole adequate incentive to satisfactory work; that what benefits the employer must be harmful to the employee.

One disastrous consequence of big factories has been the creation of slums. This has meant, apart from untold sufferings and sickness and disease, loss of comfort, loss of energy and loss of efficiency. No time should be lost in setting this right. What is wanted is garden cities with plenty of fresh air, open spaces for the worker and his family. These are not difficult to create, as can be seen from the way Berlin and Vienna have changed. Slums should be removed from Bombay, Cawnpore, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Delhi wherever they exist in big towns and there should be no grudging for spending money on this.

There is another way of looking at this idea of slum clearance, not so much clearance as slum prevention. I do not believe in factory industry and factory life as it exists today. I think the congregation of humanity in huge factories is not an unmixed blessing for a country like India, whose traditions, whose aptitude and whose possibilities lie rather in the direction of cottage industry. From the point of view of the health of the people, from the point of view of the avoidance of the

manifold problems arising from the interaction of capital and labour, from the point of view of avoiding the creation of slums and of industrial cities with their disadvantages, which are at least as conspicuous as their advantages, I hold that the proper way in which the industrial awakening and industrial development of the country might be fostered, is not by factory production concentrated in a few centres, but by the spread of industrial aptitude and of the industrial possibilities throughout the country parts.

India is rightly turning its attention to rural reconstruction and village up-lift. The words most essential for progress are organisation and co-operation, to which must be added a third factor, namely the human personal factor. What we need in this country is that machine and hand-loom domestic factories be dotted all over the country, working side by side harmoniously and not in competition with each other. We want white coal for this, that is electric power and the goal must be that within the next 20 or 25 years, every group of villages must be blessed with electric power to help not only in the industrial development of the country and thus to find congenial and suitable employment for the lakhs and lakhs of Indians unemployed, but also for purpose of development of agriculture and there too find work and food for the starving millions.

This is a gigantic task, which wants the fullest possible co-operation of all shades of opinion, of Government and the governed. This problem cannot be approached from a narrow minded party point of view, but must be tackled on national lines. To finance the small hand-loom and machine industry, co-operative societies and co-operative banks must be started, not directly controlled by Government, but under their indirect supervision. By co-operation, a series of domestic plants can be developed spread over the country so that the creation of an industrial city would be avoided and the worker would be employed in his own village.

Once the Indian labourer feels absolutely secure of subsistance, anxiety regarding the material wants of his future and the longing for wealth will lose its leverage. The abnormal development of gold hunger should disappear upon the certainty and continuity of work. The daily bread being certain, the tyranny of pecuniary gain will break and life will begin to be used in living as much on the physical, as on the mental and emotional planes and not in struggling for the chance to live. There will be joy in creative work, there will be longing to improve. All these will start into full life and will serve at once as a stimulus to labour.

Sometimes, looking around the world of the present day, specially reviewing conditions in Europe, where civilisation is breaking down, one almost despairs of the future of humanity. But India rising to her full growth and height can not only save herself, but also the world. Humanity will never break down. The faith which is built on it, is faith founded on rock. All that we need are courage, prudence, faith and unselfish hard work. Faith, the large big faith above all, which dares to believe that justice and love are not impossible and that more than the best that man can dream of, shall one day be realised by men.

APPENDIX I

WELFARE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMME

(August 1937)

Government are aware that they are in a special sense responsible for the welfare of the industrial worker. The process of industrialisation which has gone furtherest in this Presidency, takes away the independence of the worker, places him in a difficult environment and creates social and political problems of a peculiar and complicated character. Keeping these circumstances in view, the Indian National Congress has envisaged in its election manifesto a policy and a programme in respect of industrial workers, which constitute an undertaking to "secure to them a decent standard of living, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as the economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, protection against the economic consequence of old-age, sickness and unemployment and the right of workers to form unions and to strike for the protection of their interests." The earliest resolution of Congress on Fundamental rights, generally states in addition, that "the State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers" and makes special reference to women workers and children.

This Government has therefore accepted it as its duty to endeavour to work out this programme using all the means at its disposal. Government will try to adjust the social and economic mechanism in such a way as to assure to the worker the satisfaction of at least his minimum human needs, security of service, provision of alternative occupations in periods of inevitable unemployment and maintenance during periods of unavoidable incapacity for work. It is also an acknowledged obligation of Government to secure working and living conditions which are favourable to the worker's physical and moral health and to ensure for him opportunities for the advancement of his status and a full measure of freedom of action consistently with his obligations to industry and society. The pace at which a programme to achieve these ends can be prosecuted will depend upon various factors foremost among them being the co-operation of the working classes and of the employers, the state of the industries concerned and economic conditions generally.

Government are examining the possibility of devising measures for setting up minimum wage fixing machinery to meet special requirements, for promoting the provision of better housing conditions, for control of house rent in cities and for the relief and avoidance of working class indebtedness. With regard to industries and industrial centres which fail to provide a living wage to the employees, Government have decided to institute exhaustive enquiries with a view to determining how far wages in these cases fall short of the minimum budgetary needs of the workers, to discover what circumstances are responsible for the inadequacy and to ascertain the ways and means of improving wages to a satisfactory level.

For the protection of the industrial population, Government visualize the development of a comprehensive system of social insurance. The requisite statistical and actuarial basis for the various forms of social insurance are totally lacking at present. Government have already set in motion the machinery of the Labour Department for the collection of material which within a reasonable distance of time should enable the Government to decide what can be done to frame sound and workable schemes conforming to Indian conditions. Government have under their consideration the feasibility of legislation for leave with pay during periods of sickness. It is hoped that the action taken in this direction would pave the way for a scheme of sickness insurance.

In the matter of unemployment relief, Government propose to explore the possibilities of alternative employment in home industries and with that end in view are considering a scheme for extensive training of the employed and the unemployed for the pursuit of secondary occupations. Collection of statistics of unemployment and registration of the employed as well as the unemployed will soon be undertaken, and it is expected that the arrangement would facilitate the setting up of Employment Exchanges in important industrial centres.

Government contemplate an immediate extension and improvement of the Factories Act in several directions. Provisions of the Act relating to the weekly holiday, the interval of rest and spreadover of the hours need amendment. Satisfactory dining accommodation and adequate medical aid will be made a legal obligation. The position regarding the maximum hours of work will be reviewed. Government find that some regulation of night-shift work in general will have soon to be considered.

With regard to trade disputes, Government are determined to pursue an active policy with a view to maintaining industrial peace in the Presidency, endeavouring all the time to see that

the workers obtain a fair deal. It is the intention of Government to promote legislation aiming at the prevention of strikes and lock-outs as far as possible. The basis of this legislation would be the requirement that no reduction in wages or other change in conditions of employment to the disadvantage of the workers should take effect till they have had sufficient time and opportunity for having the facts and merits of the proposed change examined and all avenues of peaceful settlement of the dispute explored either through the channel of voluntary negotiation, conciliation or arbitration or by the machinery of the law. A corresponding obligation would rest on the workers in respect of demands on their behalf.

Government are also considering the practicability of legislation enabling the general application in any centre of industry of suitable standards of pay and other conditions of work regarding which there is found to be agreement between substantial and representative section of the employers and the employees of a particular centre. As a step in this direction, it will be necessary to provide for the registration of collective agreements. While Government propose to do all that is practicable for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class, they are convinced that no legislative programme can be a substitute for the organised strength of the working class and till organisations of workers, run on genuine trade union lines, grow up in the various fields of employment, no lasting good can accrue. Government are therefore anxious to assist in removing real hindrances in the way of the growth of the organisation and to promote collective bargaining between the employers and the employees. Means will be devised to discourage victimisation of workers for connection with a labour organisation and participation in legitimate trade union activity.

In the sphere of education, Government realise that working class has its special needs and that the illiteracy in its case constitutes a very serious handicap to itself and a grave danger to society. The educational policy of the Government will therefore be designed to meet these special requirements. Government's policy of prohibition has also a special bearing on the well-being of the industrial community and it is Government's intention to select important industrial towns for the early application of the policy.

Government have in mind the need and utility of statistical and other information for the proper discharge of their functions in these and other matters. The Government Labour Office is well-equipped for the purpose. Government are considering the advisability of extending the scope of the work of the Labour Office and of facilitating the work of collection of statistics by suitable legislation.

APPENDIX II

LIGHTENING STRIKES

MADRAS GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE

(October, 1937.)

The Ministry of Public Information has issued a Press Communique on the Government's policy in respect of labour and industrial disputes.

The Ministry of Public Information, Government of Madras says:

"The Madras Government note with regret that there have been recently a number of strikes in the province and instances have occurred of labour giving room for complaint on the part of employers concerned that adequate time was not previously given to them to consider any alleged grievances. While it is not the intention of the Government to curtail in any way the rights of the workers, the Government feel it incumbent on them to declare clearly their attitude in regard to trade disputes. It does not help the interests of Labour to resort to strikes without prior representation and negotiations.

The Government strongly disapprove of any strikes when all other available methods of representation are not exhausted. They are not unaware that, whether due to ignorance or fear of victimisation, there has been a reluctance, in certain cases, for leaders among the workers to approach the employers direct. Whether this fear is groundless or not, the Government will be always glad, in such cases, to help workers and their representatives to have their point of view prominently brought to the notice of their employers. The declared policy of the Government is that "Internal Settlement" is preferable to "External Settlement" of trade disputes. The Government will, therefore, be glad, if those concerned co-operate with them and see that the Government are not called upon to intercede in strikes declared before exhausting all avenues of negotiations between the employer and the employed.

The Government desire to point out that major issues giving rise to strikes are jeopardised by side issues that always arise out of any hasty resort to direct action. The Government would much desire that there should be no disturbance of the industrial organisation of the province and appeal for harmonious co-operation between labour and industrial managers; and that workers who should have every confidence in the Government, may not resort to strikes unless the issues are very grave and even then not until every other possible way out has been tried. The Government, therefore, trust that those who have the welfare of Industries and Labour will see that this, their declared policy, is implemented."

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THE

DOUBLE GOVERNMENT,

THE

CIVIL SERVICE,

AND THE

INDIA REFORM AGITATION.

BY

HENRY LUSHINGTON,

AUTHOR OF

"A GREAT COUNTRY'S LITTLE WARS; OR, ENGLAND, AFFGHANISTAN, AND SCINDE."

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THE

DOUBLE GOVERNMENT,

&c.

I SHALL not be alone in acknowledging that the first impression which I received from the announcement of the intentions of her Majesty's Government towards India, was the negative feeling of relief—relief from the not inconsiderable danger of a postponement of legislation on the one side, or of a sweeping demolition and reconstruction of the Indian home government on the other. The general course of things, judged of at a distance from England, not orally as one could judge it in London, but by that current of printed talk which flows into and fills the remote corners of the world, had led me to fear the effects of a clamour not without points of plausibility. It was not a trifle that India should be made the watchword of a Tory-Liberal cry. There was no doubt that evils could be pointed out, and for every evil a redress could be promised, and a revenge taken, to the great satisfaction of a wrathful sense of justice, if not to the benefit of India. It is but to say that people die in India of famine, and to head your pamphlet "India under a Bureaucracy,"

and half the world will believe that the evils of India not only are what you describe, but are one and all caused by those to whom you attribute them, under the unpopular title of bureaucrats. Give a dog, or a director, a bad name, and there are plenty who will complete for you the operation of the proverb. It looked, in short, as if the India Reform Society and the *Times* might, between them, stimulate the British community into one of those periodical states of high moral excitement, in which, through the medium of a proper combination of ignorance as to facts, recklessness as to assertions, and thoughtlessness as to consequences, something memorably disastrous and unwise is triumphantly attained.

One paper stood almost alone in the press as the advocate of a more cautious proceeding. But I am inclined to think that this isolation was far more apparent than real; and that while that public opinion which makes a noise was against it, that public opinion which is made up of many private and independent judgments, was altogether with it. Those who assail in a high state of moral indignation, are naturally more vociferous than those who defend on the low grounds of prudence and experience.

First of all, the system of double government is retained. This, as it is the main point assailed, so it is the main point with me recommendatory of the measure. Why I think the Court of Directors, modified or not, a highly desirable part of the government of India, may appear hereafter; but it will

be, first, as well to examine the grounds on which the assault has been vindicated.

To string together against any given government a considerable number of charges, based alike on sins of omission and of commission, is not a very difficult task, provided the accuser goes far enough back, and is not too particular either as to the quality or the relevance of his facts. Accordingly, passages descriptive of the blunders of a young judicial civilian in 1853 are read side by side with passages descriptive of the crimes of perhaps his grandfather in 1763. The India Nabob of Foote and of Burke is mirrored on the Parliamentary stage, in all his rapacity, cruelty, and fraud, only with slight change of costume: the whole condition of India is described as one of unmitigated oppression and misery; and when the "agony"—to use a Yankeeism—has been "piled high enough," an inference is drawn, requiring after all considerable powers of inferring, even from the allowed premises. India, under the double government, is atrociously misgoverned; therefore the double government is a bad thing, and should be destroyed by the annihilation of its second branch, the Direction.

It is almost amusing, were there a less serious matter at stake, to contemplate the deliberate unfairness with which everything that is wrong is laid upon the shoulders of the Company, *i. e.*, of the directors. And this, in spite of the infinite self-contradiction in which every speech starting with this principle is sure to land the orator before its

conclusion; the self-contradiction, that is, of a verdict which, acquitting the directors on every count of the indictment, nevertheless declares them to be guilty of the whole.

There is a double government, and of course the blame lies among or between the two elements of which it is composed, or nowhere. It might, however, have been worth while to try to apportion it with some degree of justice. The question being whether you shall reduce the dual to the singular person, by destroying one of its branches, it might have been worth while to see whether the subject of the proposed operation were really the peccant part. Some things in the Indian Government are good—some things bad. Here are two parties implicated: which of them is responsible for the bad? Perhaps both—perhaps in great part neither; but that it should be one only of the two seems unlikely. Such a result should be deduced from proofs; but, as far as I can judge, it has been assumed without any. It has been by deliberate selection guided by no principle whatever, by a sheer exertion of will, that the culprit has on this occasion been designated to the indignation of mankind. Revivers of Burkian wrath, scourgers of public delinquents, Mr. Bright and Mr. Phillimore, must have something to flagellate; and in accordance with the practice of ancient wisdom, they have chosen the plebeian back. Sir C. Wood and his predecessors are the erudite King James. Sir J. Hogg takes the part of Sir Malachi Malagrowther; the directors are the collective whipping-boy of the Board of Control.

It might lead one too far into speculation to attempt to discuss from what quality or tendency in our institutions arises this partiality towards the Minister, and against "bankers, merchants, and that class of people," on the part of the middle-class-representing Quaker and the high Roman Republican, rather than Radical, scholar and jurist. It is enough to point to the tone of discussion on this subject, as a most marked instance, among others, of that deep-rooted influence which makes the *roturier* sneer at his brethren.

But it is not for this purpose that I have referred to the point. It is simply to appeal to any person of moderate candour, whether the iniquities charged against the Indian Government have been traced, in any degree whatever—whether the attempt has ever been made to trace them in the main, to that branch of the Government which it is sought to annihilate? Whether, on the contrary, the whole tenor of the argument against the directors has not been to state the case, and assume their responsibility. India *is in debt*; therefore cashier her stewards—the directors. The Indian Government is constantly at war or constantly aggressive; therefore dismiss the directors. India is backward in public works, because of her wars; therefore "honour more the governor-general who comes home without adding an acre to our dominions, than him who adds a kingdom or a province"—and dismiss the directors.

"But we (say the Company) did not create the necessity of the debt; we protested against the

aggressions; we have done what we could in public works, but the money was laid out in the wars we could not prevent; and for your ideal of a governor-general, is it not ours, almost too emphatically ours?"

"Oh, I know all that," is virtually the answer of the member of Parliament whose talent, vigour, and bitterness, have made him the virtual leader of the attack on the Company; "but the fault is all yours, notwithstanding. Let us have a minister for India responsible to Parliament. Who would have thought of your system of government beforehand, if it had not existed? You have been oppressors from the beginning, winning your power by crime, and using it for evil."

Such, in the true spirit of the old fable, is the resolutely criminating assault of the wolfish Quaker on the lamb of the Direction. If it was not *Hogg* (which is the Scotch for lamb, I believe), it was his grandfather—the directors that were before him, in some parts of the eighteenth century.

One of Mr. Bright's philosophical objections to the Government of India is, that it is one of complication and checks—a hocus-pocus government, as he epitomizes the accusation. Our institutions, it would seem, as a somewhat peculiar experience has taught Mr. Bright, do not grow, but are made. Hence it comes that they are marked by a unity, centralization, and simplicity, which proverbially permit the enlightened foreigner to judge them with a facile rapidity, an unfailing and justified confidence in the correctness of his conclusions, hardly second

to those exhibited by the India reformers, in their single and sweeping dicta upon that congeries of not more than forty nations and languages which they are pleased to unify as the people of India.

This being the usual English system, it is natural to be prejudiced against this confused Hocus-pocus; but still let his component portions have fair play. Of this swindling and composite entity, this Hocus-pocus, which, according to Mr. Bright, 'governs India, why should Hocus be immaculate, and Pocus alone found guilty? Is it because Hocus lives in the west-end, and Pocus, like a merchant, lives, as becomes him, in the east? Is it because, in the worst acts charged against the twain, Pocus cannot only plead, but prove, either an absolute *alibi*, or a presence indeed in the body, but one subject to the mere will of Hocus, without sense or motion: that, for instance, in the worst of all the cases, the great Affghan burglary, Pocus was, as Hocus himself even boastfully avers, a mere *muta persona*, or less, a dead protesting weight, unable to be more, being, so to speak, literally hocussed by Hocus? Of all the monstrous cases of Indian maldistribution of criminal justice, this conviction of Pocus, and acquittal, with an admonition, of Hocus, appears to be the most glaring. Mr. Bright and his comrades on the bench claim to take their places in the pages of Mr. Norton, side by side with the most famous instances therein contained of judicial inconsecutiveness and irrelevance.

I lay this stress on this error or deliberate mis-

representation, because, obvious as it is, there is not one hostile argument on the subject which it does not pervade; because, though noticed often, and crushed as often as noticed, it revives with the resolute vitality of obstinate prejudice, and because we cannot hope to have heard the last of it. The double government will be again assailed, and every assault will be backed by the unjust fallacy which points straight to the Directorate, as of necessity, and without proof being required, the source of whatever is wrong. It lies at the bottom of the whole question; and when India is next in her "perihelion," be it in two years or in twenty, we shall have it again. Let at least a mark be set on it, that we may know our old fallacious friend.

With this concluding protest against the distribution of the charge, let us pass to its subject-matter—the alleged sufferings of India. It is true that we must, in some degree, and even in a great degree, judge by results; and were the condition of India to-day such as it has been described by some of the enemies of the directors, we might admit that no system from which such results flowed could be defensible—that we must either abandon that system or abandon India. In the rulers, more than the imputed tyranny, and none of the ability, of Warren Hastings; in the ruled, more than the misery, and little of the hope of those over whom he ruled—a hatred of the English name, a horror of the English dominion as of the worst of curses—robbery, and murder almost unchecked, war, bankruptcy, famine—in fact, a practice of Thuggee on a

large scale applied, for the benefit of the English plunderer, to the throat of India; if this be what we have realized during the century in which British dominion has been growing, we may well despair of the future. So many great men and great things, so many noble and thoroughly well-intentioned efforts to benefit that people as well as ourselves, and this the end! Let it, then, be the end; let us wash our hands of an empire which is one crime. It had been better that our Indian Empire had never been: better that place of savage murder which has been called its cradle, the Black Hole, had been also the grave of such a detestable abortion, if this were true—one could almost say, if any man believed it to be true.

But there are honourable men who say it, and we must, therefore, simply put them aside. Declamation is easy for those who have learned nothing of the India of to-day, and forgotten nothing of the India of Burke. But no combination of intensity of wrath and classicality of rhetoric can make such declamation other than irrelevant. We must ask of other witnesses what is the condition of India.

The inquiry into her alleged sufferings would prove itself to be not of genuine Indian character at all, if the answers were at first other than utterly discordant. Any coincidence would create a natural suspicion that none of them were genuine. As in Mr. Campbell's lively account of the civilian's day, where the complaint "that the villagers have utterly without provocation broken the heads of the grass-cutters," is followed as a matter of course by the

demand, on the part of the villagers, of justice against the grass-cutters, who have "invaded their grass, despoiled the village, and were with difficulty prevented from murdering the inhabitants;" even so, whatever be the matter in question, contradictory statements seem essential to an Indian fact. Nevertheless, by listening and looking, something may be arrived at. Backwardness in public works; slowness in codification and instruction; mismanagement, and consequent indebtedness, of finances generally; general poverty, absence and decline of prosperity, and, if not corrupt, imperfect administration of justice—such, perhaps, are the heads of the charges, when reduced out of mist into tangibility.

On such of these points as admit of being weighed and numbered, statistics have had their say, producing their usual mixed growth of cavilling and of conviction. "Look how little we export to India," is the argument on one side. "Little enough; but look how much more it is than it used to be," is the answer. Mr. Bright takes issue on salt—"even the consumption of that necessity of life has decreased." "On the contrary," is the reply, "the duty has been lowered, and the revenue has increased nevertheless—more, therefore, is consumed." "How few you educate," is another charge. "Too true—but do you educate so many even in England? and we both are improving." "Why do you not grow more cotton?" asks Manchester. "Why do you not buy more?" is the reply. "Give us a more certain market; turn a little of your philanthropic zeal from the animating pursuit of director-hunting to that of

making bargains, philanthropic yet profitable, with the Indian planter, to take his growth off his hands; and we will grow more cotton." Let us hope that the expansion of the cotton trade may content Manchester, when the duty of 15 per cent. on Indian manufactures is removed in England.

"Codification?" "Doubtless it becomes you to twit us with that," is the answer—of somewhat limited force, indeed, but pretty complete *ad hominem*. "The rapidity of English code-making is a proverb, and a world's wonder. We began, you say, in 1835; when did *you* begin? And when, oh when, will you end? 'Peace, peace; for shame, if not for charity.' Perhaps we English are emphatically gifted with only one side of the Napoleon faculty—are by nature better road-makers than code-makers. It may be a short-coming, but scarcely a crime, or even a criminal neglect in us, to have made little progress in an enormous task, while you, in one of parallel but scarce equal difficulty, with incomparably greater means at your call, have made almost less. Once, again, your censure is unjust to us personally, and at best irrelevant to the question whether India should be taken from our stewardship and handed over to yours."

"During these sixteen years," says Mr. Bright, taking his figures from Mr. Prinsep, "they had expended in public works near £5,000,000, and paid in dividends to the proprietors of East-India Stock £10,080,000; together £15,080,000. During that time they had contracted loans to the extent of £16,000,000; so that every farthing, during the last

sixteen years, that had been expended in improvements—every farthing that had been paid to the 800 amiable ladies and gentlemen that elected the directors, had been actually borrowed." I see that the cheers of the India reformers of course followed this pointed statement; and its effect satisfied the orator so much, that he returned to it once and again. "The sixteen millions borrowed to pay your dividends in England." It is cleverly said; but what does it mean? Whose fault is it that £16,000,000 have been borrowed? Was it, or was it not, necessary, or financially prudent, to borrow the money? It is, of course, as observed by Sir J. Hogg, an utter fallacy to represent it as having been borrowed for the purpose of paying the dividends, which form the first charge on the territorial revenue. But, waiving that once again, what did the Affghan war cost? And which of the two objects to which, on Mr. Bright's way of putting it, the loan was devoted, would he have dispensed with? Would he have left the public works untouched, or would he have repudiated the dividends? Of course, he would accept neither alternative. He would neither violate the faith of the State of India nor deny to the people of India the one thing they most need—this one item of expenditure. It is the main point in his arraignment against the Company; that they have been niggardly in this. No; he would, unless the Quaker pugnacity overpowered at once the Quaker principles and the English sense of justice, have denied himself the useless luxury of a gratuitous and wicked war; and so would the directors.

The truth seems to be, that the finances of India, not exactly unprosperous, have, nevertheless, been within the last twenty years, as before, so pressed and pinched by war after war, that—first, what would have been a surplus capable of being reproductively laid out to the great advantage of the revenue, and the still greater advantage of the people, has once and again become a deficit, not, certainly, by the especial fault of the Direction: secondly, that, besides the check thus given to improvement by the absence of means, there is another and constantly operative check in the limitation of local power.

It seems that for every outlay beyond very narrow limits, of however promising a character, the subordinate governments have to apply to that of Bengal; and probably there often follows a further reference to the authorities at home. For distant authorities, who can judge imperfectly of the benefits, perfectly only of the amount, of the proposed expenditure, the natural bias is to doubt of the first, and to be frightened at the second; and they doubtless answer in the inactive sense, sometimes, when action were more prudent; declining or deferring action with a "No," or "Not just at present," or some other form of "Le Roi s'avisera." It seems that the remedy for this would be the remedy for a great deal else—a judicious trust reposed in the trustworthy. Do not trust either the Direction or the Board, separate or combined, through the medium of encumbering checks and references, to relieve you from the duty of selecting

the best depositaries of local power. Choose such, and then confide largely. It will be long before the Indian Reform Society will be worth, in the line of local rule and improvement, one Thomason.

That we have blundered in the matter of land-revenue, is most true. We have, indeed, grievously blundered. Mr. Campbell has told us all about it; and as every school-girl could now tell Kepler that "the world is like an orange," so every Mr. A. or Mr. B. who has crammed "India as it may be" for the edification of his constituents, could now tell Sir Thomas Munro, "My dear Sir, you are incurring an error equal in amount, though opposite in direction, to that incurred by Lord Cornwallis." Alas! so it is. *Experientia docet*—not everything to everybody, it is true; but many *things* to many men. But of things which nothing short of the actual fact could have led one to believe and think probable, certainly this is one—that this error should be imputed as a crime to the directors. Neither does it hold a high place in the scale of probabilities that a minister for India, responsible to Parliament, or that Parliament itself, would have avoided a similar error. In the Cornwallis case, the Company and its servants, though imperfectly enlightened on the subject, yet demurred; but the resolution of the Governor-General enabled him to carry through a scheme, alike great, well meant, and irreparable. The Government sacrificed much to which they had a good title, in favour of the supposed landowners, who had none; and yet they have ever since been abused for the imaginary offence of destroying India,

socially and politically, as well as materially, by confiscating the rents of its landlords; or—as Mr. George Thompson used to put the charge, with a yet wider misapprehension of the truth—for impoverishing the country by the imposition of their monstrous land-tax! Let the late Protectionists look to this. If they succeed in establishing the principle that rent is land-tax, more things than the double government of India will be in danger. I trust, however, that the Indian reformers have left behind them, to a certain extent, this error, and are prepared to admit that, at least in the absence of a corn-law, rent is not taxation.

In the Madras case, again, the then Government of India acceded to advice tendered by irresistible authority. Had the ryotwar system not been tried by experience, one can fancy how the proposal would have been dug up now, and what service it would have done as a weapon of attack in the hands of the successors of Mr. Thompson. It would have been irrefragably shown how Sir Thomas Munro's neglected advice would have relieved the finances of the presidency; how, through the means thus furnished, the Western Ghauts might before now have exchanged their precipitous tracks, down which the cotton-laden mule staggers with cost and pain, for roads covered with vehicles—the plains their roads for a network of rails; and the Company's rejection of the opinions of their wisest servant would have been attributed to little short of a deliberate preference for evil over good. It was not to be so; the experiment has been tried, and has not suc-

ceeded. One lesson which the result seems calculated to teach, is the only one which the reformers absolutely reject, viz. "Do not fancy that you can understand India in a day."

On the whole, the respondents have the best of the argument. It is easy to show that, with our present knowledge, we could do better than we did, wanting it, thirty years ago—easy to complain that, though there are roads in province A, there are none in province B. Nevertheless, facts and figures appear to demonstrate, to the conviction of the convincible, that India is, in material aspects, improving in our hands; that she is also—though this is a matter more difficult, in proportion to its greater importance, to judge with confidence—morally improving; that much honest and even noble effort is, and has been, making towards both these ends; that she is further improvable to an unlimited extent; that she wants, above all things, peace and railroads. There is one notion which, to avoid endless mistakes, should be firmly grasped—that India is a poor country—poor essentially in herself, and not merely by former plundering. It is not there that, for one generation at least, the golden fleece is to be sought. We have inherited an empire and a destiny almost awful in its grandeur, but we have not inherited wealth. A community, of which perhaps four-fifths, some say nine-tenths, have been from time immemorial occupied in producing from the earth little beyond a sufficiency of food for themselves and for the remaining fifth, is essentially a poor community; and such is the case with a great part of India.

Still, the resources are there. It appears to be proved by universal agreement, that there never was a country in which there was more opening for public works, or a more certain reproduction of judicious expenditure of that class, than there is in India now. Of irrigation it is hardly necessary to speak. To encourage cultivation and commerce by facilitating the conveyance of man and produce; to diminish, possibly, the burden of our vast army, by making it comparatively ubiquitous, by reducing a month's toilsome march to an easy journey of twenty-four hours—this is a part of what railroads can and will do for us. The mission of Stephenson, Brunel, and their compeers to the nineteenth century, is incomplete, until it has been planted and has spread widely in India.

"The shortcomings noticed are, so far as they are real, chiefly shortcomings in money. All these things"—says Mr. Campbell, in the last two lines of his book, after enumerating a series of benefits capable of being conferred on India,—"all these things can be done if we have money, but without money we can do nothing." This truism in words is, like many other truisms, a truth in action, and should be stamped as such on the heart of every Indian statesman. Money is needed; and for money, peace is needed. We might hope, but for previous disappointments, that we are at last in sight of something like a promise of permanent peace in India. If the necessity for war arises, it must be met; for there are things greater even than the improvements of peace. But in itself the

Indian statesman should "seek peace, and ensue it" above all things except duty. Whether the directors have been especially wanting in a perception of this truth, let their opponents tell us.

I do not invoke on behalf of the double government the testimony even of cautious eulogists. Though the philosophic, thoughtful, certainly neither partial nor enthusiastic, historian of the Company has characterized theirs as the one Government on earth most anxious to promote the welfare of its subjects, and most uniformly labouring to that end, I do not think the case at present stands upon such a footing that it is necessary to call even such a witness to character as Mill. To some this praise will convey chiefly a high compliment to the directors; to others, a bitter satire on the Governments of the world. Believing it to be true to a very considerable extent in the first aspect, and perhaps not without truth in the second, I do not yet feel bound to insist on it. It is enough to have maintained that such as are evil among the results of the present Government, are not so traceable to the directors, nor are those results, taken altogether, by any means so flagrantly bad as to justify the condemnation and destruction of the present system without further inquiry—without, at least, comparing what we now have with what we intend to place in its stead. We have at least a Government of India, and we may have a worse; the onus lies upon the projectors to prove that they are offering us a better.

"A better!" is the answer, coupled with the

stereotyped scream of declamation against imaginary atrocities; "what can fail to be better than such a monstrous anomaly as you are? You, who have robbed and murdered your way this century past, from the counting-house of a company of money-making traders up to the chairs of a feeble but irresponsible despotism? You, a self-convicted solecism in existence as a Government? What account can you give of yourselves, poor creatures that you are, in the slightest degree in accordance with any one of our theories? A separate Board, a partly independent power, the rulers in part of 140 millions of men, and with no rationale to give of yourselves or your descent, except one merely historical! Was there ever so base, so empirical an origin? Who would ever have thought of your system of government if it had not existed?"

"We are an anomaly," is the reply—"a very absurd one, if you like; but to this anomaly you owe India. Through destiny, or Providence, and not through your forethought or ours, a few Englishmen, and not all England, have been the origin, and, in the main, the instrument of this great thing. The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies has been the instrument of giving India to England. Do you think you would have won it for yourselves? At any rate, it was won for you, and we lineally represent its winners. It appears to us that you find us where we are by a tolerable right of possession and acquirement. We are content with our history."

The reply is at least as good as the attack. But

the case merits stating more fully. Even if the separate existence of the Company had been essential to the gaining India, we are not now either bound to maintain, or justified in maintaining, its separate authority, except it be conducive to the interests of India.

It will be some day a strange thing that this should have been doubted. All theorists, it is true, are for concentrating power; but the experience of England, in every part of the national life, is so emphatically against them, that they make but little way among us. This particular question, especially, however, need not be looked at on general grounds. No one proposes to give India over to the Direction. A double Government we must have, unless we can give the whole government over to the Crown; that is, to a Minister for India, with or without a council, and (what is called) responsible to Parliament. This, or the double Government, is the alternative.

That a minister may know nothing about India, and is very likely, judging from previous experience, not to know much, it is almost superfluous to say; but it is by no means from mere ignorance or even mere carelessness on the part of a minister, that evil may be apprehended.

But it is said, "We do not propose to have only a minister unassisted and unguided; a minister with a council—that is the alternative. A council, say of eight persons, permanently appointed, selected for their experience, knowledge, and ability, capable of advising the minister, and through the authority

of knowledge, naturally, to a great extent, controlling him; only not separated from him, in your present stupid fashion, nor acting as an independent check, whether to prevent or delay. Of course he must have the final power of deciding against them, of overruling their opinion; but then he should answer it to Parliament. A council and parliamentary responsibility — what more would the strongest-headed, the most untamed president or secretary that ever crashed his way through jungles of Indian correspondence require to keep him straight?" This is a serious proposal, and deserves consideration. It is tacitly admitted or loudly protested by all — though that does not always imply real, unreserved admission — that Indian government should be preserved as much as possible from contact with English politics — a contact which in this case is inevitable contamination. Our politics are very good things for ourselves; but, by universal confession, they are not the rule for India. We must, indeed we do assume, absolutely and finally, that for them England is, or should be, very much the same, whether the ministerial colour be Trojan or Tyrian; that by India, Derby or Aberdeen *nullo discrimine habetur*. Ministries may rise or fall; but across half the world, England is and should be neither Whig England nor Tory England, but simply and ever England. This presumed, let us suppose a responsible minister, with his able Indian council of eight, bound, as proposed by Lord Ellenborough and, I believe, by most of the speculators, to appeal to Parliament whenever he overrules them;

Let us suppose a case in which the minister has overruled his council, and has to appeal to Parliament to confirm the step taken by him. It is perhaps a matter admitting of a question; at least it becomes known, let us suppose, that three of the council are with the minister and five against him. Let us assume, too, that such a point comes to be decided, not by a House of Commons of the ordinary appearance, with a Government safe in a recognized majority, but that it is thrown, as a bone of contention, before a shaking ministry face to face with a hopeful Opposition. The necessary result is, that once again an Indian question is made, not the theme of enlightened discussion, but the battle-ground of faction. Three hundred or more gentlemen on each side go to hear reasons assigned—and doubtless reasons can be assigned—for the votes which they are about to give. The bare fact is, that the minister has overruled the majority of the council, but the thing in view is not whether India has been injured thereby, but whether the ministry shall stand. The opinion of the majority of the council is appealed to. The Indian council becomes a power in English politics, *ipso facto*, and at such a crisis a most weighty power; and the Indian councillors become English politicians. Again the relation of the minister to his council is affected exactly by that which ought not to affect it—the relation of himself and his colleagues to Parliament. With a narrow majority the Cabinet is endangered by that which with a stronger it might do with impunity; and thus the strength of the permanent Indian

council, as a power in Indian affairs, varies inversely as the strength of the British ministry. When strong in Parliament, the Indian Minister may with impunity overturn his council; when weak, he will perhaps unduly defer to them. At every step, do what you will, English politics will thus react on India.

In these remarks I assume, what might be disputed, that the council will be well chosen, and intended to be serviceable; yet I confess I see no way out of this difficulty, if it be supposed that the council is intended to be anything of a reality, and not merely a sham. It appears more probable, since the tendency of Parliament would be to support the minister when there was not the reason of a strong and expectant Opposition to the contrary, that the council, however well selected, would soon lose the independent tone with which perhaps it would begin. It is not in the nature of men and of things, but that eight men sitting round a table must be influenced by the president, who can overrule them all, annul their decision, and place his in its stead as the *fiat* of the council, in quite a different manner from that in which they would be affected by his exercising even a parallel power of ultimate rejection, as the superior of a board independent of him in some things, and at least expressing a separate judgment of its own upon almost all. By the separate board, opinions are better formed, more independently, and expressed more fully and freely, and the checking power is exercised at once more naturally and less offensively, yet in a manner more difficult to evade.

You may, in a way more or less civil, pooh-pooh a gentleman across the table, or be conveniently deaf; but you must, unfortunately, attend to him if he writes you a letter which you are bound to answer.

It seems in conformity with human nature to expect that, after the opinion of such a council had been several times set aside by the minister, and his decisions, if appealed against, confirmed by Parliament, its members would lose all the inclination for subjecting themselves to a useless slight. Their opinions would be given when asked for, honestly, let us believe, but not pressingly or earnestly; their rejection would be submitted to; in time the function of the Indian Council would be limited to playing the neither brilliant nor very useful part of the judicious elderly adviser, whose advice you need not take, and do not, except when it suits you. It would be a check against glaring iniquities of the class which no minister is likely to propose; hardly against the showy follies of half-knowledge, the plausible wrongs, justifiable by talk, but not just, whether of the modestly veiled, or of the dashing order. It might sink into a collective first clerk, something short of a political under-secretary, the useful sensible walking lexicon of official facts—the receptacle and bringer forth of needed information—the unobtrusive tenderer of opinions, indifferent, because without power of enforcing them, to their rejection, as to their acceptance. Being this, the council would be a convenient help, and no great trouble, to an able despotic Minister of India; and this, and not a check with an independent power, is what, no doubt, Lord Ellenbo-

rough thinks it should be, and knows well that, once constituted, it would be. The Minister then, while within certain limits, is absolute. You have deliberately flung away your present anomalous accidental absurd home process, most irrational in the world, inconceivable but nevertheless really existing and perfectly effective security against the administration of India becoming the capital of political kite-fliers; and India is at the mercy of him and of his parliamentary responsibility.

Perfectly effective safeguard, I have said.

As an illustration of the possibility, under the existing constitution of the Home Government of India, of keeping the thread of Indian and Home politics from fatal intertwisting, let us take the most memorable instance that modern times can furnish. A vigorous ministry of conservative reforming tendency is in power, untouched by the Opposition, and backed by the country. It has the *éclat*, among other things, of one or two Indian victories to aid it; and is understood to be on the best terms with its clever and able, though sometimes a little startling Governor-General. The directors, among other influential bodies of men, are considered to be well affected to the administration of Sir R. Peel; probably three-fourths of them are Conservative of one shade or another; and they have certainly no wish to embarrass him. Suddenly, like a bolt out of the blue sky, comes on Parliament and the world the tidings —the directors have recalled Lord Ellenborough.

Nobody can believe it for a moment; but it is so. The twenty-four gentlemen in Leadenhall Street

have made up their minds that their brilliant servant was—who knows what?—too disrespectful in his manner, or too little to be calculated on in his movements—in short, not exactly suiting the place. There is of course a stir caused by a step so unprecedented and sudden, but nothing comes of it, not even a quarrel between the India House and the Premier. Sir R. Peel can but say, when asked, that the East-India directors have, whether erroneously, as he thinks, or not, yet in the exercise of their undoubted power, thought fit to recall the Governor-General. The Directorate has struck down with one blow the Indian representative of Government; but the individual directors are neither more nor less Peelite than they were the day before the recalling despatch was framed. What follows? The Ministry, with one hand, confers rewards on Lord Ellenborough; with the other combines with the Court to send out in his place the man that can be found most acceptable to both, and even, as far as possible, acceptable as a successor to the superseded viceroy.

The transaction in a constitutional point of view was not discreditable to England. It reminds one of some of those marked instances of respect for legally exercised power, which form so striking and noble a feature in the early history of the contending factions of Rome. It made or confirmed to the directors their most able and most respected enemy, —the one enemy who seems to speak from thought and from knowledge,—and who, consequently, is at issue on most points with all the other assailants.

He is thus—not a host, but a single redoubted champion. His sentiments always deserve attention, and, when free from bias, are generally convincing.

I express no opinion either as to the question whether the directors should have this particular power at all, or whether they exercised it rightly. My object is to exhibit plainly in this great example the difference between the separate Board and the Council of the minister; to show that direct collision on the one point of greatest importance in the relations between the Cabinet and the India House, yet did not confuse those relations for a moment with English politics, nor make their amicable continuance doubtful or even seriously difficult. In short, the directors are Indian only; the minister for India cannot be Indian only, nor can the Indian Minister's council, if sitting in immediate connection with India, continue at once independent and Indian only. It will not be an Indian Cabinet; it will be a Board either of Indian clerks, or of semi-English sub-ministers. It is not wanted as the *latter*; it is meant to be the former. It remains to inquire whether the second or parliamentary check on the Minister's absolute power, is more effective than the sufficing control exercised by a Council.

We are often told that, in default of any official limitation to the power of the Indian Minister, we may safely trust to his constitutional subordination to the dispensers of political power. There is parliamentary responsibility—and what is that? We use many words without even doubting that we understand them, and that we all and always under-

stand them alike; until some day comes something which puts our phraseology to the test, and then we find that we are every day using the same word in twenty different senses as speakers, and that we never understand it twice alike as hearers. Many interpretations of parliamentary responsibility might find place in an essay (could we but have such!) from a political Charles Lamb on popular political fallacies. Responsible, etymologically, means answerable, liable to answer. Practically, it seems perhaps to mean the liability to being asked questions in Parliament—to which you may give an answer or not, as you please. Parliamentary questionability would certainly be the more exact term; but some inconvenience, not to say indecorum, might arise from adopting it. It would not be courteous to speak of her Majesty's present or late questionable advisers.

Leaving this point to the curious, I admit that the expression, parliamentary responsibility, has in certain cases a good deal of practical force; but, like most such words, it has a wide range, from almost nothing up to an almost alarming quantity of meaning. There are, for instance, three Secretaries of State, all alike parliamentarily responsible; that is, all by turns subject to unlimited askings, and to graduated penalties, from laughter or "oh, oh," up to impeachment, in cases of unsatisfactory answers.

These three, however, have among them at least three different kinds of responsibility, each respectively his own. Against the Home Secretary the doctrine of parliamentary responsibility, in its com-

mon sense, is easily enforced. If there be a broken head in Coldbath Fields, he is quite sure to hear of it; and if his answer does not satisfy the inquirer that the head was righteously broken, or, that, having been unrighteously broken, it is in course to be avenged by due process of British law, constitutional patriots will make him feel that, though impeachments are out of date, sarcasms are not. Natural, perfectly, is this preference of what is close at hand; and to a certain extent right. But what of the other departments? The Foreign Minister is seriously assailed about as often as the Indian Charter is discussed—once in a score of years. One such occasion is too recent for its circumstances to have been forgotten. There is a great run upon blue books; names of foreign sound become as household words among the talkers of politics; and in fine, the great foreign question culminates in Pacifico. The value of the wardrobe and of the affidavit of a needy, roguish Portuguese Jew is the one topic of London and of Europe for a day. There is plenty to say in attack, plenty, too, in reply. The minister surpasses himself in explanation, proving beyond contest his incontestable talent, his mastery of himself, of the house, and of the subject. His responsibility is the responsibility of habitual and easy and definite knowledge, to ignorance, or hasty and indefinite conceptions. Nay, right or wrong, there is a moral superiority in the tone of one whose interest in the subject is real and permanent, when dealing with others whose interest is but factitious and temporary. One weighty and independent

opinion, which circumstances made sadly memorable as the last counsel of a great man, is given, though reluctantly, against the Foreign Minister, and faction attributes even *that* to faction. He triumphs, of course—his colleagues support him, though they do not quite agree with him; and Pacifico descends from the temporary elevation, in which he fixed the eyes of the universe, carrying off triumphantly so many Hellenic drachms as amount to twenty-five pounds English, as the value finally affixed by impartial arbitration to his feelings and his furniture, his character and his coupons.

The fact is, that, as was most truly said by Mr. Charles Buller, "the British nation does not care for foreign affairs: it does not care twopence." And when there is no present real care, parliamentary responsibility is a name. Except in the way of general, a very general, control on the line of policy—a partial security against his handing over the force of England to Absolutism or to Communism, the Parliament has little control over the Foreign Minister, whatever may be possessed by his colleagues. Granting, for the sake of argument, that this kind of responsibility ought to content us as a general rule, when only the rest of the world is concerned, is this the kind of responsibility which we are to trust to in the case of India? And can we expect even this?

Again, a Colonial Minister, is he responsible? Yes, on the same theory — no, for the same reasons. More so than the Foreign Minister, because, after all, our colonies are more and nearer to

us than are our faithful allies or our enemies. They are our own blood, they speak our own language,—we care for them more, in short; so we ask more questions about them, and expect more intelligible answers. Nevertheless, to express it with the utmost moderation, a degree of sincere interest, and of real, though limited knowledge, have not enabled us always either to know what was right for a colony, or even to guide the will of the Minister in the course which, perhaps, we guessed rather than knew to be right. Knowledge which cannot trust itself, and interest which after all is not vital, are not the forces requisite to exact a rigorous responsibility. Accordingly, though we have before now been very angry, right or wrong, with our Colonial Minister, we have never even attempted to make him govern the colonies generally, hardly any one colony in particular, according to any system or plan of our own; having, in truth, had none to give him. And now we seem rapidly finding out that the best use to which we can put his responsibility to us, is to enforce upon him the propriety of leaving the colonies as much as possible to manage for themselves; trusting to a certain extent his knowledge, which is greater than ours, and making him trust largely in theirs, which in local matters is greater than his.

And men who never knew the Colonial Office but to hate it, never named it but to abuse, are anxious to set up a Colonial Office for the great unknown of India, and talk as if they believed that the words "parliamentary responsibility" contained a charm

to make a foolish minister wise, an ignorant one instructed, a rash one cautious, a perverse one tractable. Who would have thought that reformers should be so enamoured of their experience of a Colonial Office as to go out of their way to set up another? Their nerves are well strung. I confess it gives me a slight shiver to think of a possible Indian Minister and a possible Governor-General, in combination with a Parliament in the fifth year of its existence (when it is thinking even less than usual of the world beyond its respective hustings), and with no Court of Directors.

As a curb on the Minister, the risk of an appeal to Parliament would be generally nugatory; as an influence on English politics, such an appeal would be generally noxious. Nor has experience shown us that it is calculated to be of much avail to India. After all, is there not a responsible Minister for India?—is the great healing idea really a new discovery? Until this time, I never doubted that the President of the Board of Control, like all other Ministers, was for every act done by him in his ministerial character responsible to Parliament; that is, as responsible as the law can make him.

He is responsible, as in the case of the Foreign Minister, for the general direction of his policy; for peace, that is, or for war;—other general direction the policy of India can hardly have. Do what we will, it is not easy to see how we can make him responsible for more. We have yet to show that we mean him to be even *this*.

It is strange enough that we should have to

fancy, that in declaring the responsibility of the Minister for India we are setting up a novelty; and yet, on the other side, not strange; for to exact it would be a novelty indeed. We seem to have resolved to forget the existence of that which in one flagrant instance within the present Charter we almost barefacedly ignored. Inquiry was demanded, and there was every possible ground that could be imagined to call for inquiry. There was a war, at first successful, afterwards disastrous in the extreme; among whose disastrous concomitants perhaps the least were the impaired finances of India, the tarnished arms of England. There was every circumstance of horror that could excite compassion even in those who were careless about right; such defeat, such misery, such utter and ruthless destruction, as no English army, hardly any similar force of civilized men, had ever experienced. The House of Commons had before it, not as questions to be solved, but as facts beyond dispute, retracted policy, shaken confidence in our strength and star, a shock to an Empire, broken faith, violated treaties, every combination of political crime and political blunder; and as the excuse for a war not more terribly calamitous than deliberately unjust, there was a falsified blue book on the table.

Nor is there a doubt who is responsible for this series of offences towards India. England admits it. *Habemus confitentem reum.* What will the House of Commons do now? The House of Commons does exactly what might be expected, and *not* its duty. Its usual leaders aid it towards that negation of

activity. The Ministry responsible for the war explains or declines to explain; says that it had good reasons for mutilating the despatches, or that it did not mutilate them; Sir Robert Peel considers it would be an inconvenient precedent to inquire now into the past; and so, in fine, passes over the question of the inquiry into the Affghan war—the Affghan war, the reason why India has a debt instead of a surplus, the direct cause of the war and annexation of Scinde, the reason, more or less, of every other war that has since tended to deprive India of irrigation and of railroads.

Is it to the zeal shooting up like a Jonah's gourd, new-born of new-born knowledge, within the last few months, or to the ignorance and indifference of years past, that we are to trust for the future of India? How long has India ceased to be a tabooed topic? Let us ask a distinguished Indian, now resident for some time in England, anxious to direct attention to some defects or errors in the present Government of India, having much to say, but having probably learnt in the meditative East that silence is better than useless speech, and silent accordingly for years. He shall tell us why. He is a critic indeed of the Company's Government, an eager advocate, especially of the increased employment of natives; but an advocate with that real sympathy which needs not to lash itself by clamour into factitious enthusiasm; a critic with knowledge both of India and of real habitual feeling in England respecting India.

"If I am asked why, feeling it my duty to speak,

I have kept silence for nearly five years, I can only answer, that India is a subject so uncouth to English ears, that he who intends to be listened to when he speaks of it must choose one of those *mollia tempora fandi* which present themselves only at intervals of twenty years. That period has now again brought India back into her perihelion. The rights and interests of our Asiatic fellow-subjects are brought so near for the moment, that they look almost as large as our own rights and interests."

True, Mr. Cameron—true to the letter. India brought back to her perihelion looks large enough; but she has been within reach of a very moderate telescope all the time; only nobody in England would take the trouble to use one. Spy-glasses of all dimensions were tendered to the public to look at the distant "uncouth" planet, to observe the strange flickerings of colour which passed over its disk from time to time; but in vain. Yet the appearances were not uninteresting. There were "dim eclipses" enough—disastrous twilights shed over half the natives of Asia, perplexing more than monarchs with more than fears of change. But curiosity was not to be tempted, scarcely by the glaring bloody-hued phenomenon of an Affghan war.

Nobody looked very closely, because nobody cared very much. We care for the moment now, because India is the subject for the day (with a reserve in favour of table-turning), as some *affaire* Pacifico or Pritchard may be the subject of to-morrow.

For years we have been deaf as well as dumb on the subject of India, and now we have got rid of

one of the qualities. We have received the gift of speech, unhappily not as yet sufficiently accompanied by the counter-gift of hearing. It is one of our *tempora fandi*, and we do talk to some purpose, if not exactly to the purpose. Startled and shocked by the discovery of how much there is about India which we did not know, we altogether forget that our ignorance is chiefly owing to our indifference; and under the sway of the dominant zeal of the moment, we persuade ourselves that our indifference is over for ever. Would that it were so. A real and not transitory wish for the happiness of India, would not find its fitting expression in the silence of twenty years and the clamour of a day. Its utterance would be less striking, but more continuous, and perhaps not less useful.

But the assumption that because the House of Commons of this year is excited on the subject of India, the House of Commons of five years hence will be even as competent as the present to enforce his responsibility against the "Minister for India," is too absurdly gratuitous to merit demolition. Every one knows how it will be. "The thing that *has been*, that is it what will be." Not, it may be hoped, exactly so. Our former utter and most discreditable indifference is violently shaken, and our shame or anger for it shows itself partly in the reaction of the present excited mood. It may be hoped that what is real in the present feeling will not die with the occasion. Kindly interest, and even zeal, may lead to infinite good, if it does not assume to be more than it is, and think that it

possesses the wisdom which on the contrary it is its practice to stimulate others to exercise. But the more we appreciate the question, the less disposed shall we be to conclude that the House of Commons can with prudence or impunity assume to itself the government of India.

If it may be laid down as a general rule that few have cared for India, it is equally certain that the symptom of beginning to care is usually a fervent indignation against somebody. This form of the India Reform fever finds a not unamusing expression in Mr. Dickinson's pamphlet. "I," says Mr. Dickinson, with a pleasant *naïveté*, "knew nothing about India formerly, and cared very little. Now I know, as you see, a great deal; and you see also how much I care; how I am angry and sin not; how my heart burns within me against the oppressors I denounce. Do you only learn as much as I have learnt, and you will care as much and be quite as wrathful."

The prospect is attractive; but doubts might be expressed whether, after all, it is so easy for everybody to learn as much as Mr. Dickinson knows. Some interest is for most persons essential even to learning, some object beyond the pleasure of ineffectual anger. How are you to bring your wrath to bear on the welfare of India, that so much virtuous indignation may not be wasted? The remedy of all the other reformers, the parliamentary panacea, is Mr. Dickinson's also. But the common fallacy appears in his pages in rather a striking form. Nothing can be easier than to regenerate India. Only "make India

a political question." Ponder that, understand it, and do it, and then all will go well.

Can words be easier—can the thing to be done be harder? How is it to be done? Have we but to will that India be a political question, and forthwith it will become so? Here, again, are several words thrown together, including a good deal within them. Let us look at them more closely. What is "a political question" in a free state like ours? and supposing us to have arrived at some conception on this point, can any given subject, even an important one, be made a political question? *No*, not even by the House of Commons voting once for all that it shall be. Political questions are not made but grow, like constitutions.

Among a free people, those questions about which the people really cares for the time, in which it is, or sometimes only believes itself to be, interested, are political questions. Your clamour for the day, still less your *ipse dixit*, will not make a new thing old, will not make "political," in that sense of the word, a question for which nobody cares. A political question! when you can hardly, as yet, even make it an Exeter Hall question; for which, indeed, it becomes India and her well-wishers to be thankful, —and thankful, in part at least, to the directors. Had India been a Government department only, Exeter Hall would have besieged, and very possibly stormed it, before now. India ought to be, and it may be hoped habitually will be, a political question then, and then only, when the people of England,

knowing India well, care about India greatly, and, confident in that knowledge, as well as urged by that care, make and unmake their rulers, to some considerable extent, with reference to their good intentions and skill in the management of India. God forbid that such confidence should precede such knowledge!

Inspire that spirit of interest. Well and good; but that is a work of time, not a thing to be done by an Act of Parliament. That is not what we are called upon to do now. India is not, and in that sense never may be—at least, we cannot now make it—a permanent political question; but we may very easily make it a temporary battle-ground of faction, if we only aim at the one result which our utmost efforts should be directed to avoid.

In considering the proposed alternative, we have in fact been considering the grounds on which the present system is preferable. Did the directors, in fact, unite all the incompatible faults with which they have been charged by those to whom they are not quite demons, were they, what they are not, a set of chance rulers, none of them eminent for ability or for experience, at once nonentities and despots, old women and rigorous oppressors, spendthrifts and misers, at once un-Indian and un-English, a dead weight and a mainspring of evil, there would be something to say for them, so long as they are what they are, viz., a body as such unconnected with English politics, uninfluenced by English majorities, giving, as none can deny, much

time and attention to the government of India, and having no public interest which competes in their estimation with the welfare of India.

This is what we have; we have not to create it, but to improve it. It contains, and has generally contained, some good men, men of considerable Indian experience, of talent, of pure and enlightened intentions; let us by all means insure, if possible, that it shall in future contain more good men, and better. Hereafter we may consider this part of the question.

"But why these men, elected by a constituency of elderly mortgagees of either sex? Was there ever so ludicrous a contrivance as that by which you create kings of India, out of those 'glasses' which are 'duly closed and delivered to the scrutineers,' with a result which no one *doubts*? *Why* these, more than any other two dozen gentlemen taken out of the streets?" It will sound extravagant, paradoxical, to say, that, given the necessary conditions—respectability of character, disposition to take a deeper interest in Indian than in any other politics, I should consider any two dozen such gentlemen, were they but a kind of permanent grand jury to look after the grievances of India, infinitely better than nothing at all. The present body, however, is greatly preferable; first, by unbroken historical connection with their predecessors, who gained what they only aid in governing; secondly, as containing, as always having contained, and as being always likely to contain, some or many able men, long and closely connected with India—

not the best that could have been got, but far from being the worst—improvable, like the country they govern—less able, perhaps, individually, than a minister's council such as could be chosen, but better than such a council, in that they are not the shadow of another, but themselves. Any despot can call round him a band of able advisers. Is there no difference, except in number and individual ability (and then, perhaps, the advantage might not be all one way), between Louis Napoleon's Senate and the English Parliament?

The question of double Government, or, in other words, the continuance of a separate and partly independent department for Indian affairs, by far the most important of all questions touching the Home Government of India, being now settled, it is well to look a little at the constitution and mode of creating the present Court, the merits, defects, and general results of the system, and whether or how far it admits of being improved. It is one of the points of the Indian question on which Englishmen who have not been in India may yet hope to form a competent opinion. Before, however, looking at the process by which directors are made, let us turn for a moment to two other aspects of the question, rather Indian than English, but still within the range of a general view—questions of which the discussion almost needs an apology—so obvious one should have said is the answer to each. One is, Shall we hold India? branching into the question, To what end? the other, Shall we postpone legislation?—this last, a question indeed happily settled

by the determination of the Government, but upon which it may not be unprofitable to pause for a moment.

We find ourselves in possession of India. In framing a government for our imperial dependency, one might naturally enough ask, why we have it to govern. The only reason why this question is not the first asked, is because the answer is assumed. To govern India and govern it well; to communicate, so far as may be, to her countless millions the stamp and colour of whatever is best in the English character, and highest in the English cultivation, material and mental; to raise them towards our own level, in intellectual, moral, and physical condition; such, one would have said, was the end of our connection with India. According to some, it has another end. It is curious to observe, that what may be called the two extremes of opinion, which meet on the common ground of hostility to the present system of government, both take a view of our relation to India contradicting in the strongest manner the most deep-rooted principles and feelings of the English, as of any other noble people, and confuted by an instinctive indignation which needs no aid from logic. "Rule and retain your subjects—

'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento'—

but do not educate them over much: once educated, as you talk of making them, they will not endure your empire." That is one opinion; a very Ahitophel of a counsel. Here is his rival, the milder-spoken Hushai of the cotton-trade:—"Educate

them at least in so much of political economy as is needful to make them appreciate the advantages of commerce; but do not cling to your dominion—there is no great good in that. Let the exotic empire wither; only let trade flourish. To buy and to sell, behold the great ends of humanity. Teach India enough for that, and then reap, as meritorious teachers should, the profit of your labours. Behold, in a not distant futurity, no English rulers, no Indian subjects, but millions white and black buyers and sellers, with a statistical result altogether satisfactory. Behold the golden chain of mutual exports and imports as the sole link connecting India and England." Which of the two programmes is the greater affront to the conscience? Many, perhaps, would say the first; the second is undoubtedly more true to the smug-faced morality of an age of shams, and, as such, the more dangerous. I hardly know which shows most indifference towards human good, but I think I know which is meanest. Somewhat as Lucifer looks down on Mammon, does the cold-blooded haughty paradox of the statesman look down with inexpressible scorn on its Quaker-like ally in a common enmity, the sleek paradox of the trader. To ignore altogether the trust committed to us in India, is to my feeling not less wicked, and perhaps more base, than to misuse it. Surely there must be something true in the old idea, that luxury, buying and selling, what we call high civilization and comfort, tends, if not corrected, to corrupt and enervate.

Is a corn-law the only evil thing to be enthusi-

astically assailed? Is free trade the only aim worth a struggle and a sacrifice? Is there really nothing to a man or a nation in being the head and leader onward of many men or of many nations? Has Manchester no feeling, no understanding, for instance, of such words as these, not always words of peace indeed, not always rightly used, but with a meaning in them too, and a noble one: "*Dieu me l'a donné?*" Such a gift, and with it such a duty—responsibilities so great, possibilities of good to ourselves and others so unlimited—the most wonderful, and what might be the noblest page in the world's history, committed to us to make or mar; and all to be laid down in mere faintness of heart. No wonder these men do not wish for the statue of Cœur-de-Lion, renouncing so easily as they do an aim greater than that of the Crusade. They are far enough from the feeling with which the "Norman Crusader" covered his face, as unworthy to look on the Jerusalem which his utmost efforts could not attain.

But, we might almost ask, were it courteous, are men who are indifferent to the question whether we keep India or not, provided India buys from us, really entitled even to give an opinion on the question how India is to be governed for the good of England and her own? They are looking at the thing from a different point of view; nay, they are not looking at the thing at all; they are looking at a different thing. These Realists are subject to one class of illusions,—the "*idola*" of the market-place. "As Mallebranche saw all things in God," said some

bitter wit, "so M. Necker sees all things in M. Necker;" a theorem, observes Carlyle, which will not hold.

"Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur."

Manchester sees all things in Manchester,—another theorem which will not hold.

No. India is to be kept; and, moreover, to be instructed, improved, and in all things raised to the utmost. And here we pass to a second question:—How is India to be improved?

It is true, that a question needing for its full working out the labour and experience of centuries, is not a question to be answered in a day; but it may be easier to point out how she is not to be improved. While I write, a striking example is thrown in my way by the manner in which the most difficult, as the most important, form of improvement may be most effectually delayed. Lessons in railroad-making are one form of instructive improvement; lessons in truth-speaking another, and a greater one. We are giving them railroads to-day. Every day and all days we might be giving them truth; but sometimes, instead, we give them the reverse of truth; and the inoculation takes, as we shal see, with a lamentable facility.

It may be recollected that, some time since, a petition was sent home from certain natives of Madras, which certainly merited some attention as an expression of opinions, and received at least as much as it merited. The Indian reformers honoured or damaged it with their advocacy, and Lord Ellen-

borough with a notice and a pretty general contradiction. By the last Indian papers it appears that the persons concerned in this movement have met again, and produced another petition, which has not had the success of the first. The report of the meeting is worth reading, for more reasons than one. If one observes with some amusement, and no dissatisfaction, the adoption of English machinery for the expression of grievances—a meeting, with chairman, proposers, and seconders, whose names all terminate in "gum," "arawatty," and "sawney,"—of resolutions all in the Tamil language—one regrets the more to find how much evil idle words may do across the seas; how much the copyists of our forms have yet to learn of our spirit. There is a reference of unconscious humour (called forth by a proposal of Mr. Hume's) to the almost total ignorance under which the Parliament and people of England appear to labour of their religious and social customs; the particular point being, a proposal to summon Indian witnesses to England, whereas, as Amoogum Moodelliar forcibly observes, Hindoos are prohibited by their religion from crossing the sea—a view of the case strongly illustrating the feasibility of the plan for governing India by parliamentary committees. But the general result left on one's mind by the proceedings is serious, not to say sad. The account of what took place establishes, with almost a painful degree of force, the deteriorating, even more than the dangerous, tendencies of such an agitation as the postponers of legislation wish to create in India. Petition No. 1 had some very earnest supporters in

the Anglo-Indian press. This is the way in which their supporters speak of petition No. 2. Provoked out of well-meant, but perhaps rather flattering and one-sided backing into sharp truths, it will be seen that they articulate their "This is too bad!" with considerable emphasis:—

"Having thoroughly appreciated the great value of their former appeal to the Legislature, it may be readily conceived that we look on the present representation with feelings of bitter disappointment. It will save the advocates of the present order of things a world of trouble, for no enlightened Englishman can peruse it without sensations of disgust and indignation. With every allowance for the defects of translation, it is impossible not to see that the petitioners meant to be impudent, and were utterly careless of the truth. They know that their language conveys insults, and that their statements are in the most important points wholly without foundation."

In language echoing their injudicious friends in England, and evidently suggested by some European agitator on the spot, our rhetorical presenters of grievances in Teloogoo or Tamil state, among other things, that "the interests of the people are unfortunately considered of not the slightest consequence to the Government, whose duty it is to legislate for their sole benefit." Referring to the recently-granted constitutions of the Cape and of New Zealand in words bearing still more the stamp of the canting professional agitators, they "humbly and anxiously trust that your honourable House will not deem the barbarians of the former, and the cannibals of the latter colony, more deserving or more fitting to be intrusted with a share in the management of their own affairs than the inhabitants of a

country which, for scores of centuries, has been renowned throughout the world for its civilization, literature, and commerce; and which had its own sovereigns, governments, and codes of law long before the English nation had a name in history." (Apt learners are these Chitters and Moodelliars in the school of constitutional agitation. Now mark the chief grievance, and whence they have been taught to feel it.)

"That your petitioners will consider themselves and their community deeply humiliated and deeply aggrieved, if—after the open acknowledgments of persons high in office in this country and in England, that they are as capable to hold responsible employments as the members of the now exclusive civil service—that they are their equals on the bench, and successful competitors in the study of European arts, science, and literature—they are longer shut out from the offices for which they are confessedly qualified, while the savage Hottentot and New Zealander are preferred before them."

A return of the savage Hottentots and cannibal New Zealanders who have received appointments to the Civil Service, would be an interesting document; but let that pass.

To all the greater part of this string of complaints their friends in the *Indian Athenæum* reply that it is untrue, and that they know it to be so; that they are as a body unfit for the posts they speak of, unfit for the self-government which they misapprehend, for the franchises which they would die rather than share with others; that the worst of our legislators has some regard for the interests of the people; that the ablest of them have much to do before they are on a level with the scholars of Haileybury; that the

Government of India is full of faults indeed, but that they, the petitioners, complain of evils which they have not suffered, and claim rights which they could not exercise. One or two allusions are made to certain civilized practices still in vogue in Madras, which, though appropriate enough, may as well not be repeated.

Let it be observed that these, however Europeanized, utterances of Hindoo public opinion in Madras do not come from a mere pamphlet or placard written by a reckless scribbler — signed, through canvassing or intrigue, by a few dozen blockheads, and called a native petition. The petition was discussed and adopted at a meeting attended by 1,500 persons, many apparently of wealth. Such is the green sapling, two or three months old, of Indian agitation—what would be the green tree of two or three years' flourishing growth? We need not speculate on what would be done in the dry.

It is not exactly danger to our rule that is to be anticipated from such a growth of factitious, suggested, exotic falsehood. It is not that our Hindoo friends will easily persuade their Pariah brethren, whom they scarce regard as human, to combine with their Mahometan brethren, whose mosques they rejoice in occasionally *pigging*, for the purpose of asserting, in common and equal arms against their English oppressors, the principles of civil and religious liberty; but that lies are always corrupting, and sometimes unprofitable, even in the narrow sense of profit. This empty and false talk of equal rights and powers turns men's thoughts and hearts

from the path of real advance; confirms the few who would refuse education; discourages the many who would forward it to the utmost; at once tends to perpetuate every fault in the subject race, and hardens against them and their faults the heart of the ruling race. It is not easy to conceive a struggle worthier of sympathy and respect,—surer of a noble success, whether the result be complete or imperfect,—than that of the native of India to raise himself to the mental and moral level which he appreciates in the European. Nor is it easy to lament a more pitiable perversion of thought and effort than that which would turn them aside from the strife in which they cannot fail, to another in which they must;—the strife not for a real approximation, but for a nominal and utterly false equality. Whatever indignation the result excites, ought naturally to fall principally upon those who teach the easily learnt lesson. Respect and consideration in a high degree are due, not only to the millions of India, but to individual utterances of Indian opinion. But the first respect due to men, is to treat them as men: the respect of telling them the truth; the consideration of aiding them in the right direction. The first of all steps towards improvement is, that the relation between us and them be not falsified, but understood, and, at least, tacitly acknowledged. To put it in Mr. Carlyle's form: "Thou stronger than I, thou wiser than I, better than I; thou king, and subject I,"—if our rule does not rest upon this, on what does it rest? They are very many, and we very few, in the land where they are natives and

we strangers. The continued rule of so few over so many can only be justly warranted, as indeed it could only be maintained, by a real superiority. If to misuse that superiority is a crime, to deny it is a lie, which, put in action, is a crime. He who falsely tells the natives of India that, speaking *en masse*, they are the equals of Englishmen, falsely tells them that the English rule is the most monstrous of tyrannical absurdities. They are as exempt from the dulness which would fail to draw the inference, as they are at heart from the credulity which would admit the premiss. The flattery which is not believed, yet may be effectually pernicious.

Towards the extent of good, of which we may, if we will, be the instruments to the natives of India, it is clear that we may derive unlimited help from themselves; nay, that we can do little good unless their efforts go along with ours. Their knowledge is more direct and greater than ours, of the pressure of particular evils, and their sagacity in devising appropriate and possible remedies is probably not less. But if, instead of enabling them to aid us thus, we do what has recently been so effectually done,—call on them for their aid in a crusade against their rulers; confuse their perceptions of right and of reality, by misrepresentations which they see through and echo; tell them that they are wronged in being denied the self-government which, as applied to a state, is a dream to them, and the equality which contradicts their religion; in short, excite among them the passions of jealous vanity and covetous egotism, scarcely redeemed from the

degradations of conscious falsehood by even a touch of wild and fanciful ambition;—if we sow this seed, we see how fast it will spring.

There may be some who think such teaching not so false, or at least not so pernicious, as I have represented it. Let them, however, think for a moment, not only of those improvers, reformers, and missionaries of the jungle, whose names and services are known, but how every good collector or magistrate is, in his way, what so many among them have conspicuously been, a centre of civilization and improvement. Take no great men—nay, take no able man—take the mere negative side; take what an Englishman would blush not to be—a man who may fail in doing justice from error, but never from bribe; who pays to Government every farthing he receives on behalf of Government; who speaks the truth. Is such a man—a standard of a higher manhood, and a proof of its possibility—no better than those around him, who will embezzle, take bribes, and lie, almost without compunction or shame? And is it the way to mend their morals, to tell them that they are as fit as he for any responsibility? Or think of a higher class of benefactors, alike in intellect and in morals,—such men as those through whom Suttee, for instance, was recently abolished in some of the states independent of our rule,—residents or agents at native courts, who, turning the abstruse studies of the scholar to the ends of the philanthropist, have won for antiquarian research surely the noblest and most practical triumph it ever won in the world; who, descending into the depths

of dark Indian learning, meeting Brahminical lore and acuteness with profounder knowledge and stronger reasoning, have confuted commentators on the *Vedas* and *Shasters* out of the *Vedas* and *Shasters* themselves, and, by moral and mental superiority, at last extorted conviction from the intellects and consciences of their hearers, and obliged them to admit and act on the belief, that crimes which had been perpetrated for centuries under the sanction of their religion, were NOT enjoined by its most sacred authorities, but were the engrafted corruptions of a later and more evil time. Great as is such a service as this, I select it not because of its greatness, which might be paralleled, but because, in showing us what we can so seldom see,—the English and Indian mind in direct contact and collision,—it shows us at once, and with peculiar force, the way in which that contact may minister to good, and also the difference which it will assuredly not improve the inferior to ignore. Deeply feeling how much as a nation we owe to India, how much in the way both of shortcoming and of practical evil we have to redeem, and looking on acts like these as a small earnest of what we may do towards redeeming it, it is impossible not to view the counter-achievements of the India Reform Society with as serious a dislike as is compatible with a keen sense of their absurdity.

Since the French presented a red cap to Citizen Tippoo, and elected him a member of the Jacobin Club, and champion of the Rights of Man against the English, nothing can have taken place in India more absurd,

more un-Indian, more incongruous in itself, more injurious to its dupes, than this copy of a Manchester agitation. The French proceeding was not to the profit of the Citizen King of Mysore, nor ultimately of the French themselves; still it had a meaning in their policy, which is more than can be said of the encouragement of "Young Madras" by "Young India" in Parliament. Why should our equals learn from us? Why should an older civilization degrade itself to be taught and ruled by our newly-taught barbarism? If there is one lie more fatal to the hopes of India, and more monstrous in itself, than those of their own religions, it surely is comprised in this,—"We are as good as the English."

Admit such of them as are *fit*, to the highest places for which they are *fit*; *but let them prove* their fitness. Mr. Macaulay, no enemy, certainly, nor depreciator of the native intellect and character, says that neither has one been appointed to the higher line of service, nor has there, in his belief, among so many millions, been one whom it would have been for the advantage of the country so to appoint. Hitherto they have not perhaps had the opportunity of proof; now, at least, they will. Let but one of them win in the fair field of competition one opening to the highest posts of the service, and it will be a great thing for him, and a greater thing for his race,—a promise and proof of their capacities, opening a road to almost unlimited hopes of their advancement. But if the first of Hindoo blood who wins a nomination to the civil service is gifted with

an honest open eye for truth, with sense as well as talents, he of all men will feel that his countrymen generally are not, and will not be for centuries, what the flatterers to whom they are an abstraction tell them they are already.

I should have thought that the evils of a postponement of legislation for India were too manifest to require being dwelt on,—that they might have been assumed; but a striking illustration of them afforded by this Madras petition, just at the right time, seems worthy of especial notice. It awakens a sense of thankfulness which claims expression, towards Her Majesty's Government, for having checked such a growth of evil at the outset. Agitation has always some tendencies neither altogether safe nor respectable, even when based on truth; but when founded on utterances not quite meant nor believed in England, neither understood nor believed in India, but re-echoed back, nevertheless, with a multiplying clamour of vague and misleading assent, agitation is a process the reverse of improving.

Even Indian veracity might be deteriorated by a Commission inviting local evidence on the faults of the Company's rule, and the desire and fitness of the people for self-government; bringing home to the door of an inaccurate community a two years' license of unlimited lying.

This is all, it may seem, a little out of our way as to the question of the Home Government of India; yet it is not without its bearing on what may be called the home politics of India, and on that which evidently should be the first aim of the English public,—

the distinguishing between the points on which they are, and are not, competent to legislate for India. If one could entertain the fanatical hope that one Indian agitator would be startled into enlightenment by this Madras petition, would bethink himself whether he was in or out of the right road,—the Madras petition would have done more good than was intended by its framer or framers.

An apology seems almost due for bringing forward so many considerations which might have been thought obvious and inevitable; but if such they are, it is the more unfortunate that they have not been acted on. They are truisms, I admit; but as truisms in words are sometimes truths in action, so neglected truisms may give rise to falsehoods in action. But it is time, after this long digression, to return from the sheep of India to the shepherds of Leadenhall Street—those mysterious potentates, whom the author of the "Coming Struggle" has recently promoted to the position, I am told, of certain lions in the Revelations. Others, as Lord Ellenborough and Hadgi Baba, they have affected less imposingly.

Some of our readers will recollect, in "Hadgi Baba in England," a visit paid in due form by the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman to the distinguished chief of that distinguished Persian writer. When they were gone, says Hadgi, in words to the following effect (the Frank memory can but imperfectly recall his charming Orientalisms), "We could only sit and look at each other, putting the finger of Wonder into the mouth of Astonishment, and ex-

claiming, 'Allah! Allah! that India, that great and magnificent country, should be ruled by two unclean and ill-dressed infidels, who came in a hackney-coach, and went away on foot.'" Much of what has been launched against the directors is about equally philosophical with our Ispahan friend's view of these inconceivable successors of Aurungzebe, and considerably less amusing. However, it is now necessary to examine what they are, and how they come to be what they are.

The very first question is, whether they are anything or nothing; which need not take many words. In the preceding remarks I have taken it for granted that they are not nothing, but much; that the directors do exercise a considerable share in the government of India. It is curious, and an illustration of the difficulty which besets the whole subject, that even on this point we should be met by diametrically opposite statements;—it is the climax of the great universal India contradiction. Lord Ellenborough says they have no power,—it is all in the President of the Board of Control:—"I know *I* ruled India." The directors quietly shrug their mercantile shoulders, are not forward to force their pretensions on the world; but, nevertheless, on occasion, are ready to state, through their mouthpiece, their contrary version of the case:—"We know that the Board of Control can do things which we cannot prevent; but in matters of ordinary government, we know that *we* rule India." It is clear from the nature of the case, and from facts, that this must be

so to a great extent,—how great, we need not here define. The mutual contradiction, though direct, is doubtless sincere and explicable. Lord Ellenborough sees the Cannon Row side of the shield: he sees that large question of policy. What he firmly wished, was done. On the other hand, the initiators of despatches, of which only five per cent. are altered, must, to go no further, have a great deal to say in the government of India. Let the now famous anonymous striker-off of the six Bramah locks exercise his functions with what vigour he will, no reasonable man can seriously doubt that the directors are and have been a substantial power.

I presume Aristotle would have put the constitution of the India House among Timocracies; certainly the proprietors, in other words the mortgagees on the Indian revenue, are a very quiet Demos. They are, not to speak disrespectfully, the drones of the Leadenhall Street hive; their active functions being limited to consuming the honey of their dividends, and generating working directors. On the understanding that nothing is to come of it, they are permitted occasionally to have a talk. It usually takes the form of a dialogue between proprietor and director, approximating to a monologue by the former,—a drama made up of speeches of very disproportionate lengths, yet strictly corresponding to the aims of the parties; the proprietor's object being to say as much, the director's as little, as he possibly can. To canvass this constituency, mainly through various forms of that influence which gods and men call interest and patronage, and Mr. Drummond

corruption, is a task neither pleasant nor brief; for it is said that seven years' apprenticeship to the trade of making promises is needful to win the favours of this elderly Leah. Where much is given in the way of patronage, much is required. The proprietors give much and require much. Hence follows a degrading and wearisome process, to which it is said the best men of India cannot condescend, and which, consequently, is left to the second or third best. Soliciting, waiting, promising, explaining, self-praising, complaining, and soliciting again—

> "Rather than fool it so,
> Let the high office and the honour go
> To one that would do thus."

"Canvassing," — hereupon say many virtuous M.P.'s for populous towns,—"what a source for a government, and how likely to fail, as you see it does, in giving you the men you want most."

Canvassing can never be pleasant, any more than anything else made necessary by the shortcomings and weaknesses of men. There is no canvassing in Utopia; still in practical England men are found patriotic enough to undertake it. A man often will not, even though he agrees with you, give you his vote unless it is asked as a favour, which, by minds with any touch of the Caius Marcius stamp, is ever felt as a wrong and degrading thing; though many of them do it every day, repaying themselves, not nobly, with a deeper contempt for the expenditure of outward condescension.

It shows at least a pleasing candour in members of Parliament to dilate on the many causes inherent

in an elective system, which tend, in a most regretable degree, to the exclusion of the best men. It is not otherwise surprising that the House of Commons should be sensitive on the topic of the inconvenience and awkwardness of the system by which directors are made.—*Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere discit.*

The members know what a canvass is, and can feel for the directors. Not the less so, because in the lot of the canvassing would-be director there is a woe from which the would-be M.P. is as yet at least exempt. It might move the sternest anti-directorist to pity, to think of having to win votes from free and independent electresses,—essentially invincible by logic, exempted by nature from the troublesome and unfeminine gift of a sense of justice, pressing with the most honest simplicity for the most impossible abuses of patronage, feeling an outrage to the affection of the aunt in the refusal or delay of a cadetship to the nephew, and with memories ever tenacious of expectations, though sometimes oblivious of promises.

Such is the unfavourable view of director-making,—the wrong side of the woof. Much of it is applicable to every kind of election; some part to this in particular. An election, however, after all, is something. If it will not, except under certain rare circumstances, give us the best men, it will nevertheless generally give us men rather better than the average; if not, as has been said, the ablest men, yet the men ablest to be chosen. Grant that, in the case of the directors, the ability to be chosen

lies in fact in the power of promising; that the vote is oftener the effect of that praiseworthy gratitude, which has been defined as a lively sense of future favours; yet after all, other considerations come in. The choice of the proprietors has a tendency towards that at which it theoretically aims. The proprietor and parent naturally follows a mixed course of reasoning: "How desirable would be a writership or a cadetship for Tom or Charles; and how desirable a member of the Direction too would this eminent and experienced person be. Myself, in the person of Tom, first; but Themistocles, or in this case, India, second." And so the result is attained in a respectable degree. The standard of action and of choice which the proprietors set up before themselves is not of the highest, yet it produces a body of men including some of marked ability; and in the mass by no means dishonest, foolish, or idle. Many of the directors undoubtedly do to the very utmost of their power, precisely what they are by hypothesis chosen to do; that is, they endure with what philosophy they may the intolerable nuisance of being plagued for their patronage, and on the other hand, devote themselves without reserve to the administration of India, making their share in it the serious business of their lives; not without effect, nor, it may be said, without merited honour. After all, the proprietors might do worse. Compare the limited elderly (it is always assumed that they are all elderly) and epicene constituency of the directors with the mass of life, energy, masculine ability, and wealth employed in returning the repre-

sentatives of the railway interest to Parliament. Yet the heads of the East-India House,—their leaders in and out of Parliament, will surely bear a comparison as speakers, and as doers too, with the heads of the railway world; though they too are generally men of ability.

It is very well to say, "There is a certain banker in the city of London who can return a director when he pleases." A few years ago there were a certain number of lords and gentlemen who could return a large proportion of the House of Commons. We did not therefore abolish the House of Commons, but we *reformed* it. We then took the power from the units to give it to the thousands, and some of these days, it seems, we shall be giving it amongst tens of thousands. That there is no question of doing for India, unless the Madras Petition No. 2 finds a sincere advocate in Parliament, which will be on the day of the Sanscrit calends. But if the proprietors are defective as a constituency, and yet there are advantages in an elective system, why not think of some of the plans for enlarging and improving that constituency?

It may be easily fancied that this canvass, such as it has been described—hard in any case to the natural man, is a harder thing to our Indian Coriolani, fresh perhaps from the uncontrolled rule of nations, and from great and unacknowledged deeds; unacknowledged, that is, because unknown in England. It is all written down for us in Shakspeare, like almost everything else on almost every subject.

Merit, justly conscious of itself, and reluctant

even to tell its story, is hardly brought to compete with London wealth and insignificance in applying for votes to those who answer with the citizens—

> "You must think, if we give you anything,
> We hope to gain by you."

It seems an eminent civilian told Mr. Bright, on finding what canvass for the Direction was, that he "would rather sweep a crossing than be made director on those terms." Yes!

> "Better it is to die, better to starve,
> Than crave the hire which first we do deserve."

Far be it from us to depreciate a feeling so closely allied with nobleness. Still we may as well remember that Coriolanus himself is thought to have carried his sensitiveness a little too far; and that though the Czar considers a representative system the basest of governments, it is not every one, like Mr. Danby Seymour, who prefers his government, even in Asia, to ours. Let us not say too much against elections, recollecting that we ourselves have votes; but let us regretfully admit that, in this case, the canvass keeps out many whom we would wish to admit, and that on this ground there is a justification for the proposal of the Government to nominate some of the excluded. The evil is undoubtedly a real one; and we grasp at the offered remedy.

There is no passage in Mr. Campbell's book which commands a heartier assent than that in which he expresses the regret naturally arising from what it is so common to see with regard to men of the India service. "The very best men of a great profession,

trained to business from their youth upwards—men who have ruled kingdoms, and determined the destinies of millions of their fellow-creatures,—to see them at five-and-forty sinking down into small country gentlemen, with nothing to do, or into careless water-drinking old Indians. One feels that there must be something wrong when one reads—*obscure* among obscure Buckinghamshire magistrates—such a name as that of Robert Mertius Bird, familiar as their household gods to some five-and-twenty millions of Asiatics, whose all-important interests have been regulated by him, but whose existence is almost unknown in this country." Certainly, there is something wrong. These are the men whom we ought to have, and whom, by the plan of the Government, partly in accordance with Mr. Campbell's suggestion, it is intended to obtain by nomination. The Government promises for itself and its successors, to introduce into the Direction the *élite* of the men fitted to take a share in governing India. A serious responsibility lies on the present and on succeeding ministries, by performing the promise, to justify this part of their plan.

We are warranted in being sanguine, but not in being too utterly confident, in the expectation that the Government nominations will correct the evil, and permanently give us the best men. Except in the spirit of the times and the limitation to the service—should this point be finally passed—what security is there that the nominee directorships would be given better than the minor Indian Governments have usually been? The case of

judges, quoted by Mr. Campbell, as a proof of the confidence which may be reposed in Government selection from a profession, is to the point, yet hardly parallel. The appointment of an inefficient judge reflects an immediate and sensible discredit on the appointing minister; for the judge works in the sight of all men, and under the immediate daily observation of competent critics at the bar. A scandalous appointment is impossible, for it would ruin the minister who made it; even a bad one is unlikely, for it would be very damaging. But the Crown nominee director might be, behind the official screen, either a cipher or a torment: there is no direct test of professional knowledge to try him by; and all that could be said by those who knew it, would be, that the Government might have appointed a better man: to which the Government would probably reply, that such was not their opinion. Mr. Campbell quotes another case, a much closer parallel than that of judge, vindicating the results of Government selection:—"Have not even bishops," says he, "been generally considered respectable men, until they reached that elevation, so dangerous to human frailty?" Certainly; but then the character which the bishops possessed, and, as Mr. Campbell profanely insinuates, lost, was, by confession, not the character of being the *best* men, but of being respectable men. Respectable directors we can get without going to the Government. It is because they are supposed likely to give us the real *élite*, that we are to go to them. There can be no doubt of the intention of the proposal, and little

fear of the qualifications of those first appointed under it. The only thing is, that we cannot rely with absolute certainty, and ought not, if possible, to rely exclusively, on this source of meritorious directors. Moreover, as these directors also are to go out in rotation, and may therefore be re-named, or *not*, by a Government perhaps different from that which named them, it is impossible not to see in them an increase of Government influence, admiting of being abused. In any case, even supposing the nomination power to be exercised properly, six eminent men do not exhaust the celebrities of the Service. Let them, at least all such men, and the class to which they belong, be of right electors, and eligible to a share in the home government of India.

This is the proposal of Lord Ellenborough,—to add to the present constituency of the proprietors the retired servants, civil and military, of the Company. Unless there are objections to his proposal, which do not appear on the surface, it seems to me to merit more attention than it has hitherto received. It was a matter almost of natural right; and as such, the onus lies upon the objectors to show that it is inexpedient. The leading objection made, as far as I have seen any, is that the new constituency would swamp the old, and that the military, being far the more numerous service, would swamp the civil. In the sense of adding largely to the old in numbers and in character, the first objection is an eulogy; the second seems to depend entirely

on the line of service and of rank at which we choose to draw the qualification. There are 800 civil servants in India, and 5,000 officers, &c.; but the proportion between the retired members of each service must be very different; and the line should should be drawn so as to secure something like a balance. As a general rule, the young Indian officer is scarcely more fit for such a franchise than his contemporary in the Queen's army serving in India,—and unfitness could not be more strongly expressed; — equally careless of the wants, prejudices, and even existence of the people of India. But it is quite different with the experienced field-officer or colonel, who has spent half a life in India, and learnt sympathy and respect from knowledge. On the other hand, the vote should be given to every civilian, whether retired or on furlough. The last class would be a very safe one, and often contains the very men who might give the most useful information about contemporary India.. Lord Ellenborough talks of the whole number as 1,250, but does not give the proportions. Were it necessary to reduce it to half that number, the addition would still strongly affect the character of the constituency. It would, moreover, be in analogy with the present framework, to give a plurality of votes, in proportion to length of service. When, *e. g.*, ten years' service gave one vote, the full service of twenty-five years might give, say three; and this might be an additional means of righting the balance between the services. Nor must we forget that among those

military men who have discharged civil duties, are to be found many of the most valuable servants of the Company. The numerical preponderance still left to the Proprietors is a very sufficient security against the exclusion of English ideas being carried too far. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the part taken in an election by this portion of the constituency would be important, more than in proportion to their numbers; and it appears probable that it would be as beneficial as important. Constituencies are surely seldom so well adapted for their object, so well acquainted with the subject-matter of their decision,—with the questions at stake,—with the qualification and characters of the candidates; have seldom an interest so genuine, yet so unfactious, and a character generally so apart from lower influences. I do not say that the influence of patronage would be unfelt: of course it would be felt; for retired Indians, too, are *pères de famille*. But the motives of choice would be higher, and the wish to make a right choice infinitely stronger, than in the present constituency. Moreover, so far as the measure bore directly on the distribution of patronage, it would be good; it would tend directly towards what is so much desired, giving an increased share in appointments to the sons of old servants of the Company. In short, any one might be proud of the choice of the Services of India; and that choice would have a tendency to give us the men whom the present system excludes.

There might of course be differences of opinion amongst them. But the men towards whom their

choice would incline would almost invariably be among the eminent and able of their service. With military men for instance, and with civilians who did not diametrically differ on points of Indian opinion with that illustrious soldier, no London banker would stand much chance against the honourable poverty of Outram, were he resident in England. No debasing canvass needed here—the name would be the canvasser; it would carry its own story; and sometimes, to those who knew the story, with an emphasis recalling the epitaph of the great Florentine:—TANTO NOMINI NULLUM PAR ELOGIUM.

Lord Ellenborough anticipates, as an effect of the system of partial nomination by Government, that it would lead the proprietors to be more indifferent than now to the qualifications of those whom they elected. "As you are an eminent man, go to her Majesty's Government to be appointed by them: they take the meritorious share of the business; we vote for our own hands." It may perhaps be doubted whether this would be the case; whether the higher character of the nominated members might not tend at least equally to raise the standard aimed at by the electors; but at any rate it can hardly be doubted that the enlargement of the constituency in the proposed direction would be a corrective of this tendency. The proprietors might perhaps vote selfishly, if alone; but they would be ashamed that their choice should stand in a uniformly marked contrast of inferiority to that of their co-electors of the Service: they would be ashamed to refuse their voices to the very best men selected by the very

portion of the constituency qualified to judge of their claims. With the example of the Services before them, they would feel with our honest friends in *Coriolanus*. One can fancy Proprietors 1, 2, discussing at their club the question whether they should vote for the candidate of the Civil Service, very much after this fashion.

1*st Proprietor. Once, if he do require our voices, we ought not to deny him.*

2*nd Proprietor. We may, Sir, if we will.*

3*rd Proprietor. We have power in ourselves to do it; but it is a power that we have no power to do.*

How many of this portion of the constituency would deny their votes to a Clerk or an Elphinstone? In short, the Court of Proprietors, thus modified, might in part do what Mr. Campbell proposes to do by his Court of Experts,—become something of a mouthpiece and representation of different shades of Indian opinion. Only it would have over Mr. Campbell's Court the great advantage of having the power of doing, if not much, yet something,—of giving votes, that is, as well as of giving an opinion. No great weight will ever attach to the presentations of a body which only exists to present, and has no other function. On the one hand, no man expecting re-election will meet the remonstrances of constituents, however steady-going and quiet, with the succinct "Protest, and go about your business," with which, as it is told, Lord Ellenborough—not the Governor-General, but the Judge—contented, or at

least silenced, a patriot clamorously and distractedly anxious to perform that limited duty.

It is a further advantage that, under the proposed system, the Court of Proprietors, or rather of electors, inevitably would have to become something of a reality. From a body, tempered by such an infusion as that recommended, even if its powers remained exactly as at present, a serious expression of opinion would command attention even from those who did not seek its votes. It would not become a clamorous and talkative, yet powerless democracy; for your real Indians are not of that turn, and reserve speech for occasions when something requires to be spoken. But it might be anticipated, without a great improbability, that discussions of real interest would take place occasionally on such points of difference of opinion as might reasonably exist among experienced Indians. Those who must now write a book, if they wish to tell the world what they think of the Burmese war and annexation, would do so *vivâ voce*, and might find a reporter. Around the nucleus of real knowledge and interest in Indian subjects, there might grow up a real English interest; gradually the Court of Proprietors would be itself the mouthpiece of a wider English public knowing something about India,—and who knows but that the recent agitation on the subject of India might not be an utter fiction; but something bearing a relation to facts; whether it might not take up some real grievances, and even hit upon a real remedy. Altogether this proposal has so much to recommend it, that I cannot

but hope some means may be found of overcoming its difficulties, or at any rate that it will not be rejected without careful consideration.

On the question of the election of directors, the diminution of patronage by opening the civil service and scientific branches to competition has an important bearing. Not so much as a mere reduction of the rewards which the directors have it in their power to offer, but because these rewards would be more equalized. Regard the Proprietors, if you will, in the light of freemen; then the Government measure at least limits the exercise of "influence" within a kind of head-money system, which in some of our boroughs was deemed, and was by comparison, a perfectly immaculate system of election. A cadetship is the most that can be given: no electioneering service can win more. Looking at the matter practically, it seems likely that, taking away the exceptional and higher patronage will even, without an infusion of new constituents, tend to make elections turn more on qualities, and less on promises or hopes.

The question of a reduction in the number of the directors is so entirely one of practical convenience, that it is almost out of place for any one not practically conversant with the working of the system to form upon it a decided opinion. The directors, it appears, object strongly to it, not only as tending to diminish their power, but to render inconvenient the consequent distribution of duties. The point, as compared with that of the double government, is not vital, and there would certainly be

nothing contrary to the principles of the measure in the proposal; with which, as a suggestion, I conclude.

Retain the numbers of the directors; enlarge the constituency; nominate, as proposed, six, and elect eighteen.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

How to dispose of the India patronage is, as it always has been, one of the recurring difficulties of the Indian question. Of course it is also a point of attack against the present system. "Look," it is said, "at the way in which the directors have prostituted their patronage—filling India with nephews and sons and cousins. No wonder it is misgoverned under a system of such flagrant nepotism."

I confess this is a hard case: nepotism is a serious offence: so unprecedented too. It was an evil heart in these bankers, merchants, and that class of persons, that could lead them into this sin, warned against it and dissuaded from it as they were by so many and high examples of virtue and forbearance. Could not the very members of their body suggest the revered example of another bench, the members of what many may deem a yet higher Directorate, conspicuous among whose many excellencies has ever been an almost prudish avoidance of preferring to posts destined for zealous and lofty service, even

their own nearest and dearest, before a meritorious stranger, except in the naturally very frequent case of their being even more meritorious? Whereas the directors, without respect of merit, to which indeed they were not strictly bound to attend by the existing law, gave what they had to give to those whom they wished to benefit. It was heinous enough, but what would you? "Ces pères," and not less "ces oncles de famille, sont capables de tout," as Talleyrand said of French providers for their own households. Be it recorded for the warning of a pure-minded posterity, that in the middle of the nineteenth century there was still one class of men in England, and not more, who, having to give appointments, not among tried men whose comparative abilities and characters were known to them by the test of years of trial (as is so fortunately the case with the patronage of, say, Lords of the Admiralty and Bishops, whose judgments are thus insured from error), but among boys, any one of whom might be as good as any other, too often avowedly gave them—profligate nepotists—by favour.

But let it be said for the Directorate, after all, that it gave some things not to relations, *satiata recessit*, though in great part Scotch. Of a given considerable number of appointments, it appeared that less, if I mistake not, than a quarter were given to mere relatives, more than a third to the sons of those who, in connection with the directors, had served the Company well. There is something to be said for the last item, after all. And in short, this last attack exhibits hypocrisy as well as injus-

tice: it is a piece of unadulterated cant. The directors have given their patronage in a manner which may well bear the test of comparison, and rather better than was to have been expected.

The patronage difficulty takes two forms: one is, how to get rid of the patronage with the least injury to England; another, to get it given for the best advantage of India. The first has generally been the more prominent head of the question; and in the time of the India Bill all turned upon it. The dangerous power which the patronage of India would confer upon a minister of the Crown was, and perhaps is even now, an objection more appreciated than the misuse which, as regarded India itself, he might make of that patronage. The argument for the first source is not so strong as it was seventy years ago; but still it is strong enough to command a very general assent.

We have a great mass of appointments, and we have to get rid of it somehow. We might give it through her Majesty's Government; or we might give it by tossing up. Most people are very glad that between the first course, which is dangerous, and the second, which would be perhaps rather startlingly novel than in itself irrational, a *mezzo termine* has been found in handing it over to the directors. It is a very brief argument. Either the Queen or the Company, either A. or B., if anybody, must be charged with this duty of giving. It cannot be A., then it must be B. B., we doubt not, will find recipients. And so B. has done. And as long as we can find no better way of distributing it, let B.

keep it by all means. Part of it we now propose to take away, because we think that we can, and there can be no doubt that if we can we ought to do so, assure higher qualifications for important posts in the service, than chance and the exclusion of the very worst will give us: and the experiment is at least worth trying.

Hitherto, however, B. has had to fill year after year, by nomination to the Services, some 5,000 military and rather more than 800 civil appointments, and he has done so too with results not altogether unsatisfactory. Taken pretty much at random from all educated classes of England, subjected to slight tests of ability and acquirement scarce sufficient to secure a kind of average fitness, the officers of the Indian army are, to say the least, very far from a discredit to the Company that furnishes such an average. There are ordinary and extraordinary men among them, of course. Some have raised the objection, that the high aristocracy have hardly their share in the nominations of the merchant kings. Doubtless, if her Majesty's ministers had the patronage, we might expect to see more Honourables decorating the list of the Services. But that advantage, however great, may be relinquished with endurable regret, so long as it may be said with truth of the Services, as it is now said by the only formidable assailant of the Company, that the members of both are one and all gentlemen. High birth would not always give that, and could not give more. That is the only chivalrous title which has retained, and until every man is a gentleman will

retain, its meaning. Admitting, moreover, if only on the experience of Affghanistan, that the son of a saddler or the son of an innkeeper may be a brave man, a good man, and a gentleman, and fit to command gentlemen, we may be well content to leave in the hands, which certainly have not misused it, the patronage of most of the nominations to the Indian army. It must have been the simplest part of the problem to be solved by Government, to determine whether they should leave with the directors the nomination to posts requiring only a passable share of average legs, arms, moral and mental qualities.

The case is different when we look at posts confessedly requiring more than average ability to fill them thoroughly well, such as the scientific branches of the military service, and high civil appointments generally. And with regard to the latter, the question is, first, whether we are to have a covenanted Service, that is, one limited in numbers, separately trained from youth, and exclusively eligible to certain offices; second, how that service is to be filled; these are certainly among the most important questions which can be asked and answered in England regarding the internal administration of India.

Let us look for a moment at what, between favouritism, tests, and education, the Indian Government has given us in this line. If, examining India through the by no means achromatic glass of Mr. Phillimore, you could see the directors turning loose, year by year, upon the land, a swarm of youthful

Verres, fresh from Haileybury, not to govern, but to plunder, you might hesitate in your indulgence to nepotism. But the case is not exactly so. It may or may not be by any merit of theirs, it may but be by the marvellous fortune of themselves, and through them of England, that they have been led to an opposite result. It was by no deliberate foresight of their own that through the paths of commerce they almost unwillingly stumbled on empire; and the character of the chief instruments of their rule has been framed by the same marvellous and providential destiny. It was their constitution as a trading Company, which, through the natural instruments of such a Company, its young *adscripti*, covenanted apprentices of the desk or writers, rising to be factors and merchants, gave them an institution like no other existing among Englishmen—the Indian Civil Service. How remote, how incapable of anticipation, yet how certain, is the connection of cause and result. It is because India was conquered by traders, that in India alone of the British dominions we see a class of rulers trained from boyhood to govern. It is worth thinking of; it is worth understanding, if we can: perhaps it may have a lesson for us some day. If Manchester can for a moment see through the "atmosphere of cotton flakes" which hides from her, but after all is not, the universe, let gigantic Manchester, taking the opportunity of a strike, look for a leisure hour at tiny Haileybury, and try to comprehend the meaning and results of that ugly little barrack.

The Indian Civil Service, as all the world knows,

has had, and has, its great men, and so has its military brother; but to go through a list of illustrious known, and perhaps equally illustrious unknown, were useless. The praise of such men is remembered when their services are needed, and only forgotten when the Government of India is to be abused. The Home Government shows its sense of the value of a Clerk or of a Metcalfe when it borrows them for the Cape or for Canada, paying economically for the loan in Falklands. But I speak not of such great men, but of the class of which they are the supreme expression, and at a somewhat earlier stage of their progress. The type of the young "Indian" home on furlough is as distinct in our days as that of the old nabob; though of course less broadly marked, Joe Sedley is an impossible caricature of one side of him—of a very indifferent bargain of the Company. There is room for a very different picture.

We have seen them,—and to have seen them is among our pleasantest reminiscences,—these vice-kings of India, returned to England for their three years' furlough, the English boys of eighteen expanded into the experienced Indians of thirty-two or thirty-three, with that unmistakable mark upon them of the man who has dealt with and ruled other men, blended with a kind of shy simplicity and anxious correctness of manner, as of one in a new world not quite familiar to him—full of sense and confident knowledge on their own subjects; by no means ashamed of them, but keeping them a little in the background, being especially anxious,

as it were, to reassert their rights of English citizenship—say rather, gentlemanship; and in so doing to be supported by your countenance and opinion, which, as that of a man who has lived all his life in England, is treated with a deference which you feel to be embarrassingly beyond your merits: men, wise as serpents, harmless as doves—men, with the mysteries of the finances of half a dozen provinces, or the ravelled skeins of the intrigues of half a dozen native Courts, clear and producible at a moment's notice, in their heads; yet anxious that you should advise them as to the correct stall at the Opera, or make them happy by approving their choice of a tailor. What shall I say? Men at whom you slightly smile, and whom you earnestly admire. English before all things—resolute that they will look, be, and ever be English—with a serious resolution, of which these trifles are but the trifling unconscious indication; yet next to English, *Indian;* men, whose real sympathy with the people, whom the Indian reformers accuse them of habitually oppressing, exceeds that of the Reform Society very nearly as much as their knowledge of them exceeds that of the Reform Society. They will not bore you with their subject—they are afraid of your Bond Street or Temple indifference; perhaps they are afraid of being supposed to know nothing about any other subject. But let them get together! Let two or three be gathered together in the name of Agra or of the Deccan, and do you, if you are wise, sit and listen to them. You will hear them talking as men only talk of what they care about

and understand. Hard words—jummabundies, talooks, zemindarries—cannot disguise from you the fact that these men have dealt with serious interests, have done serious things, have earnestly, and in general wisely, put their hands to a work in which they felt no factitious or passing interest.

It is the rarest of things to trace in them indifference to their work or its results. Like other mortals, they grumble; but their grumblings are certainly the least selfish to be heard from any class of officials. It is twenty to one but that each of them has his grievance; and that grievance generally is not that A. or B. had this or that collectorate which ought to have been mine, but that, "do what I could, I could not get Government to see the importance of such and such improvements,—to appreciate the demerits of that embezzling rogue of a Bramin, who, for the benefit of the community, really ought to have worked on the roads as a convict, instead of being merely dismissed;—or to appreciate the amount of the return which, as I demonstrated in not more than six hundred pages, was inevitably to follow on the completion of such or such a work." These, and such, are their grievances. —Of course I do not mean by this statement to prejudge the question between the Civil Service gentlemen and the Government: it merely illustrates the interest felt by the former in his duty.

What will strike an observer among, and perhaps above, all things, is the tone in which they speak of the natives of India as a class; a genuine, not a canting tone: not complimentary, often decidedly the

reverse; but never sneering or contemptuous; sympathetic, without sentimental falsehood: never other than calm, practical, appreciating. To describe it by a negative. If you are fortunate enough to have a young acquaintance in Her Majesty's army who has been stationed some two or three years in India, you may find the opposite of it in him. Good fellow and gentleman as he is, it is painful to hear him speak of the natives of India. A flippant indifference and contempt are the main characteristics: perilously relieved, if he be a serious young man, with a dash of missionary fanaticism. The contrast may make you think twice before you assent to the common abuse of the monopoly of the Civil Service. And, on the whole, it is strange if you do not feel some national pride, as well as the satisfaction, consequent on seeing the tools in the right hands, when you say to yourself, "Who are the rulers, in the main, of India? Eight hundred men, most of them such as these."

A class of men like these, as good as these, and as much better than these as possible, is what you must still get, if you intend to continue to hold India. If you do not get something nearly as good, you will lose it, and you ought to lose it. A worse class you might very easily get, if you chose on grounds of theoretic preference to abolish a profession, and substitute for it a scramble.

But if there is one point on which argument is superfluous, or nearly so, it is perhaps this, that the Indian Civil Service should be maintained separate

and exclusive; exclusive, that is, in the sense that certain appointments are only to be filled by persons taken from it—persons who have undergone its training and passed its trials. In any other sense certainly the less exclusive it is the better.

There are reasons enough in the nature of things for attempting to create such a class: reasons in the infinite possible abuses of a patronage unchecked in its choice, in the necessity of limiting to at least tolerably qualified persons, the selection of the Governors-General and local governors; in the need of a complete security, in short, against such pleasant incidents as that which Mr. Macaulay has immortalized in his perhaps apocryphal account of the interview between Lord Clive and the recommended European adventurer, cheaply bought off from doing more mischief by the "black mail" of a £10,000 bribe out of the revenue of India. In this respect the existence of the covenanted service has been absolutely efficient. But that which above all recommends the system of a regularly trained and exclusive Service is, on the whole, simply its unparalleled success; naturally unparalleled because we have nothing else like it; but singularly striking. The testimony of so competent a judge as Mr. Campbell will doubtless convince many who might not have admitted the result *à priori*, of the fact, that between instruction and practice, and, the essential item to all real excellence, real interest in their work, a degree of general ability is developed which, considering the original materials, is as remarkable as the fact is instructive—"The greater part by

far," he says, "are or have been, at some time of their career, marvellously efficient."

Nor is the general conclusion shaken at all by the fact, that in the judicial branch the service has been less successful than the administrative, and needs improving. Considering that the proposed composition of the Service is average, or only raised above the average by the professed exclusion of incapables who nevertheless are not always excluded, the wonder is, that the "fools," as Mr. Campbell briefly calls them, should be decided exceptions. The admitted solution of the deficiencies of the bench is that, besides the absence of regular legal training, under present circumstances, the thickheads or weaker energies tend naturally towards the judicial posts; and doubtless, though it sounds strange to English ideas, it is better that it should be so. A bad Collector is a worse thing than a bad judge: and accordingly the bad bargains are shelved on the bench, comparatively out of harm's way. This is no argument against the principle of a covenanted Service; but it is an argument for taking further securities against unfit persons entering that Service.

Neither should we admit too entirely the sweeping deduction against the judicial branch to be drawn at first sight from a number of somewhat outrageous blunders collected in a pamphlet. In England, the administration of justice is generally thought not to be one of the points on which we are deficient, at least so far as our law will permit justice to be done; yet have we not heard of Arabi-

niana? and who can doubt that a satirical research into the records of Quarter Sessions might produce an amusing and instructive set of Collectanea? a singular "corpus juris," to be entitled, perhaps, the Institutes of Chairmen? However, the evil is admitted, and ought to be corrected, if corrigible. Some infusion of law into education may do something, but not much; neither is it possible or desirable to make proficiency in legal studies a conspicuous branch in early education. The real thing is to prevent the entrance of unfit men; to admit none but really able men. How is this to be done? By competition, if at all. The Government are right in despairing of any other way.

Much might be said in favour of tests of absolute rather than comparative fitness; of the propriety of not going out of your way on a search perhaps delusive, after a better man when you have a man good enough: but it is needless to dwell on what Mr. Macaulay has exhausted, were it not the case that competition is really the only way in which the maintenance of a high standard, that is, a standard excluding many, has been found possible. In one way or other, all simple tests of fitness fail. Perhaps no duty requires a sterner effort of conscience than that of the examiner whose rejection is "to ruin the prospects" of a poor dull lad, and half-break the hearts of a family. And in fact, the conscience of man is not stern enough for the duty. From the slight indulgence of examiner after examiner, all tending in the same direction, the inevitable result follows. The standard is lowered for

the average capacity; or by skilful "cramming" at it, the clumsy leaper is, one way or other, after trials, blundered over the bar.

It is a singular thing that the question, whether, in a handful of boys, the choice resulting from competition is likely to fall on the cleverest, or not, should ever have been raised at all. It is not unamusing to see Mr. Macaulay called upon to defend the claims of scholarship, in the face of a House of Commons reverent even to superstition of a Latin quotation, if it be but from the Eton grammar.

The right divine to govern has been asserted for kings; but that is an old fashion now. Lord Ellenborough, one of the cleverest men in the House of Lords, is the first to assert a parallel right for blockheads. A little dulness suiteth well in a master of a college, says Fuller. A little absence of literature, says Lord Ellenborough, consorteth well with the qualities of a ruler. Certainly, if a little learning is dangerous, and much learning disqualifying, as tending to make its possessor, if not mad, imbecile, it is rather difficult to assign a proper scope to education. In Bacon's time it was different. Raleigh was scholar as well as soldier; but now, it seems, knowledge is the absence of power. *Bene natus, bene vestitus*, if you will; but, above all, *mediocriter doctus*—that is the qualification for a man of action.

"Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,"

our edition of Horace used to read; Lord Ellen-

borough's had it, we presume, *submovet.* Like other men, Lord Ellenborough pines for the quality which he has not—deficiency in book-learning, freedom from the niceties of a cultivated intellect. Were a scholarship to be given by competition among the enemies of the Company in both Houses of Parliament, I should feel greatly disposed to bet on Mr. Phillimore for the first place, and on Lord Ellenborough for the second. Yet, in spite of Cambridge and Somnauth odes, the ex-Governor-General was undoubtedly an able administrator; and though he occasionally committed an escapade, which duller people would have avoided, yet can there be no greater error than to suppose that dulness is safe. Much duller men have made much greater blunders. In any view, I protest against this theory, as an encroachment. The blockheads have a fair inheritance already; the world, in how many senses, is practically theirs, and constructed for their benefit. Let not their indefeasible right to sit in its highest chairs of rule be theoretically conceded.

The overwhelming mass of instances adduced by Mr. Macaulay does not accord with what, but for paradox, would have been naturally expected. Why, after all, should not an examination be a test? What makes a clever boy, or a clever man? *Mens sana in corpore sano:* let that be assumed as your starting-point; add to it a little more quickness of perception, a little more clearness of head, a little more energy of character than are common, and you have a boy superior to the average of his neighbours—one who will beat them in everything, and

as much in one thing as in another, where physical deficiencies or strong peculiar bent of character do not interfere. Such, generally speaking, is the mould of an able—what we call a superior man; not a man of genius, not one in whom some peculiar faculty is preternaturally developed,—but one in whom faculties, balanced in the proper proportion, are raised somewhat above the common standard. Not unfrequently this depends even more on the energy with which the faculties are applied, than on their natural superiority. In such a case, talent, as it is called, is the direct result of, and in fact is one with, character. This, or something like this, is the comparative rationale—the relation to others—of the men who, with fair chances, attain comparative success. These are the successful barristers—the useful leading members of Parliament (when their kind destiny has conferred upon them, besides a well-constituted brain and nerves, some thousands a year); and these are the men whom a well-planned and well-conducted examination would eliminate from the average mass. Genius, limited and intense in one direction, is another thing; the grand practical genius resulting from a happy balance of separate qualities, each carried to an uncommon height, is, though nearly allied in kind to practical ability, still distinguished from it by its rarity. Such genius would sometimes, but not always, be detected by such an examination; but no process that you could invent would be sure to detect it;—even a lottery is not infallible. After all, the highest of all men in this kind,—Cæsar, Hanni-

bal, Alexander, nay, Octavius, excel alike late and early. In rulers of this stamp, the vivid fire burns through life; and they unquestionably would beat their boyish competitors. Cases undoubtedly there are of superior minds slow in development, with whom the bent to noble things, the serious and manly turn from boyhood to manhood, comes later than to their contemporaries. It may be by chance, and lack of sphere or opportunity; it may be, too, in such cases, that up to three, four, or five and twenty, the body was too strong for the slowly-developing mind; it may be that, in Clive or Cromwell, Alma ascends slowly; or that, to quote the more modern and finer image,

> "He rode a winged horse, that would have flown,
> But that his heavy rider kept him down."

Yet the balance is righted at last, and the great soul makes its way to greatness. To say that an examiner cannot pick us out these men, is simply to say that he is not prophetic and infallible. We must trust men to the chances of life: if they live, we shall hear of them. The chance which might have given them a nomination to the Civil Service, may now give them a cadetship; and they may find their way to posts of rule, through that which for each "young gentleman's right education" is a school certainly not destitute of merit, the army. It need scarce be added, that such men are not the depreciators of early knowledge; on the contrary, it is often an instructive and almost touching feature in their greatness, that they are disposed to

look not with contempt or dislike, but with a simple and boyish reverence, upon the superior cultivation of men essentially far inferior to themselves. It is not a real objection to competition, that it does not distinguish early from the mass men who are really *not* distinguished from it early. It is surely enough that it excludes all the dull men, and gives us most of the clever. The contrary belief is a paradox founded on misrepresentation of a few exceptions, adopted by clever men, to hurt the feelings of other clever men; by mediocrity, as a comfort to its vanity; and by very few, after all.

By all means, then, let competition be tried. In introducing it as the test of admission to Indian civil employment, we may be taking a greater step than we knew. If it answers in giving us the fittest men for one kind of rule and business, we may try it for another Service. England, too, may be destined to see reopened in a better form, perhaps a very different one, the *carrière aux talens*, which was, rightly, perhaps, but not without serious and evil consequences, shut by the Reform Bill to talents not aided by wealth or connection. Competition then fairly conducted does away with certain evils: it may introduce others. I by no means doubt that it will give, on the whole, a superior set of men; it will exclude all the dull men; perhaps some of the clever too; but that cannot be helped.

If, as may be expected, the greatness of the India prizes tempts a very large competition, those ultimately named will be selected from a very large number. When Mr. Campbell, for instance, says

that he wishes not as now 4 in 6 to pass, but 2 in 6, the proportion given by competition will be more truly 2 in 16 or in 60. Supposing the system to answer, they will be, on the whole, a very clever set of young men; and they will be emphatically told as much, between the ages of, say, seventeen to twenty-one, by the very fact of their election. A system which gives us young men selected from boyhood as an *élite* body, may bring serious results. It is not a trifling experiment. It is certainly possible that the management of such a body may have moral difficulties of its own. Were the training exclusively professional, the difficulties would be less. There is no reason for apprehending any very marked effect on the character of the young engineer or physician. The limited and definite nature of their pursuits is a safeguard. It is otherwise when, side by side with the process of education, moves the vague yet exalting idea, "You are one out of many, chosen for higher qualities, to aid in the business of ruling." Such a class would have been a class of exclusive priests in the old world; in two centuries before our own time, they would have been Jesuits; to-day they will still be, with the blessing of Heaven, English gentlemen of a high order, mentally and morally. To say that this difficulty is to be met by the cultivation of a high sense of duty, of a noble and humble spirit, is to say nothing directly practical. Possibly Mr. Campbell's suggestion of attaching the East-India College to Cambridge may be found important in this point of view, as bringing the elected in contact with

many among whom they would find their equals. I doubt not that the connection will be possible, but the difficulty should not be forgotten.

Other questions of great importance, but incapable of solution by Parliament, connect themselves with the scheme of competition. It is difficult to overrate for instance the importance due to the character of the examination itself. It should be a test of talent rather than of amount of acquirement; of capacity and cultivation, not of cramming. It should moreover be, not in studious learning, especially on their future career, but rather in the best branches of a general education. Paley appears to be an item in the present preliminary examinations which might be discontinued with decisive advantage. Who cannot get up a book in the way of question and answer? Classical scholarship, as many people may think, has no peculiarly direct bearing on an Indian career; but between a copy of Latin verses and a paper of Paley questions, as alternative tests of talent, I prefer unhesitatingly the former. But it is impossible to do more than indicate the principle which should be aimed at.

On the whole, then, I adhere with hope to the plan of the Government for the future supply of the Civil Service, perhaps, in its direct and indirect consequences, the most important point in their measure. There are but few other points of the subject which can be noticed, and those briefly.

Whether the circuitous intercourse between the Board of Control and the directors can be simplified; piles of correspondence got rid of; references

home made on fewer, and those essential points, and the comprehension of such points facilitated by condensing rather than copying, by substituting, as Mr. Campbell says, one secretary to compile in the place of fifty clerks to copy; these are questions not unimportant, but certainly not insurmountable by common executive sense, and absolutely nothing in comparison with the general questions already discussed: whether the Home Government should be double; if double, how the second branch shall be constituted; and what we are to do with the patronage, and especially with the Civil Service.

To these questions, comprising almost the whole aspect of the Indian question on which at present English opinion can be profitably employed, I have thought it better to limit most of the preceding remarks.

They are perhaps the most important of all the questions which can come within the scope of English legislation on the subject of India. And if superfluous care may be thought to have been spent on points like that of the double government, settled for the time by the ministerial bill, it is because the same reasons which led to so much error being, as it appears to me, put forth on these topics, are still in operation, and may lead to the renewal of the attempts whenever time shall bring another opportunity. The enemy is repulsed, and perhaps more easily than was expected, yet let the garrison of Leadenhall Street look well to their walls, for they have not had the last of him.

I do not mean to detract from the importance of

the question which comes next in order: the relation of the Government in India to the Home Government. Doubtless it is true to a great extent, that India must in the main be governed in India. And if the resolution were ever taken to annihilate the check of the directors, the heart of the present system, which rightly managed may secure for India a great part of the advantage of representation in England, and to hand over India to a ruler under no check but that of parliamentary responsibility, it would not be in London that I should wish to place that ruler. The President of the Board of Control should in that case be nothing, or a mere link to connect the Governor-General with England. He, with the more immediate faculties for doing good, more of the knowledge and capacity which comes from actual eyesight and handling, more of that interest in the well-doing of the country under his control of which a local ruler, if he be not a thoroughly bad or thoroughly feeble man, can hardly divest himself; which, if he be an able man, whether good or bad, he will certainly feel strongly. He should be as far as possible absolute and uncontrolled in India. Of course he would be ultimately responsible to Parliament—responsible as Warren Hastings was, if that is wished for.

It would not be difficult to devise on paper some way by which it might be arranged that he should "give his accounts" at the end of his stewardship. A viceroy almost uninitiated has some powers of good as well as evil, which a Minister has not. He is more open to local ex-

perience, and less to home politics. It is only, however, as an alternative that I should prefer this course. If India is to have a nominally responsible, and actually irresponsible despot, let that despot be the Governor-General, and not the Minister. But at present we are dealing with a state of things in which the Home Government retains, and, constituted as it is, should retain, a substantial control. Viewed in this light, it yet seems probable that the interference from home, as hitherto exercised, is too minute. It seems probable that the great functionary to whom perforce and from the nature of the case the decision of peace or war is left, that is, of expenditure counted by millions, is too limited in his present power of dealing with expenses for public works counted by thousands. It would be absurd to attempt, without knowledge of details, to name a limit; but it is easy to see in what direction to look for a principle. An excessive caution in financial matters is an error on the right side for a government, considering what unlimited evil is implied in financial embezzlements. Still it is clear that not only the central, but the local governments, should have their hands as free as possible for improvements. The aim should be to give them as much freedom, not as little, as possible. It is true, too, that one inevitable result of what is itself inevitable — government by governors — is likely to be here, as elsewhere, the mis-spending of a good deal of money; each successive ruler having generally his own crotchet better or worse: *his* work, which is more important and more useful

than the works of all his predecessors. But so many of the wants of India must be of a class so patent and indisputable, that it might be hoped a less proportion than is usual would be misspent. Roads and railroads, irrigation and education; there seems no mistaking these, though, of course, the question where to make the railroads leaves the requisite margin for human blundering.

These things cannot be fully regulated by Acts of Parliament; much must be left floating to be settled by the joint discretion of the Home and of the Indian authorities. We must not confuse this case with the questions which may arise between a colony and the mother-country, as to the degree of legislative and financial power to be vested in the Local Parliament. There the power given is parted with and transferred; here it is still delegated. Parliament may properly interfere with the decision of the question affecting the amount of power which the mother-country is to give away; for in this case, a State deals with a separate though dependent State. Parliament, however, does not settle the relations between the Colonial Office and the Governor; neither can Parliament minutely regulate the relations between the Home Government and the Governor-General.

The degree of power exercised by a Governor or Governor-General in a country where within limits he is despotic, will depend on many things, but most of all on individual caprice or character. You may fix the numbers and powers of the Legislative Council for India, but you cannot enact wisdom in

a Governor-General. Neither can you, with whatever checks, do more than palliate the consequences of unwisdom. The experiment of guarding against the consequences of a careless choice by careful checking has often been tried; and we ought to know by this time that it has never succeeded. To choose as carefully, and to treat as liberally as possible, is a vague rule; but it embodies the right principle to follow.

None can be more aware than I, that I have touched but a few points of the vast subject which I now relinquish. Many have gone more deeply into its details, with, and without, accurate and extensive information; many have echoed a cry, and have fancied they were expressing a judgment. I may at least claim, in contrast with some of the latter class, credit for a degree of humility, which has limited my disquisition to points on which I have, not perhaps knowledge, but an opinion.

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WHAT IS A BAHAI?

NOTE.—"What is a Bahai?" was written as the fifth chapter of a book on the History and Teachings of the Bahai Movement, which the author hopes to publish next year, under the title of "An Introduction to the Bahai Movement." The manuscript of this chapter has been revised by Abdul Baha, who writes with regard to it: "In accordance with the suggestion of Miss E. J. Rosenberg, print and publish this fifth chapter separately, as it is profitable and advisable. The rest of the chapters will be perused when there is time."

J. E. E.

BOURNEMOUTH,
August, 1919.

WHAT IS A BAHAI?

BY

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NOTE.—The title below should read "What is a Bahai?" and not What is a Bahia? as printed.

WHAT IS A BAHIA?

By J. E. ESSLEMONT, M.B.

"Man must show forth fruits.
man, in the words of His Holiness the Spirit (*i.e.* Christ) is like a fruitless tree, and a fruitless tree is fit for fire."—*Baha'u'llah.*

Herbert Spencer said truly that by no political alchemy is it possible to get golden conduct out of leaden instincts, and it is equally true that by no political alchemy is it possible to make a golden society out of leaden individuals. The greatest teachers of mankind, however much or little they have concerned themselves with the enactment of social laws, have always insisted that the thing of first importance is right living on the part of the individual. In this respect Baha'u'llah is in entire agreement with previous prophets. The foundation on which depend all his plans for the prosperity and reformation of the world is the training of the individual into right relations with God and with his fellow-creatures. In order that the Kingdom of God may be established in the world, it must first be established in the hearts of men. In proceeding to the study of the Bahai teachings, therefore, it will be well to commence with the instructions of Baha'u'llah for the individual life, and try to form a clear picture of what it means to be a Bahai.

DEVOTION TO GOD

When asked on one occasion, "What is a Bahai?" Abdul Baha replied, "To be a Bahai simply means to love all the world; to love humanity and try to serve it; to work for universal peace and universal brotherhood." On another occasion he said that a man may be a Bahai even if he has never heard the name of Baha'u'llah:—

> "The man who lives the life according to the teachings of Baha'u'llah is already a Bahai, On the other hand, a man may call himself a Bahai for fifty years, and if he does not live the life he is not a Bahai. An ugly man may call himself handsome, but he deceives no one, and a black man may call himself white, yet he deceives no one, not even himself!"
>
> —*Abdul Baha in London*, p. 109.

A Bahai who has not heard of Baha'u'llah, however, is like a plant that is growing in the shade. Although it knows not the sun, it is nevertheless absolutely dependent upon it. Baha'u'llah, Christ and all the other great prophets are spiritual Suns, without whose rays no human flower can find its perfect form and fragrance, Baha'u'llah being the Sun of this 'Day' in which we live. The sunshine of former days still warms the soil and air, and had these suns not shone, the earth would have been cold and dead to-day, but it is the sunshine of to-day that alone can open the buds and ripen the fruits which the suns of former days have kissed into life.

For the attainment of the Bahai life

in all its fulness, conscious and direct relations with Baha'u'llah are as necessary as is sunshine for the unfoldment of the lily or the rose. A perfect Bahai is one who is wholly *devoted to God through Baha'u'llah.* He worships not the human personality of Baha'u'llah, but the Glory of God manifest through that personality. He reverences Christ and Mohammed and all God's Messengers to mankind, but he recognizes Baha'u'llah as the bearer of God's Message for the new age in which we live, the Supreme Manifestation, whose coming all previous prophets have heralded, and for whom they came to prepare the way.

Intellectual assent to a creed does not make a man a Bahai, or a Moslem, or a Christian; nor does rectitude of outward conduct. Baha'u'llah, like his predecessors, requires of his would-be followers whole-hearted and complete devotion. There must be no compromise, no reservation, no half-measures. Willing and entire surrender of all that one is and all that one has is the only way to acceptance. Such a demand from anyone but God could not possibly be agreed to by any free and right-thinking individual; but Baha'u'llah speaks as the Ambassador of God. He claims that his words are the Bounty of God. Previous ambassadors of God have been just as uncompromising in their claims. Christ said: "If any man

will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." He also declared: "No man can serve two masters . . . . Ye cannot serve God and Mammon."

In different words, all the Divine Manifestations have made the same demand from their followers, of entire self-surrender; and the history of religions shows clearly that while that demand has been frankly recognised and accepted, religion has flourished, despite all earthly opposition, despite affliction, persecution and martyrdom of the believers. On the other hand, whenever compromise has crept in, and "respectability" has taken the place of complete consecration, then religion has decayed. It has become fashionable, but has lost its power to save and transform, its power to work miracles. True religion has never yet been fashionable. God grant that one day it may become so; but it is still true, as in the days of Christ, that "Straight is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be who find it." The gateway of spiritual birth, like the gateway of natural birth, admits men only one by one, and without encumbrances. If, in the future, more people succeed in entering that way than in the past, it will not be because of any widening of the gate, but because of a

greater disposition on the part of men to make the "great surrender" which God demands; because long and bitter experience has at last brought them to see the folly of choosing their own way instead of God's way.

Let us now see what is implied in the definition we have given.

SEARCH FOR TRUTH. Acceptance of the Bahai Religion implies, in the first place, acknowledgment of Baha'u'llah as a Manifestation of God, and of his commands as the Commands of God. Bahais are not, however, asked to take this step blindly. On the contrary, Baha'u'llah warns all men most emphatically against blind acceptance of any authority.

He enjoins justice on all his followers and defines it as

> "the freedom of man from superstition and imitation, so that he may discern the Manifestations of God with the eye of Oneness, and consider all affairs with keen sight."
>
> —*Words of Wisdom.*

Again he says:—

> "Justice is loved above all. Neglect it not if thou desirest me. By it thou wilt be strengthened to perceive things with thine own eyes and not by the eyes of others, to know them by thine own knowledge and not by the knowledge of any in the world."—*Hidden Words.*

We must *see* and *realise* for ourselves the glory of God manifest in the human temple of Baha'u'llah, otherwise the Bahai

Faith is to us but a name without meaning. The call of the prophets to mankind has always been that men should open their eyes, not shut them; use their reason, not suppress it. It is clear seeing and free thinking, not servile credulity that can enable men to penetrate the clouds of prejudice, to shake off the fetters of blind imitation, and attain to the realisation of the truth of a new Revelation.

The Bahai must be a fearless seeker after truth, but he must not confine his search to the material plane. His spiritual perceptive powers must be awake as well as his physical. He must use all the faculties God has given him for the acquisition of truth, believing nothing without valid and sufficient reason. The "Inner Light" of his own judgment and intuition must be the final authority by which he tests the validity of all other claims to authority. If his heart is pure, and his mind free from prejudice, the earnest seeker will not fail to recognise the Divine Glory in the temple of the Manifestation.

Baha'u'llah further declares:—

> "Man should know his own self, and know those things that lead to loftiness or to baseness, to shame or to honour, to wealth or to poverty."
>
> —*Tablet of Tarazat.*

He also says:

> "The root of all knowledge is the knowledge of God: Glory be to Him! and this knowledge is impossible save through His Manifestation."
>
> —*Words of Wisdom.*

The Manifestation is the Perfect Man, the great Exemplar for mankind, the First Fruit of the tree of humanity. Until we know Him we do not know the latent possibilities within ourselves. Christ told us to consider the lilies how they grow, and declared that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. The lily grows from a very unattractive-looking bulb. If we had never seen a lily grow, never seen the matchless grace of the perfect bloom, how could we know the reality contained in that bulb? We might dissect it most carefully and examine it most minutely, but we should never discover the dormant beauty which the gardener knows how to awaken. So, until we have seen the Glory of God revealed in the Manifestation, we can have no idea of the divine beauty latent in our own nature and in that of our fellows. It is by reflecting as a mirror the Glory of God that we are "transformed into the same image, from glory to glory." By knowing and loving the Manifestation of God and following His teachings we are enabled, little by little, to realise the potential divinity within ourselves; then, and not till then, does the meaning and purpose of life and of the universe become apparent to us. As Tagore says:—

> "A handful of dust could hide Your signal when I did not know its meaning.
>
> "Now that I am wiser, I read it in all that hid it before.

"It is painted in petals of flowers; waves flash it from their foam; hills hold it high on their summits.

"I had my face turned from You, therefore I read the letters awry and knew not their meaning."—*Fruit Gathering.*

LOVE OF GOD. To know the Manifestation of God means also to love him. The one is impossible without the other. According to Baha'u'llah, the purpose of man's creation is that he may know God and adore Him. He says in one of his tablets:—

"The cause of the creation of all contingent beings has been love, as it is said in the well-known tradition 'I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known. Therefore I created the creation in order to be known.'"

And in the *Hidden Words* he says:—

"O son of man! I loved thy creation, therefore I created thee. Wherefore love Me, that I may acknowledge thee and in the spirit of life confirm thee.

"O son of existence! Love Me that I may love thee. If thou lovest Me not, My love can never reach thee. Know this, O servant.

"O son of the Highest Sight! I have placed in thee a Spirit from Me that thou mightest be My lover: why hast thou forsaken Me and sought to love another?"

To be God's lover! To have God as his closest companion and most intimate friend, his Peerless Beloved, in Whose Presence is fulness of joy. That is the sole aim and object of life for the Bahai. And to love God means to love everything and everybody, for all are of God. The real

Bahai is the perfect lover. He loves all with a pure heart, fervently. He hates no one. He despises no one, for he has learnt to see the Face of the Beloved in every face, and to find His traces everywhere. His love knows no limit of sect, nation, class, or race. Baha'u'llah says :

> "In former ages it hath been said : 'To love one's native land is faith.' But the Tongue of Grandeur hath said in the day of this Manifestation : 'Glory is not his who loves his own country, but glory is his who loves his kind.'"

And again :—

> "Blessed is he who prefers his brother before himself ; such an one is of the people of Baha."

In another tablet he says :

> "All should look to love, and live in perfect unity, so that there should not be seen any difference between them, and they should share with one another loss and gain, hardship and welfare, and accidents."

Abdul Baha tells us we must be "as one soul in many bodies, for the more we love each other, the nearer we shall be to God." To a Christian minister he said :—

> "All the prophets were sent, all the books were revealed, that the law of love might be promoted . . . Let us have love and more love, a love that melts all opposition, a love that conquers all foes, a love that sweeps away all barriers, a love that aboundeth in charity, large-heartedness, tolerance, and noble striving, a love that triumphs over all obstacles, a boundless, an irresistible, sweeping love ! Ah me ! Each one must be a sign of love, a sea of love, a centre of love, a sun of love, a star of love, a haven of love, a pearl of love, a palace of love, a mountain of

> love, a world of love, a universe of love! Hast thou love? Then thy power is irresistible. Hast thou sympathy? Then all the stars will sing thy praise."—*Diary of Mirza Ahmad Schrab*, June 9th, 1914.

SEVERANCE. Devotion to God implies also severance from everything that is not God—severance, that is, from attachment to selfish or worldly desires. The path of God may lie through riches or poverty, health or sickness, through palace or dungeon, rose-garden or torture-chamber. Whichever it be, the Bahai will accept his lot with "radiant acquiescence." Severance does not, however, mean stolid indifference to one's surroundings or passive resignation to evil conditions; nor does it mean despising the good things which God has created. The Bahai is neither callous, nor apathetic nor ascetic. He finds abundant interest, abundant work and abundant joy in the Path of God, but he will not deviate one hair's breadth from that path in pursuit of pleasure nor hanker after anything that God has denied him. When a man becomes a Bahai, God's will is his will, and to be at cross purposes with God would be torture for him. In the Path of God no terrors can appal him, no troubles dismay. The light of Love irradiates his darkest days, transmutes suffering into joy, and martyrdom itself into an ecstacy of bliss. Life is lifted to the heroic plane and death becomes a glad adventure. Baha'u'llah says:

"He that hath in his heart even less than a mustard seed of love for anything beside Me, verily he cannot enter My Kingdom."

—*Surat'ul'Hykl.*

"O son of humanity! If thou lovest Me, turn away from thyself; if My will thou seekest, regard not thine own, that thou mayest die in Me and I live in thee.

"O son of the earth! If thou desirest Me, desire no other than Me. If thou seekest My Beauty, withdraw thy gaze from the people of the world, for My Will and the will of another are like fire and water, and cannot be contained in the same mind and heart.

"O my servant! Free thyself from the worldly bond and escape from the prison of self. Appreciate the value of the time, for thou shalt never see it again, nor shalt thou find a like opportunity.

"O son of existence! Seek Martyrdom in my path with content in Me, and be thankful for My Decree. Thus mayest thou rest with Me in the Pavilion of Glory behind the veils of Might."

—*Hidden Words.*

OBEDIENCE. Devotion implies implicit obedience, even to commands for which the reason is not fully understood. At first sight this may seem to be incompatible with the warning against blind acceptance of authority, but in reality it is not so. The sailor implicitly obeys his captain's orders, even when he does not know the reason for them, but his acceptance of authority is not blind. He knows full well that the captain has served a thorough probation, and given ample proofs of competence as a navigator. Were it not so, he would be foolish indeed to serve under him. So the Bahai must

implicitly obey the Captain of his Salvation, but he will be foolish indeed if he has not first ascertained that this Captain has given ample proofs of trustworthiness. Having received such proofs, however, to refuse obedience would be even greater folly, for only by obedience to the wise master can we reap the benefits of his wisdom, and acquire that wisdom for ourselves. Be the captain never so wise, if none of the crew obey him, how shall the ship reach its port or the sailors learn the art of navigation? Christ clearly pointed out that obedience is the path to knowledge. He said:—

> "My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent Me. If any man will do His Will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of Myself."

Similarly Baha'u'llah says:—

> "Faith in God, and the knowledge of Him, cannot be fully attained except . . . . . by practising all that He hath commanded and all that is revealed in the Book from the Supreme Pen."—*Tablet of Tajalleyat.*

He also declares that obedience to the laws of God is the only way to true liberty:

> "It behoveth man to put himself under laws which will protect him against his own ignorance and against harm from the deceitful. Liberty is confined to compliance with the Commandments of God. If ye obey that which He hath revealed to you from the Heaven of Inspiration, ye shall find yourselves in perfect and pure freedom. The liberty which profits you is that which is confined to your servitude to God, the Truth. He who

tastes its sweetness will never exchange it for the possessions of the realms of the heavens and earths."

The laws of God forbid only those things which lead to the destruction of humanity: they command only those things which make for human progress. Whoever disobeys them arrogates to himself wisdom superior to that of God and sets his will in antagonism to God's Will.

Baha'u'llah writes of the "Manifestation of God":—

"Verily He is a Light which is not followed by darkness, and a rectitude which is proof against error . . .

"Verily He hath come from the Heaven of the Unseen, and with Him the Standard of 'He doeth whatsoever He willeth,' and the hosts of Power and Authority. As to all else save Him, it is incumbent upon them to cling unto that which He hath commanded of laws and ordinances; if one departs from them, even to the extent of a hair's breadth, all his deeds will go for naught . . . No one has a right to depart from the Ordinances of God and His Precepts, and whosoever departs therefrom is verily of the transgressors, in the Book of God, the Lord of the Great Throne . . . . . It is incumbent upon all to hold to His right Path."

—*Tablet of Ishrakat.*

Implicit obedience is not a popular virtue in these democratic days, and indeed entire submission to the will of any but God would be disastrous. But the Unity of Humanity can be attained only by complete harmony of each and all with the Divine Will. Unless that Will be clearly

revealed to the minds of men, and men agree to abandon all other leaders and to obey the Divine Messenger, then conflict and strife must go on, and men will continue to oppose each other, to devote a large part of their energies to cancelling the energies of their brother men, instead of all working harmoniously for the Glory of God and the common good.

SERVICE. Devotion to God implies a life of service to our fellow creatures. We can be of service to God in no other way. If we turn our backs on our fellow-men, we are turning our backs upon God. Christ said: "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto the least of these My brethren, ye did it not unto Me." So Baha'u'llah says:—

> "O son of man! If thou regardest Mercy, look not to that which benefits thyself; but hold to that which will benefit the servants (i.e. mankind). If thou regardest Justice, choose thou for others that which thou choosest for thyself."
>
> —*Words of Paradise.*

A life of monastic seclusion from the world is forbidden, and useful work is enjoined upon all. There must be no idle rich and no idle poor, no able-bodied parasites on society. The honest acquiring of wealth by means of arts, crafts and professions is commended; begging and gambling are forbidden, and all wealth must be regarded as a trust to be used for the promotion of the general well-being,

and not for mere selfish enjoyment. Abdul Baha says:—

> "In the Bahai Cause arts, sciences and all crafts are counted as worship. The man who makes a piece of notepaper to the best of his ability, conscientiously, concentrating all his forces on perfecting it, is giving praise to God. Briefly, all effort and exertion put forth by man from the fulness of his heart is worship, if it is prompted by the highest motives and the will to do service to humanity. This is worship: to serve mankind and to minister to the needs of the people. Service is prayer. A physician ministering to the sick, gently, tenderly, free from prejudice, and believing in the solidarity of the human race, he is giving praise."—*Paris Talks:* 2nd Ed., p. 164.

TEACHING. Every Bahai must take part in spreading the teachings, for only through obedience to this command, Abdul Baha has said, will he receive "the power and confirmation of the Spirit." There are no professional clergy amongst the Bahais. The teaching must be given "without money and without price," and no Bahai has any spiritual authority over others; all are brothers and sisters in the family of God. All cannot be eloquent speakers or ready writers, but all can teach by "living the life." Baha'u'llah says:—

> "The people of Baha must serve the Lord with wisdom, teach others by their lives and manifest the Light of God in their deeds. The effect of deeds is in truth more powerful than that of words . . . . The effect of the word spoken by the teacher depends upon his purity of purpose and his severance. Some are content with words, but the truth of words is tested by

deeds and dependent upon life. Deeds reveal the station of the man. The words must be according to what has proceeded from the mouth of the Will of God and is recorded in Tablets."
—*Words of Wisdom.*

In a Tablet to the Persian Bahais Abdul Baha wrote:—

"When the teacher delivers an address, first of all his own words must have a supreme and powerful effect over himself, so that everyone in turn may be affected. His utterance must be like a flame of fire, burning away the veils of dogmas, passion and desire. Moreover, he must be in the utmost state of humility and self-effacement, that others may be mindful. He must have attained the station of renunciation and annihilation. Then, and not till then, will he teach the people with the humility of the Supreme Concourse."—*Diary of Mirza Ahmad Sohrab*, July 27th, 1913.

The Bahai must, however, on no account attempt to coerce people into acceptance of his views, or to force his ideas on those who do not wish to hear them. He must *attract* people to the Kingdom of God, not try to drive them into it. He must be like the Good Shepherd who leads his flock, and charms the sheep by his music, rather than like the one who goes behind and urges them on with dog and stick.

Baha'u'llah says in *Hidden Words*:—

"O son of dust! The wise ones of the people are those who open not their lips unless they find listeners, as the cup-bearer never offers a cup unless he finds one who desires, and the lover cries not out from the depths of his heart until he attains to the beauty of the beloved.",

Again he says, in the *Tablet of Ishrakat*:—

"O people of Baha! Ye are the dawning-places of the Love and daysprings of the Favour of God. Defile not your tongues with cursing or execrating anyone, and guard your eyes from that which is not worthy. Show forth that which ye possess (i.e. Truth). If it be accepted, the aim is attained; if not, to rebuke or interfere with him who rejects it is vain. Leave him to himself, and advance towards God, the Protector, the Self-Subsistent. Be not the cause of sorrow, how much less of sedition and strife! It is hoped that ye may be nurtured in the shade of the tree of Divine Bounty and act as God hath willed for you. Ye are all leaves of one tree and drops of one sea."

COURTESY AND REVERENCE. The Bahai must be kind and courteous to all, whatever their age, sex, colour, caste, religion, race or status.

Baha'u'llah says:—

"O people of God! I exhort you to courtesy. Courtesy is, indeed, ... the lord of all virtues. Blessed is he who is adorned with the mantle of Uprightness and illumined with the light of Courtesy. He who is endowed with Courtesy (or Reverence) is endowed with a great station. It is hoped that this Oppressed One, and all, will attain to it, hold unto it and observe it. This is the Irrefutable Command which hath flowed from the pen of the Greatest Name."

Again and again he repeats:

"Let all the nations of the world consort with each other with joy and fragrance. Consort ye, O people with the people of all religions with joy and fragrance."

Abdul Baha says, in a letter to the Bahais of America:—

"Beware! Beware! Lest ye offend any heart!
Beware! Beware! Lest ye hurt any soul!
Beware! Beware! Lest ye deal unkindly toward any person!
Beware! Beware! Lest ye be the cause of hopelessness to any creature!
Should any one become the cause of grief to any one heart, or of despondency to any one soul, it were better for him to hide himself in the lowest depths of the earth than to walk upon the earth."

The Bahai believes that as the flower is hidden in the bud, so a Spirit from God dwells in the heart of every man, no matter how hard and unlovely his exterior; so he treats every man as the gardener cares for a rare and beautiful plant. He knows that no impatient interference on his part can open the bud into a blossom. As Tagore so beautifully says:—

"No, it is not yours to open buds into blossoms,
Shake the bud, strike it; it is beyond your power to make it blossom.
Your touch soils it, you tear its petals to pieces and strew them in the dust.
But no colours appear, and no perfume.
Ah! it is not for you to open the bud into a blossom.
He who can open the bud does it so simply.
He gives it a glance, and the life sap stirs through its veins.
At his breath the flower spreads its wings and flutters in the wind.
Colours flush out like heart longings, the perfume betrays a sweet secret.
He who can open the bud does it so simply."

—*Fruit-Gathering.*

As God alone can open the bud into a blossom, so He alone can change the

sinner into a saint (and He, with infinite patience and courtesy, awaits the sinner's good pleasure in the matter). The Bahai, therefore, like the gardener, tries only to secure for the budding plant the best conditions of soil, sunshine and moisture, and to supply the protection and guidance that are needed.

Meddlesome interference, roughness, harshness, coercion, are the very antithesis of the Bahai spirit which is ever gentle, patient, considerate, and reverent.

THE SIN-COVERING EYE.

On no subject are the Bahai Teachings more clear and emphatic than on the need to abstain from fault-finding. Christ spoke very strongly on the same subject, but it has become usual to regard the Sermon on the Mount as embodying "Counsels of Perfection" which the ordinary Christian cannot be expected to live up to. Both Baha'u'llah and Abdul Baha are at great pains to make clear that on this subject they mean all they say. We read in *Hidden Words*:—

> "O Son of man! Breathe not the sins of any man so long as thou art a sinner. If thou doest contrary to this command thou art not of Me: to this I bear witness.
>
> "O son of existence! Attribute not to any soul that which thou desirest not to be attributed to thyself . . . This is My command to thee: obey it."

Abdul Baha tells us:

> "To be silent concerning the faults of others,

to pray for them, and to help them, through kindness to correct their faults.

"To look always at the good and not at the bad. If a man has ten good qualities and one bad one, to look at the ten and forget the one; and if a man has ten bad qualities and one good one, to look at the one and forget the ten.

"Never to allow ourselves to speak one unkind word about another, even though that other be our enemy."

In a conversation with one of his followers, Abdul Baha said:—

"Waste not your precious time in fault-finding, and in back-biting . . . If some people come to you complaining of the faults of others, don't listen to them, don't let them breathe the faults of others in your presence. Tell them: 'I have not come here to engage my time with these things. I am not a judge. I have come to summon the people to the Kingdom of Abha, to call you to unity and concord . . . Friends, it is high time for you to throw away these tales, these barren stories . . . . . This day is the day of joy and fragrance. These petty back-bitings, and jealousies make one lose all traces of spirituality . . . . . cause one to become cold and pessimistic, and throw one headlong into the depths of despair and haunting hopelessness.

"You must not listen to anyone complaining about another, for no sooner do you listen to one than you must listen to someone else, and thus the circle will be enlarged endlessly. Therefore, O friends, let us come together, forget all our self-thoughts, be of one accord and unite in the cry of Ya-Baha-el-Abha O Glory of the most Glorious!"

HUMILITY. While we are commanded to overlook the faults of others, and see their virtues, we are commanded, on the other hand, to find out our own

faults and take no account of our virtues. Baha'u'llah says in *Hidden Words:*—

"O son of existence! Why hast thou overlooked thine own faults and art observing defects in my servants? Whoever does this is condemned by Me.

"If the fire of self overcome you, be mindful to remember your own faults, and speak not evil of my creatures, because each one of you is more conscious and better informed of his own self than of my creatures."

Abdul Baha says:—

"Dissatisfaction with one's self is a sign of progress. The soul who is satisfied with himself is the manifestation of Satan, and the person who is not contented with himself is the manifestation of the Clement One. If a person has a thousand good qualities he must not look at them; nay rather he must strive to find out his own defects and imperfections . . . . However much a man may progress, yet he is imperfect, because there is always a point ahead of him. No sooner does he look up towards that point than he becomes dissatisfied with his own condition and aspires to attain to that. Praising one's own self is the sign of selfishness."

—*Diary of Mirza Ahmad Sohrab*, 1914.

Again he says:—

"Let your life be an emanation of the Kingdom of Christ. He came not to be ministered unto, but to minister . . . . In the religion of Baha'u'llah all are servants and maid-servants, brothers and sisters. As soon as one feels a little better, a little superior to the rest, he is in a dangerous position, and unless he casts away the seed of such an evil thought, he is not a fit instrument for the service of the Kingdom."

—*Diary of Mirza Ahmad Sohrab*, 1914.

The reason for the difference of atttitude

towards our own faults and towards those of others becomes obvious on a little reflection. It is simply that each man must "work out his own salvation." We can, with God's help, rid ourselves of our own faults, but by no effort, however powerful, can we rid our neighbour of his faults. "God Himself," says Abdul Baha, "cannot compel the soul to become spiritual. The exercise of the free human will is necessary. We can point the why, and show the example." The will to be good is not to be aroused by cavilling and fault-finding, for "Hatred never ceases by hatred, but hatred ceases only by love."

Although we must find out and sincerely repent of our sins, the practice of confession to priests or others is definitely forbidden. Baha'u'llah says in *Glad Tidings:*—

"The sinner when his heart is free from all save God, must seek forgiveness from God alone. Confession before the servants is not permissible, for it is not the means or the cause of Divine Forgiveness. Such confession before the creatures leads to one's humiliation and abasement, and God—exalted be His Glory—does not wish for the humiliation of His servants. Verily He is Compassionate and Beneficent. The sinner must, between himself and God, beg for mercy from the Sea of Mercy and implore pardon from the Heaven of Forgiveness."

TRUTHFULNESS AND HONESTY.

Baha'u'llah says in the *Tablet of Tarazat:*—

"Verily, Honesty is the door of tranquillity to all in the world, and the sign of glory from the presence of the Merciful One. Whosoever

attains thereto has attained to treasuries of wealth and affluence. Honesty is the greatest door to the security and tranquillity of mankind. The stability of every affair always depends on it, and the worlds of honour, glory and affluence are illuminated by its light . . . . . .

"O people of Baha! Honesty is the best garment for your temples and the most splendid crown for your heads. Adhere thereto by the command of the Omnipotent Commander."

Again he says:—

"The principle of faith is to lessen words and to increase deeds. He whose words exceed his acts, know verily that his non-being is better than his being, his death better than his life."

—*Words of Wisdom.*

Abdul Baha says:—

"Truthfulness is the foundation of all the virtues of the world of humanity. Without truthfulness, progress and success in all of the worlds of God are impossible for a soul. When this holy attribute is established in man, all the other divine qualities will also become realised."

—*Tablets of Abdul Baha*, Vol. 2, p. 459.

"You must be most careful that, God forbid, not one single word contrary to truth issue from your lips. One falsehood throws men from the highest station of honour to the lowest abyss of disgrace. Always guard yourselves against this enemy, so that all you state may correspond with reality."

—*Diary of Mirza Ahmad Sohrab*, April, 1914.

"Let the light of truth and honesty shine from your faces so that all may know that your word, in business or pleasure, is a word to trust and be sure of. Forget self and work for the whole."

—*Message to the London Bahais*, Oct., 1911.

"God has endowed man with intelligence so that he may use his intelligence. Therefore he

must supply himself with all that science can offer. He must ever be thorough in his undertakings. He must build a thing well: build the best ship that his ingenuity can lead him to, and employ the best captain. But with all that, let him rely upon God. Let him consider God as the one keeper."

THE SIMPLE LIFE.

In the Bahai Religion there is no division of life into sacred and secular. Every moment of our lives, every thought, every word, every deed, however seemingly trivial, must be devoted to God. There must be no luxurious living, effeminacy or indolence. "Indulgence in these things makes one negligent of God, and stifles all traces of spirituality." Abdul Baha says:—

"Man must live in contentment with his conditions. He must not make himself the slave of any habit. Contentment is real wealth. If he develops within himself the quality of contentment, he will become independent. Contentment is the creator of happiness. When a man is content, he does not care either for riches or poverty. He lives above their influence and is indifferent to them . . . . How complex is the life of the present age, and how much more complex we are making it daily. The needs of humanity seem never to come to an end. The more men accumulate, the more they want. There is only one way of freedom, and that is by shutting one's eyes to those things that distract the mind. The Arab of the desert teaches us a great lesson in the simple life . . . . He is happy and has no worries. His food consists of a bowl of milk and a few dates, and he may well wonder at the city man, how he can digest all the different kinds of dishes, with their flavours and spices. His thought is peaceful and serene,

contrary to that of the city people who are always haunted by the nightmare of how to gain a livelihood.

"Economy is the foundation of human prosperity. The spendthrift is always in trouble. Prodigality on the part of any person is an unpardonable sin . . . . We must never live on others like a parasitic plant. Every person must have a profession, whether it be literary or manual, and must live a clean, manly, honest life, an example of purity to be imitated by others . . . It is more kingly to be satisfied with a crust of stale bread than to enjoy a sumptuous dinner of many courses, the money for which comes out of the pockets of others . . . . The mind of a contented person is always peaceful and his heart is at rest. He is like a monarch ruling over the whole world. How happily such a man helps himself to his frugal meals. How joyfully he takes his walks and how peacefully he sleeps!"—*Diary of Mirza Ahmad Sohrab*, Sep. & Oct. 1913, & Aug. 1914.

HYGIENE. Baha'u'llah teaches that proper care for the body is an essential part of religion. The body must be the servant of the spirit, never the master; but it should be a willing and capable, an alert and efficient servant, as befits a worthy master; and the master should see that his servant is well and wisely treated, gets sufficient rest and recreation, etc., as befits a loyal and faithful servant.

As to diet, Abdul Baha advocates simple meals consisting of but one or two courses. He refuses to prescribe any definite regimen, saying that his work is to provide for men a simple diet of spiritual

food; they are quite capable of finding out a suitable material diet for themselves. Indeed he tells us to be guided in our selection of food by our natural tastes, as the wild animals are. If we follow the direction of these natural tastes and instincts instead of being guided by custom, by a mistaken sense of the duties of hospitality, or by the rules of so-called "experts" we shall avoid much ill-health and foolish extravagance. While refusing to lay down rules, however, he says that "the food of the future will be fruit and grains. The time will come when meat will no longer be eaten. Medical science is only in its infancy, yet it has shown that our natural diet is that which grows out of the ground. The people will gradually develop up to the condition of this natural food."

—*Ten Days in the Light of Acca*,
By Julia M. Grundy.

Purity and cleanliness both of the body itself and of garments and surroundings are urgently insisted on. Abdul Baha says:—

> "Cleanliness and sanctity in all conditions are characteristics of pure beings, and necessities of free souls . . . . External cleanliness, although it is but a physical thing, has great influence upon spirituality . . . . the fact of having a pure and spotless body exercises an influence upon the spirit of man."
>
> —*Tablets of Abdul Baha*, Vol. 3. pp. 581-585.

Again he says:—

"The outward raiment must be clean and immaculate, so that the outer may be a faint expression of the inner. Cleanliness is one of the fundamental laws of this religion."

—*Diary of Mírza Ahmad Sohrab*, Jan. 23, 1914.

The use of alcohol and opium, except when prescribed by a doctor as remedies in case of illness, is strictly forbidden. According to the Book of Akdas, both strong and light intoxicating liquors are forbidden. Abdul Baha says: "The reason for this is that liquor leads the minds of men astray and is the cause of weakening the body." The saying of Baha'u'llah: "I have chosen for thee whatsoever is in the heavens and the earth" refers to the use of things in a way beneficial to man, not to the internal administration of poisons or intoxicants. Abdul Baha says:—

"O friends of God, experience has shown how much the renouncing of tobacco, wine and opium gives health, strength, and intellectual enjoyment, penetration of judgment and physical vigour."

Baha'u'llah does not in set terms forbid the use of tobacco; but Abdul Baha speaks of the habit of smoking as one which is "unclean, malodorous, disagreeable and vulgar, of which the gradual harmfulness is universally recognised." He continues:—

"I wish to say that in the sight of God, the smoking of tobacco is a thing which is blamed and condemned . . . Besides, it is a cause of expense and of loss of time, and it is a harmful

habit. So, for those who are firm in the Covenant it is a thing discountenanced by reason and by tradition, the renouncement of which gradually giveth repose and tranquillity, permitteth one to have stainless hands and a clean mouth, and hair which is not pervaded by a bad odour."

—*Tablets of Abdul Baha*, Vol. 3, pp. 581-585.

Asked whether the Bahai prohibition of gambling and lotteries applies to games of every description, Abdul Baha replied:

"No, some games are innocent, and if pursued for pastime cause no harm; but there is danger that pastime may degenerate into waste of time. Waste of time is not acceptable in the Cause of God; but recreation which may improve the bodily powers, as exercise, is desirable."

—*A Heavenly Vista*, p. 9.

SELF REALISATION. Baha'u'llah is always urging men to realise the divine nature within themselves—the true inner Self as distinguished from the limited outer self, which at best is but the temple, and too often is but the prison of the real man. In *Hidden Words* he says:—

"O son of existence! By the Hands of Power I have made thee, and by the Fingers of Strength have I created thee. I have placed in thee the essence of My Light: therefore depend upon it, and upon nothing else; for My Action is perfect and My Command has effect. Doubt this not, and have no uncertainty therein.

"O son of Spirit! I have created thee rich, why dost thou make thyself poor? Noble have I made thee, why dost thou degrade thyself? Of the essence of Knowledge have I manifested thee, why searchest thou for another than Me? From the clay of Love have I kneaded thee, why seekest thou another? Turn thy sight unto thy-

self, that thou mayest find Me standing within thee, Powerful, Mighty, and Supreme.

"O son of the Throne! Thy hearing is My Hearing, hear thou with it. Thy sight is My Sight: see thou with it. Thus mayest thou attest within thyself My Holiness, that I may attest within Myself a place of exaltation for thee.

"O son of the Self-Subsistent! Know that I have sent unto thee the fragrances of Holiness, have accomplished the Word in thee, have fulfilled the Bounty through thee and *have willed for thee what I have willed for Myself.* Therefore be content in Me and thankful to Me.

"O my servant! Thou art like unto a jewelled sword concealed in a dark sheath, by reason of which its value is unknown to the jewellers. Then come forth from the sheath of self and desire, that thy jewels may become revealed and visible to the people of the world.

"O My Friend! Thou art the sun of the heaven of My Holiness: defile not thyself with the eclipse of the world. Tear asunder the veil of negligence that thou mayest emerge from behind the veil, be uncovered from the cloud, and array all beings with the robe of Life."

The station to which Baha'u'llah calls men in the above verses is one of such lofty grandeur and dazzling splendour that the mind can but dimly perceive the meaning of the words. Realisation of the divine Self in ourselves means realisation of our essential oneness with God. This at-one-ment or "meeting with God" is the glorious goal of the Bahai; but to attain this goal the only path is that of entire devotion to God as revealed through His Chosen Messengers, especially His Messenger for the time in which we live, the Supreme Manifestation, Baha'u'llah.

Some Bahai Publications.

The Bahai Movement. Charles M. Remey. 3s.

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LITERARY TRUST
THE MOSQUE, WOKING, ENGLAND

First published in 1937

Printed at the Ripon Printing Press, Bull Road, Lahore by Mirza Mohamad Sadiq and Published by Khwaja Abdul Ghani, Secy., the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, Lahore.

The Late Mr. Jairazbhoy

Bai Rahmat Bai

The Late **Mr. Jairazbhoy** of Bombay is the father of Al-Hajj **Qassim Ali Jairazbhoy** who is the author of this book. The Late **Mr. Jairazbhoy** was a distinguished pioneer of Commerce and a citizen of exemplary honesty and industry. He was a philanthropist and a public-spirited citizen of an uncommon type. He proved himself to be shrewd and far-seeing in all matters relating to trade. A considerable portion of a considerable fortune, he spent in promoting education, relieving the poor and destitute, comforting the sick, erecting sanitariums and rest-houses and generally in endeavouring to ameliorate the condition of less-favoured members of the Muslim Community. He was an esteemed citizen, distinguished leader and a noble benefactor. He spent a major portion of his wealth on charitable purposes. **Bai Rahmat Bai** is the mother of the learned author. She set the example of organising public charity of a utilitarian nature. She is a women of singular ability. She has a most attractive nature. Her benevolent deeds and her practical enthusiasm in every good cause, have earned for her the esteem of the public.

Secretary,
THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION
and
LITERARY TRUST, LAHORE

To my Father who passed away when I was ten months old and to my Mother who "brought me up when I was little."

"O my Lord! have mercy on my parents, as they brought me up when I was little."

The Quran 17 : 24

FOREWORD

In 1932 Al-Haj Qassim Ali Jairazbhoy published a free booklet entitled *The Greatness of the Holy Quran and Sayings of Prophet Muhammad.* In it, amongst others, there was a chapter on the Sayings of Hazrat Ali, son-in-law of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. The booklet was very well received all the world over, and he had since published a second edition of the same, revised and enlarged.

I had the privilege of going through a considerable number of the Sayings of Hazrat Ali as compiled by him, and it appeared to me at once that its publication as a separate treatise will be a boon to the world of religion. It was therefore on my suggestion that the learned author, Al-Haj Qassim Ali Jairazbhoy, is having

it published under our Mission, and we hope that its service will be appreciated by all earnest seekers after truth.

Secretary,
The Woking Muslim Mission
& Literary Trust.

AZEEZ MANZIL,
BRANDRETH ROAD,
Lahore, May 1937.

ALI THE CALIPH

The huge task of the moral and social reformation of the world which the Prophet Muhammad undertook, under the orders of God, needed a longer time to be worked out in detail than the brief period of his life. So it pleased God to make four persons, distinguished believers, to succeed him, one after the other, in the leadership of the new Commonwealth so that the tender plant of Islam, under their fostering care, might grow into a deep-rooted tree. These worthy successors were called Caliphs (Arabic, Khalifah). Although the title was later claimed by numerous others who, later, came to be rulers of Muslims, the real Caliphate ended with these four—Abu Bakr, Umar, Osman and Ali—because they really represented in their lives the theocratic principle of the Islamic State. Hence it is that, to distinguish them from the other claimants to this high title, these four have been called—Khulafa Rashedeen or the rightly-guided Caliphs.

Ali, the last of these, was the son of the Prophet's uncle, Abu Talib, on whom had

devolved the responsibility of bringing up the orphan Muhammad on the death of the Prophet's grandfather, Abdul Muttalab. The obligations of this sacred trust Abu Talib fulfilled in a perfect manner. Although he did not actually confess to be a believer in Islam, for about ten years till death removed him from the scene he stood by the Prophet through all those trials that came to the new religion. Not the whole world would he give up this nephew to be punished by the angry tribes of the Quraish. Even when dying, he assembled his brethren around him and commended Muhammad to their protection. Worthy son of a worthy father, Ali was one of the first believers in Islam and, undoubtedly, he was the first among the youths to respond to the call of the Prophet. Ali was only a boy of ten when he formally joined the faith and took the oath of standing by the Prophet through thick and thin. On the death of his father, when he was a young man of twenty, he was in somewhat straitened circumstances owing to the disabilities of the new faith. It was then the Prophet's turn to do a little service to the family which had meant so much to him.

Although Ali had been, throughout his childhood, informally brought up in the Prophet's household, from that time onward the Prophet formally undertook to support him. When, some three years later, life in Medina became unbearable for the Believers, almost all of them had left the city, the Prophet also being commanded by God to leave it, it was Ali who occupied the Prophet's bed to frustrate a murderous plot against the latter's life. After the Prophet had departed, Ali was left behind to return to the people whatever they had deposited with him.

About the second year of the flight, when Ali was nearly twenty-five, the Prophet gave Fatima his twenty-year old daughter to him in marriage, thus cementing the close tie that bound the Prophet to this noble family. From cousin, therefore, Ali became the son-in-law of the Prophet, the only son-in-law who has left any progeny to connect himself with the Prophet, in the absence of any male descendants, and thus to be called Sayyids, or masters, as a term of respect.

As the Medina period of the Prophet's mission was full of wars of defence and of

reprisals, the bravery of Ali manifested itself in physical feats. Beginning from the battle of Badr, the first encounter of the Prophet with the angry and aggressive leaders of the Arab pagans, and continuing until the death of the Prophet, he was the Prophet's right hand man in all military undertakings. In the most difficult encounters, he had the privilege of being the standard-bearer of the Islamic forces. In single combats, Ali was invincible. It is on this account that the people came to use the catch-phrase " La fata illa Ali " *i.e.* " Ali is the only youth." The most famous triumph of Ali in warfare is the one connected with the siege of Khaibar. Both Abu Bakr and Omar having failed one after the other to accomplish the capture of its fort, Qamus, the Prophet said: " To-morrow the standard will be in the hands of a man who will capture the fort, and who loves God and His apostle, and whom God and His apostle love."—And Ali, to whom these confident words refer, was found equal to this prophetic expectation.

Also at the fall of Mecca, Ali was considered a worthier standard-bearer of Islam than Sa'd bin Ubaida. In short, he was in the thickest of

every battle that Islam had to fight, excepting one, *i.e.*, Tabuk, from which he had to keep away owing to the Prophet's strictest orders to that effect. Whenever pluck and extraordinary courage with Islamic calmness were needed, Ali was remembered by the Prophet. Accordingly, when the Quranic announcement forbidding idolaters from performing the pilgrimage to Mecca was to be proclaimed at the pilgrimage assembly in the ninth year of the Hijira, Ali was charged with this momentous task. Not only this. As he stood by the Prophet at the darkest hour of his career as a Prophet, so he had to perform the saddest task of arranging the Prophet's funeral because other stalwarts of Islam, like Abu Bakr and Omar, had, immediately the Prophet breathed his last, to plunge heart and soul into the rescue of the Islamic Commonwealth that was in danger of extinction as soon as the news of the Prophet's death was made known in the city and abroad.

At the death of the Prophet, Ali, like his wife, Fatima, was so overwhelmed with grief that, for some time, he retired altogether from public life. After the first spell of grief had passed, and particularly after the death of his

wife, Fatima, he participated in all the deliberations and the affairs of State. During Omar's Caliphate, no important affair of State was settled without his advice. As a sign of his great love and affection for Omar, Ali gave him his daughter in marriage. On Omar's death, Ali's name was among the six electors from whom the next Caliph was to be chosen by a majority vote. The majority, however, going in favour of Usman, Ali was one of the first to stretch his hand as a pledge. At the last and extreme moment of Usman's reign, when the insurgents' attitude towards the Caliph became threatening, Ali ordered his son, Hasan, to keep guard at the gate of the Caliph.

On the death, or rather martyrdom of Usman at the hands of the insurgents, after a few days of confusion Ali was elected Caliph. It was a difficult time, during which Ali had to steer the course of the Muslim Commonwealth. If the first two Caliphs—Abu Bakr and Omar—had to save Islam from external enemies, it was reserved for Usman and Ali to save it from reactionary forces from within. The machinations of the hypocrites within had already succeeded in creating a misunderstanding among

the sincerest Believers. These intrigues were so strong that they sent Ayesha, the Prophet's wife, and her brother into two different camps—the latter siding with Ali and the former opposing him and siding with the Mu'awiah and others who on, it may be admitted here, more or less plausible grounds, would not accept Ali as Caliph. In the fury of the civil war that broke out, many precious lives were lost, but Ali showed both courage and magnanimity. His love for the Believers' lives was so strong that he hesitated at every step that he took. Indeed, it was his magnanimity that at last, after the battle of Jamal, won over the chief companions of the Prophet, including Ayesha, but Mu'awiah, the governor of Syria, held out to the last. Ali's energies being seriously diverted by the open revolt of the *Kharijis*, who in reality were the root cause of all the political troubles that weakened the Khilafat, he was not only unable to recover Syria from Mu'awiah, but also lost Egypt to the latter. Thus, before his very eyes, Ali had to witness the sad spectacle of the disintegration of the Islamic Theocracy, which he had seen being gradually built up from the time of his master and chief—the Holy Prophet Muhammad.

Although the spiritual forces of Islam appear in this manner to have lost control over the affairs of men, yet what actually happened was that these were simply driven underground to form the leaven, so to speak, that was to vitalize the social life of humanity henceforth from beneath. It is remarkable, indeed, that, while Ali's caliphate witnessed the disintegration of the political Caliphate, it is with him that the mystical tradition of Islam connects itself. The fact of the matter is that it is the Will of God that spirituality should control the affairs of men only in an obscure manner in this world. Only once, in the whole of history, was God to demonstrate patently the spiritual control of affairs mundane, and this was during the latter part of the ministry of the Prophet Muhammad.

Abu Bakr and Omar simply continued this open Kingdom of God on Earth founded by the Prophet, but this was not destined to last. The spiritual forces had again to hide themselves behind the veil for truth-seeking men to discover. Even the genius of Ali (Ali, who had basked during his whole life in the sunshine of Islam) could not avert this course. His political failures served only to strengthen his faith (and

also that of all True Believers) in the spiritual destiny of the Muslim Community—which by that time was safe, not only from external attacks but also from internal uprisings, not to say revolts. A willing instrument in the hands of Providence, he exerted himself politically, as long as it was necessary in the interests of Islam, as a spiritual force struggling to take root.

As if to demonstrate this fact, on the background of Ali's political failures the world has been presented with a vast treasure of wise aphorisms and spiritual truths coming from him. The following pages, containing as they do some of these precious gems, will show the reader the spiritual height and the moral energy of the man whose political career ended in a compromise with the rebel Mu'awiya, and whose life was cut short by a dastardly assassination at the hand of a desperate reactionary, in the year 661 of the Christian era, at the rather early age of 63.

The Prophet had said: "I am the city of knowledge, and Ali is its gate." Undoubtedly, the privilege of being the constant companion of the Prophet and of being a witness to so

many of his revelations and exhortations was not shared by any other single companion. The understanding of the Islamic life, as set forth in his sayings, must therefore be a great help to all students of the religion.

نه تنها عشق از دیدار خیزد
بسا کیں دولت از گفتار خیزد

"Not through sight only is love lit—
For gracious words will kindle it."

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KNOWLEDGE AND WISDOM

1. Knowledge is a noble heritage.
2. Wisdom is a stray-camel of a believer, you must catch hold of it, even if it be from a hypocrite.
3. No one should feel ashamed, if he be asked about something of which he has no knowledge; of saying that he does not know.
4. No one be ashamed of learning something, when he has no knowledge of it.
5. Understand a news when you hear it with the understanding of guarding it, not with the understanding of a mere narration because the narrators of knowledge are many, while its protectors are few.
6. There is no knowledge like meditation.
7. Knowledge is better than wealth.
8. Knowledge guards you; but you guard wealth.

9. The expenditure diminishes wealth, whereas knowledge is increased by expenditure.

10. Knowledge is a loan which can be advanced on credit, with which man earns obedience in his lifetime and the beauty of which is marred after one's death.

11. Knowledge is ruler and wealth is governed by it.

12. Amassers of wealth are all dead whereas the treasures are existent, while the scholars live to eternity.

13. Verily these hearts get tired as the bodies do, therefore seek for them the choice wisdom.

14. Every receptacle gets narrower when something is poured into it excepting the receptacle of knowledge which gets all the more wider.

15. When God wishes to disgrace someone, knowledge is debarred from him.

16. You must not say about something you know not about, nor all about that which you know.

17. God did not make it obligatory on the ignorant to acquire knowledge, until He had not made it obligatory upon the learned to teach.

18. Knowledge is of two kinds : the natural knowledge and the knowledge acquired by hearing; the latter is not advantageous without the former.

19. There is a news in the Holy Quran about what has gone before you and news about that which would follow you and guidance about the state in which you are.

20. There is no nobility like knowledge.

21. Severance from knowledge is the excuse of the frivolous.

22. Two persons have inordinate appetites : one who is after knowledge and the other who is after wealth.

23. Time passes like the sailing of a cloud, therefore catch hold of the moments of good.

24. He whom his deeds put back his nobility of lineage will not put forward.

25. The meanest of knowledge is that which appears on the lips and the noblest knowledge is that which appears in limbs and organs.

GOOD AND EVIL DEEDS

26. Deeds with piety never diminish and how could that which is accepted by God be minimised?

27. There is no merchandise like goodly deeds.

28. There is no piety like the hesitating of one on an occasion of doubt.

29. There is no worship like the fulfilment of duties.

30. The wasting of time is a choking.

31. Giving up of sin is easier than asking for repentance.

32. The fruit of excess is repentance, the fruit of prudence is safety.

33. Keep aloof from disobedience of God in privacy because the witness Himself is the judge.

34. The supplicant devoid of goodly deeds is like the bowman without a bowstring.

35. The world is the house of passing towards the abode of permanence ; in the world there are two kinds of men : one who has sold his soul in it and therefore has caused it to perish, and the other who has bought his soul and therefore liberated it.

36. Verily hearts are vessels, therefore the best of them is one which is the best container.

37. Do not be one of those who hope for the Hereafter without any deeds with them and delay repentance with long hopes.

38. The deeds of men here, in their lives, are the ideals of their future life.

39. The one who does not offer thanks to you should not keep you away from practising good deeds, because one who does not profit himself directly from those good deeds may thank you for them.

40. One who lengthens hopes spoils his deeds.

41. If God, glory be to Him, had not threatened us for disobedience, even then thanksgiving for His bounty makes it obligatory upon us that He should not be disobeyed.

42. When ends of His bounty reach you, then you should not make the farthest end free from yourself by meagre thanksgiving.

43. One who seeks after an object either gets the whole of it or a part of it.

44. Practise good deeds and do not despise even a part of them.

45. Out of the noblest deeds of a noble man is his overlooking and forgetting of what he knows.

46. There is no nearness through supererogatory deeds when they approach so near as to harm the obligatory ones.

47. Chide an evil-doer with the reward of the good-doer.

48. One who is pleased with the deeds of a people is like unto one who is one of them and on every one who enters a falsehood, fall two sins, the sin of acting upon it and the sin of being pleased with it.

GREED AND AVARICE

49. He who wears the garment of greed holds himself in contempt.

50. Greed is a slave eternal.

51. Most of the places where one is knocked down lie concealed in greed which can be compared to that she-camel which appears to be pregnant, but is not.

52. The greedy is in the fetters of disgrace.

53. Verily greed is an unending path and an unfulfilling surety.

54. Avarice is a disgrace.

55. He who has adopted greediness has disgraced himself.

56. Most of the wisdoms have their altars under the glitter of the sword of avarice.

57. The avaricious are in the custody of insult and disgrace.

58. Calamity upon calamity is a sign of the fact that thou dost not take care to withhold thyself from avarice.

59. If food is destined to mankind, then the less the avarice the better.

SELF-COMMAND

60. He who exposes his defects desires disgrace.

61. One who puts his tongue in command over himself regards his own self base.

WEAKNESS

62. Weakness is a calamity in itself.

63. The weakest of the men is he who lacks strength to acquire brothers and still weaker is one who loses even those he has acquired.

GRIEF

64. Grief is one of the aiders of time.

RELAXATION

65. One who relaxes his efforts loses his rights.

COWARDICE

66. Cowardice causes deficiency by slow degrees.

STUPIDITY

67. The greatest indigence is stupidity.

68. The heart of a fool is in his mouth.

69. The heart of a stupid is behind his tongue.

70. Do not associate yourself with a fool for he embellishes his deeds to you and he wants you to be one like him.

71. One of the aspects of stupidity is haste before the possibility of an occurrence.

72. The gentleness with a fool increases helpers against him.

HUMAN WORTH

73. The price of every man is what adorns him.

74. One whose worth has not been appreciated perishes.

VANITY

75. The most dreary land is vanity.

76. Nothing is more dissolute than vanity itself.

77. Vanity prevents increase of wisdom.

78. The vanity of a person with himself is one of those causes that envy his reason.

79. Give up the boast for thy noble birth, and throw aside thy pride and vanity. Think of thy grave, the place through which thou shalt have to pass, always remembering that thou takest as thou givest, and reapest as thou sowest.

80. Vanity is sufficient for one's destruction, and self-sacrifice is enough for one's nobleness and philanthropy.

81. Vanity identifies only a fool, while humility characterises a wise man.

BACKBITING

82. He who tells others' things to thee does certainly carry thy tales to others, and he who tells that a certain man has abused thee does indeed himself abuse thee.

83. Do not speak ill of those who are dead, as it is a great sin to do so.

84. Do not criticise the thing which thou dost not know, as it is possible that thou mayest be unaware of many of its correct details.

85. Do not discard a thing with which thou art unacquainted, as it is possible that thou mayest not yet have heard of many of its inherent qualities.

86. The tongue is a beast; if let loose bites.

87. Backbiting is the effort of the weak.

88. One who obeys the backbiter loses a friend.

AGGRESSION

89. One who begins with aggression cuts his own palm (hand).

90. The day of the tyrranised against the aggressor is harder than the day of the aggressor against the aggressed.

91. One who unsheaths the sword of aggression is killed with it.

ENVY AND MALICE

92. Do not envy the virtues of any people, rather be one of them, so that thou mayest attain to Heaven.

93. Do not torment thy brethren with malice, rather keep enmity mixed with pardon, and thou shalt get thy deliverance.

94. Envy in a friend is a disease of friendship.

95. I wonder at the carelessness of the envious for the safety of their bodies.

ENMITY TO TRUTH

96. One who shows enmity to truth faces destruction.

AUTOCRACY OF OPINION

97. One who puts forward his opinion autocratically is destroyed.

USURPATION

98. The usurped stone in a house is a pledge for its destruction.

RELIGIOUS WAR

99. The religious war of a woman is her being good towards her husband.

CIVIL WAR

100. In civil war be like a three-year old camel which has got no back so that it could be ridden upon and has got no udder so that it could be milked (meaning thereby one should keep aloof in civil war).

SUSPICION

101. He who haunts places of vice is suspected.

102. He who puts himself in places of suspicion, ought not to blame those who think evil of him.

TALKATIVENESS

103. One who talks much commits many mistakes.

MODESTY

104. One whose mistakes increase his modesty decreases.

105. He whom modesty clothes people do not see his defects.

CHEERFULNESS

106. Cheerfulness is the spice for friendship.

GOOD SOCIETY

107. Mix with the people good, a mixing that, if you die in the midst of them, they may weep over you, and if you live, they may yearn for you.

PATIENCE

108. Patience is the grave of defects.

109. Bear grief and annoyance patiently, you will be satisfied always.

110. Patience is bravery.

111. No faith is like modesty and patience.

112. The patient does not lack victory even if the time be long with him.

113. Patience is of two kinds—enduring with patience of what you dislike, and patience over the loss of what you like.

114. Patience repels the night and day.

FORBEARANCE

115. Forbearance and deliberateness are twins that produce loftiness of ambition.

116. To adopt forbearance in opposition to the ignorant and the rude adds to the number of one's friends and sympathisers.

117. Take with patience the disagreeable drink of forbearance as it is the outcome of wisdom and the fruit of knowledge.

118. He who is angry with you for his meanness and folly is to be prevailed over by your knowledge and forbearance.

119. Mildness and forbearance sew the lips of a fool.

INTERCESSION

120. The intercessor is the wing (hand) of the seeker.

HONOUR

121. With the bearing of provision for others, honour necessarily follows.

TIMIDITY

122. A timid fellow never succeeds in his designs.

DIVINE HELP

123. Help descends in proportion to burden for others.

MEANS OF REDEMPTION

124. Out of the means of redemption of great sins is aiding the aggrieved and relieving the afflicted.

TRUST

125. Do not trust one who gets grieved very soon.

WARNING

126. One who warns you is like unto one who brings you good news.

LIKES AND DISLIKES

127. One who hastens towards the people with a thing they dislike they would say, as regards that which they know not.

KNOWING AND NOT KNOWING

128. One who gives up the phrase " I do not know " places in his body, where the wound is mortal, would be hit.

129. People are enemies of what they do not know.

DEFECTS AND SHORTCOMINGS

130. Conceal the shortcomings of the virtuous, because none of them stumbles, but the hand of God is there which raises him up.

131. One who looks into the drawbacks of his own self does not occupy himself with the defects of others.

132. One who looks into the defects of the people and disapproves them and afterwards likes for himself, it is he who is a fool.

133. He who took care of his own defects kept from finding fault with others.

POSITION OF MAN

134. (*i*) The position of man is in proportion to the quantity of his intention;

(*ii*) and his truthfulness according to his courage;

(*iii*) and his bravery according to his disdain for ignoble deeds;

(*iv*) and his energy in proportion to (his care of what is sacred and inviolable) indignation.

INCLINATION TOWARDS THE WORLD

135. A little inclination towards the world in spite of what you see of it is foolishness.

136. When the world is favourable to man, it lends him the beauties of another person, and when it turns away from him it takes away the beauties of his own self.

BENEFICENCE

137. Censure your brother with beneficence and return his evil with gift.

138. Do not be ashamed of giving little because refusal is still lesser than that.

CHANGE OF CIRCUMSTANCES

139. In the change of circumstances lies the knowledge of the essence (worth) of men.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

140. The instrument of chieftainship is the spaciousness of bosom.

HEALTH AND RICHES

141. It does not behove a person that he should rely upon two qualities, health and riches; sometimes you see him healthy and all of a sudden he is sick, sometimes you find him rich and all of a sudden he becomes needy.

142. For everybody in his riches there are two partners, the inheritor and the vicissitudes of time.

143. The most highly estimated riches is giving up of desire.

JUST CONDUCT AND HUMILITY

144. With a just conduct vices are curbed down and with humility bounty completed.

ENDURANCE

145. The little on which you endure is more desirable than the abundant which brings grief.

HYPOCRICY

146. One who is niggardly of his honour should give up hypocricy.

147. He who shows himself to be poor always remains poor.

148. He is a great sinner who seeks the pleasure of people through the displeasure of God.

149. It is highly objectionable for one to be pious and faithful only outwardly.

150. It is very disgusting that one should reproach others for evil deeds and keep them from vices, but indulge oneself in them whenever one retires to privacy.

CONTENTMENT

151. He who adopts the middle course never becomes poor.

152. One who is content with the gift of his Lord never grieves at what he loses.

153. No riches is a greater destroyer (appeaser) of hunger than contentment with little means of subsistence.

154. Contentment is wealth which never exhausts.

155. Contentment is a sword, which never gets blunt.

156. Being content with an excuse is more dignified than getting it verified.

FRIENDSHIP AND ENMITY

157. Oh my son, beware of the friendship of a fool who while desiring to benefit you injures you.

158. Oh my son, beware of the friendship of a miser, because he removes from you that which you stand most in need of.

159. Oh my son, beware of the friendship of a vicious because verily he sells you in exchange for a paltry substance.

160. Oh my friend, beware of a liar because he is like unto a mirage that brings nearer to you that which is far off and removes away that which was near to you.

161. Your friends are of three kinds and your enemies are of three kinds :—

Your friends—Your friend, the friend of your friend and the enemy of your enemy.

Your enemies—Your enemy, the enemy of your friend and the friend of your enemy.

162. The friendship of the father is relation amongst the sons.

163. Relationship towards friendship is more in need of than friendship towards relationship.

164. Love your friend with gentleness, perhaps some day he may turn your enemy and hate your enemy with gentleness, for it is possible he may turn your friend some day.

165. Friendship is an acquired relationship.

166. Losing of friends is like the condition of a stranger.

167. One who is lost by his nearest relation is appointed to remotest ones.

168. The hearts of men are like wild beasts, one who allures them they approach him nearer.

PIETY

169. Nothing is nobler than piety.

170. Piety is an armour.

FORGIVENESS

171. The worthiest of the people for forgiveness is the most worthy of them for punishment.

172. When you get power over your enemy then present forgiveness to him, as thanksgiving to God for the power over him.

GOOD MANNERS AND HABITS

173. No companion is like the beauty of manners.

174. Manners are like garments in interwoven stripes of different colours (glorious).

175. No heredity is like manners.

176. Oh people, take upon yourselves the discipline of yourselves and let them not get themselves accustomed to their habits.

177. The choice of the noble qualities is the beauty of manners.

178. And no inheritance is like good manners.

DOING GOOD TO PEOPLE IN THEIR ABSENCE

179. Do good unto others in their absence, so that they do good unto you in your absence.

GENTLENESS

180. The first reward of one's gentleness is that people are his helpers against the foolish in conduct.

181. Gentleness is the nearest of relations.

182. Gentleness is a virtue and precaution a good luck. Be cautious in an act so that thou mayst gain the object.

183. What is needed is the gentleness of temper but not so much as to be taken for weakness. There must be a little hardihood, but not so much as to make one pass for the ill-tempered.

184. He who does not adopt gentleness in earnestness can never become gentle; similarly he who does not acquire knowledge with labour can never become a scholar.

ABSTINENCE

185. Abstinence is the crown of all other virtues.

186. Abstain from the world, as it is a place of death and not of life and its purity is adulterated and its pleasure leads to disaster.

187. It is enough for thy warning that thou shouldst abstain from the things which thou dost not like for thy self.

188. Abstinence is wealth.

CHARITY

189. When you stand in need, trade with God with charity.

190. Offer hospitality to the gifts of God with charity.

191. Charity is an efficacious medicine.

192. Charity is the embellishment for poverty and gratitude is the embellishment for wealth.

TRANSGRESSION

193. The worst kind of provision for the Hereafter is transgression over the people.

CONSULTATION AND COUNSEL

194. One who consults men becomes a partner of their wisdom.

195. Money which gives you good counsel is never lost.

196. And no helper like counsel.

WISDOM AND IGNORANCE

197. No riches like wisdom.

198. No wealth is more remunerative than wisdom.

199. You will not find an ignorant but exceeding the due limits or falling short of his duty.

200. And no poverty like ignorance.

SECRETS

201. One who hides his secret his welfare is in his own hand.

202. The bosom of a wise person is the chest of his secrets.

LIBERALITY

203. Liberality is more kind than mercy and positions are made greater by extending favours.

SILENCE AND SPEECH

204. Man is concealed underneath his tongue.

205. When the intellect becomes perfect, speech is diminished.

206. Abundance of silence produces awe.

207. Speak to people and you would know them. Verily man is concealed beneath his tongue.

208. The tongue of the wise is behind his heart.

209. The speech is in chains as long as you have not talked with it, and if you have once talked with it, you are in its chains, therefore store your tongue just as you store your gold and silver, for many a word has snatched away a bounty and brought retribution.

210. One can not conceal anything. but that it appears in the slips of one's tongue and the sides of his face.

OBEDIENCE TO GOD

211. The least which is obligatory upon you for God is that you should not ask assistance with His gifts against disobedience.

212. No obedience for a creature in disobedience for his Creator.

DIRECTION TO THE RIGHT COURSE

213. The safeguarding of experience is the outcome of one's being directed to the right course by God.

214. There is no leader like the directing of God to the right course.

THE PROPHET AND THE QURAN

215. Your Prophet is the translator of your wisdom and your Book is the most eloquent of that what speaks about you.

TRUE AND FALSE SUPPOSITION

216. One who thinks good of you, his supposition is true.

217. It is quite unjustified to decide against the trustworthy with supposition.

JUSTICE

218. Justice increases mutual loving intercourse.

BEGGARY

219. He who has expressed his need has to be content with his disgrace.

220. They say that there is shame in a profession while I say to them that shame lies in beggary.

221. He who makes too many requests loses his honour.

222. He who avoids requests maintains his honour.

ANGER

223. Swallow anger just like a draught of syrup, because, as far as its end is concerned, I have never seen a drink more refreshing than this.

224. Do not be angry with those who complain against or reproach thee, because if what they say is true, then it is thy fault, and thou art being punished for it in the world (so thou must be thankful for it).

VIRTUE AND EVIL

225. Evil gathers together all the defects of vices.

226. He is not a victor who has himself fallen victim to sin and one who exceeds in vice is the vanquished.

227. Reap the vice from the bosom of another, by rooting it out from your own first.

RASHNESS

228. Rashness is a kind of madness, because verily its owner repents and if he does not repent his madness is established.

VAIN HOPES

229. The vain hopes blind the eyes of perception.

DESIRE

230. Desire is a key of grief and conveyance of toil.

231. Verily, for the hearts there is passion and reclining towards inclination. Approach them from the side of their desires, because the heart where it dislikes becomes blind.

FORTUNE AND MISFORTUNE

232. One who begins to complain of a misfortune which has befallen him, begins complaining of his Creator.

233. Fortune follows one who does not go after it.

234. One who endures misfortunes prospers.

GENERAL SAYINGS

235. Beware of the leaping of the noble, when he is hungry and the base when he is oversatiated.

236. Many a saying is more piercing than springing (assaulting with a spring).

237. One who flings himself in a whirlpool is drowned.

238. People do not leave out anything from their religion for seeking to do good but God opens that which is more injurious than that.

239. The missing of a need is easier than asking for it from one who is unworthy of it.

240. The people of the world are like stars, they are carried while they are asleep.

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PREFACE.

On the conclusion of the Grecio-Turkish War in 1897, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the great Indian Musalman Reformer of the nineteenth century, felt the necessity of expressing his views on the subject of the Khilafat for the guidance of his co-religionists in this country. He wrote a series of seven Articles which were published in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette.*

The *substance* of these articles was, no doubt, of very great importance, and one wonders to find no reference to it in the *Hayat-i-Jawaid*, a most exhaustive work on the life and works of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in Urdu. This requires a few words of explanation. The first life of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, was compiled and published in English by Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, a friend and great admirer of the Syed, in 1885. This book was very favourably received by the English Communities in India and England, but it could not claim to be exactly a biography, being only a translation of such writings and speeches of Syed Ahmed Khan as Colonel Graham considered to be of importance and interest to the English readers. It contained of course accounts of Sir Syed's works regarding the education of the Indian Musalmans, the founding of the Aligarh College, and other works of reform, but it lacked a good deal of what a biography should contain.

At the instance of Nawab Haji Ismail Khan of Datawali, I undertook to compile a Life of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in Urdu, and finished my work in 1892. It was then proposed to publish the book during his life time, provided the Syed agreed

to read the manuscript and to correct it. But Sir Syed refused to do so, as he had done to give me any help in the preparation of it. He always, stubbornly maintained, out of modesty, that it was a useless task to write his biography, that is, his works were not worth taking any notice of. It is also certain that he never gave any help to Colonel Graham, which has led to the introduction of many errors in the accounts of his family and of his early life. Colonel Graham had to be content with such information as he could collect from Sir Syed's friends, as I had to travel all over India to meet those gentlemen who were considered likely to furnish information about the subject.

The idea of publishing the book during Sir Syed's lifetime had to be abandoned and the manuscript remained with Nawab Haji Ismail Khan. Sir Syed died in March 1898, and as shortly after that, I left for England, the manuscript was made over to Shamsul-Ulama Khwaja Altaf Husain Hali of Panipat, the great Musalman poet of the century and an accomplished prose writer as well. There was surely no person in India, more suited to do justice to the subject and to edit the book. He rewrote the whole book, arranging the subjects according to his own ideas, but it appears that Sir Syed's articles on the Khilafat escaped his notice, in fact it seems, he did not take much trouble in collecting more material beyond what I had done. I had of course been carefully preserving all that Sir Syed wrote after 1892, with a view to use it in future when necessity arose, and there were other admirers of Sir Syed, who did the same.

As the present Great War gave rise to another occasion, similar to the one in 1897, and as I thought that the young Indian Musalmans, seemed to have no recollection or notion of what Sir Syed had written on the subject of Khilafat, I thought it fit to republish in Urdu, the articles in a small

pamphlet. I selected five articles out of the seven, as the two were merely the repetition of what was contained in the five articles. Articles No. 6 and No. 7 were written by the Syed in his famous journal Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq (The Muhammadan Social Reformer) in early eighties, and I have given them place in the pamphlet as they have an indirect reference to the subject in question.

I added to these articles, what may be called a review of Sir Syed's writings, and I need offer no apology for it, as I think it will make Sir Syed's articles more comprehensible to their readers.

The present English translation of Sir Syed's articles, is as literal as it could be, but I have omitted in this English version, the introduction to the Urdu pamphlet, as it was meant for young Musalman readers only, and I have also left out some thirty pages of my writings towards the end of the pamphlet which dealt with the present situation of the affairs or contained Sir Syed's views on such matters which have no direct bearing on the subject under discussion. But I have inserted at the end an article I had written on the "Revolution in Arabia" which was published partly in the *Bombay Times of India* of 25th July, and a full version of it appeared in the *Morning Post of Dehli*, in its issue of 28th July 1916.

It is not necessary here to point out the worth and value of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's utterances and writings which will surely always serve as a guide to the right path for the right-minded Musalmans of India. English Statesmen of all degrees and shades of thought have expressed in their times, their appreciation of the noble work performed by the Syed during his life time, but I am tempted to quote here, the short and sweet but perfectly true words spoken by Sir Michael

O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, about Sir Syed, in his reply to an address presented to him by the Anjuman Islamia, Rawalpindi, on 2nd August 1913. He said "No people at a critical time of their history ever had a wiser leader than the Muhammadan Community had in Sir Syed, and no Government had a sounder or more trusted adviser."

RAWALPINDI;
22*nd August* 1916.

SIRAJ-UD-DIN AHMED.

THE ARTICLES

OF

SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN ON THE KHILAFAT.

—++:-o-:++—

I

The Khilafat and the Khalifa.

Khilafat literally means succession, and the person who succeeds is called the Khalifa. But the word Khalifa has now assumed a religious significance, and the Khalifa is looked upon as a person holding a religious office. The origin of the Khalifa may be traced to the Roman Catholic religion. The head of the Roman Catholic Church is regarded as a successor of St. Peter, a Disciple of Christ, and is styled the Pope. According to the belief of the Roman Catholics the Pope is infallible, which means that he can do no wrong. The Roman Catholics believe that the Pope has complete authority in matters temporal and spiritual as well as power to grant absolution. That the Pope has authority in temporal matters does not require any comment. By his authority in spiritual matters is meant, that his religious ordinances must be obeyed without question, whether they accord with existing religious ordinances or not, and whether they declare what is unlawful to be lawful or *vice versa*.

By the Pope's power to grant absolution the Catholics mean that he can forgive the sins of any person who confesses them before him, and that person then becomes

as pure as if he had committed no sin at all and on the day of judgment will not be answerable for his sins.

After the death of the Prophet of Islam, Abu Bakr succeeded him with the title of Khalifa. But he was not a Khalifa in the sense in which the Pope is regarded as a successor of St. Peter. He had no authority in religious matters, except that he was to carry into practice the teachings of the Prophet, help others to do the same, and look to the temporal needs of the Muslim community. He had no power whatever to declare lawful that which was unlawful in Islam, nor to declare unlawful that which was lawful. He had no authority to abrogate any religious commandment nor to introduce any new practices in Islam. He could not pardon the sins of any one, nor could he intercede with God for the pardon of any one's sins.

No Roman Catholic can call into question the ordinances of the Holy Pope, but in Islam every Muslim has a right to refuse obedience to a Khalifa, if his orders are opposed to the Commandments of God and the teachings of the Prophet. Briefly, the Khalifa in Islam had no power to frame new rules in religion. All that was expected of him was to see that the teachings of the Prophet were duly practiced and that no evils found their way into the Muslim Society. No doubt Abu Bakr was called the Khalifa of the Prophet, but Omar who followed Abu Bakr, substituted for this title that of Amir-ul-Mominin (the chief of the faithful) which was quite appropriate and in accordance with the position. The title of Amir-ul-Mominin remained in use till the time of Ali, but those who afterwards came into power again assumed the title of Khalifa, thinking that it conveyed a greater idea of Holiness.

In connection with the Khilafat there is a difference

of opinion as to whether the Khalifa should belong to the Quresh, the tribe of the Prophet, or whether a non-Quresh was also eligible to hold the Khilafat.

The traditions of the Prophet bearing on this point are various. In the Mustadrik of Hakim and in another work by the same author on surnames there is a tradition related by Ans which runs thus "The Amirs are from the Quresh" the Sunan of Baihqui and the Mustadrik of Hakim say on the authority of Ali that the Imams are to be from the Quresh." The Masnad of Imam Hanbal, Bukhari and Muslim say on the authority of Ibn-i-Omar that "Authority shall always remain with the Quresh." Mujam Tibrani and the Masnad of Imam Ahmad Hanbal contain a tradition related by Zi-Mujmar which runs as follows:—"This *Amr* was among the Hamir, but God took it away from them and bestowed it on the Quresh." The word *Amr* in this tradition means leadership, for no person belonging to the tribe of Hamir can, in any way, be the Khalifa of the Prophet. So it is quite clear that *Amr* means headship or authority and not Khilafat in the ordinary or accepted sense of the word.

The Masnad of Imam Ahmad Hanbal, the Masnad of Abi-y'ali the Sahib of Ibn-i-Habban and the Jami of Tirmazi, contain the following tradition related by Safina, "After me the Khilafat shall remain among my people for thirty yaars; after that there shall be kings." The Sunan of Abu-Daud and the Mustadrik of Hakim say on the authority of the same Safina that "Khilafat shall last for thirty years, after that God shall grant Kingship to whomsoever he wishes."

All these traditions that we have quoted above as well as others on the same subject are in our opinion fabricated and unworthy of credit. But granting their genuineness

we consider that as Khilafat was to last for thirty years after the death of the Holy Prophet, and as the period of thirty years expired with the abdication of Imam Hassan, there is no reason why those who came into power after that time, should be styled the Khalifas of the Prophet or Khalifas in the accepted sense of the term, whether they belong to the Quresh tribe or not. So the people who rose to power after the termination of the period of Khilafat may be styled, Kings or Sultans or Amirs and the spiritual relations subsisting between the Musalmans and those Khalifas, who flourished within thirty years after the death of the Prophet, cannot exist between the Muhammadans and those Muslim rulers who came into power after the expiration of that period, whether they call themselves Khalifas or Amirs or Sultans. Thus we cannot look upon any Muslim ruler who holds sway in any country as more than a mere ruler. We cannot recognise him as a Khalifa of the Prophet or a Khalifa of a Khalifa of the Prophet. No doubt we are bound to him by ties of Islamic brotherhood, we rejoice with him in his welfare or good fortune and sympathise when any misfortune befalls him.

The Musalmans rejoiced at the triumph of Turkey over Greece simply because of that fraternity which Islam has established among all its followers. Supposing the Turks had suffered defeat, it would have grieved us quite naturally. The Greeks are not our rulers and we are not their subjects, so we can have no hesitation in saying that it is well that the Greeks have been vanquished and humiliated and the Turks have gained the victory.

We do not know at all, what policy the British Government, under whose benign rule, we Musalmans, live in the peace and security, adopted in the war between Greece and Turkey. I am not prepared to agree with those who

think that the policy of the English Government was hostile to Turkey, they seem to be quite ignorant of the real state of things. But supposing the British Government is compelled to pursue an unfriendly policy towards Turkey, we, according to the plain teachings of Islam, cannot shake ourselves free from those obligations of obedience and submission which we owe to our rulers. Our duty, as plainly set fourth by our religion, is to obey our rulers and remain quite loyal to them. The utmost that we can do is to pray to God that the relations between the British Government and Musalman States, such as Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, may always remain cordial and friendly, and that there may not be any conflict between them.

II

The Greeks and the Turks.

In their joy at the victory of Turkey over Greece the Musalmans have overstepped the bounds of moderation, and have styled it the victory of Islam. In our opinion it is absurd to drag Islam into such matters. The victory of Islam was achieved on that day when the Prophet of Islam took his stand before thousands of infidels and proclaimed that there is no God, but God. The infidels continued to say "Has he reduced our gods to one, surely this a strange thing." But the Prophet of God went on preaching "There is no God, but God" and the command of God "worship me this is the straight path." To style the victory of a Muslim ruler as the triumph of Islam is to betray utter ignorance of the dignity of Islam. Victory and defeat are in the hands of God. He himself says, "we alternate these days among the peoples of the world." Sometimes Musalmans get the upper hand and sometimes the non-Muslims. If we call the victory by the Turks over

the Russians, with the help of the English and the French, the victory of Islam; shall we designate the defeat of the Turks by the Russians the defeat of Islam? Never! Our meaning is this, that it is the height of ignorance and folly to associate Islam with such affairs, which pertain to this world and are regulated by material causes and are always fluctuating. Islam has achieved a victory which is real and everlasting, it can never suffer defeat.

We may rejoice that a Muslim State has come out with flying colours from this war, but to invest this event with a religious significance and to call it the victory of Islam is certainly overstepping all bounds of propriety. Surely this victory is not so grand as to justify all this fuss. Every one know that Greece is quite an insignificant power, and if it rises in arms against Turkey, it will be smashed in no time. What made thinking people so anxious was, the strange fact that Greece had been so bold as to take up arms against Turkey, and it was surmised that some powerful State, was at its back. This suspicion was strengthened by the unreasonable speeches and writings of Mr. Gladstone and the mad ravings of the radical zealots of London. But every sensible person could understand that Mr. Gladstone was not at the head of Government and the radical minority could not sway the policy of the existing Government. So the idea that the policy of the British Government is inimical to Turkey is entirely a mistaken one, and the outcome of ignorance, for when war was actually declared, none of the great powers took up the cause of Greece. The future will be guided wholly by political considerations and not by hostility to Islam.

In our opinion much of the outcry raised by the Musalmans was solely due to the tone of the British Press. Mr. Gladstone and the English newspapers denounced Musalmans

and strongly condemned the Turks. This was very irritating and painful to the Musalmans in general and particularly to the Turks.

Now after the Turkish victory the Musalmans, as a reaction from that state of annoyance, have indulged in excessive rejoicings and the Government has watched this quietly. We too do not find fault with these demonstrations of joy, but we wish to point out that we are subjects of the British Government, and as such we must not loose sight of the fact that in our relations with foreign powers we cannot do anything that should savour of hostility to our English Government. It is our first and foremost duty to bear in mind that in matters of this kind we do not act contrary to the wishes of the Government.

III

Indian Musalman's Sympathy for the Turks.

If anybody is instrumental in saving the life of our friend or helps him out of difficulty, are we not bound to show our gratitude to him.

The most critical time in the history of the Turks was, when in 1855 Russia declared war upon Turkey. This is known in history as the Crimean war. In this war the English and the French came forward to help the Turks with men and money, and it is an undeniable fact that if these two powers had not espoused the cause of Turkey, the Turkish Empire would have ceased to exist. Now the question arises if the Musalmans of India really sympathised with the Turks, why after the victorious termination of the Crimean war did they not give expression of their gratitude to France and England. Why did they not offer up prayers for them in

their mosques? And why did they not send telegrams expressive of thankfulness to these two Governments? An English gentleman charges Indian Musalmans with ingratitude, and says that just when the British Government assisted Turkey with men and money and saved her from annihilation, the Indian Musalmans rose in mutiny against the English. Had they had any real sympathy with the Turks they would never have forgotten the deep debt of gratitude which the Turks owed to the British, and would never have taken up arms against the English Government.

We do not agree with the above mentioned gentleman, as in our opinion nobody had any intentien of rising against the English. According to a well known historian Mr. Key, it was not a revolt, but a sepoy war, and was principally due to mal-administration and not to any design of rebellion. Still there is no answer to the question as to why at that time the Indian Musalmans failed to express their gratitude to England and France.

In 1876 war again broke out between Turkey and Russia and the exploits of Ghazi Osman Pasha became the talk of the day. But unfortunately the Turks had the worst of it, and in 1878 the conquering Russians after taking Plevna and Shibka, reached the walls of Constantinople. At this time the utter extinction of the Turkish Empire was imminent, but when all seemed lost, the British Government came to the rescue, despatched her fleet to the Turkish waters and cried 'Halt' to Russia. It was the intervention of England alone that saved the situation and brought about the Treaty of Berlin which guaranteed the integrity of Turkey and left it as we see it today. If England had not stepped in to help the Turks, it would have been impossible for them to survive this defeat. The question is, why the Musalmans did not express their gratitude to England for this valuable help to Turkey.

In the recent war with Greece, Adham Pasha did not display greater heroism than Osman Pasha did at Plevna. How was it that while the Musalmans extolled Adham to the skies, they never made any demonstration for Osman. We have no answer to this question, except that it was due to the light-headed folly of a few, and the majority simply followed their example.

Those who think that the rejoicings of the Musalmans at the Turkish victory over Greece have any political significance are quite mistaken. It was a mere foolish outburst. The Sultan is a Khalifa, in no other sense than that in which the Abasides and Omayads were called Khalifas, and no Muslim looks upon the mandates of the Sultan of Turkey a obligatory as the Catholics regard those of the Pope or they themselves consider those of the first four rightly guided Khalifas. How can we therefore conclude that their demonstrations are due to any political motives, although we think that their doing so, without the permission of the Government whose subjects they are, was highly objectionable.

IV

The Khilafat.

The Prophet of God combined in his person the three following functions:—

(1) He was the recipient of the Divine Law.

(2) He had to promulgate that law amongst mankind.

(3) He had to maintain order; to enforce the law and to secure obedience to it; he had to protect his followers and to repel with force any invasion of their rights and liberties.

The first of these functions came to an end when the Pro-

phet died, and in this respect no body was his Khalifa or deputy, nor in the nature of things can any one claim to be such.

As regards the second function, all the lawyers, divines and traditionists, who preach the law and teachings of Islam amongst mankind may be regarded as the Khalifas or deputies of the Prophet. In view of this, some of the commentators of the Holy Quran while commenting on the verse "O ye who have believed, obey God, obey the Prophet, and obey those who possess authority amongst ye," have included the chief Imams of the Prophet's family and the Muslim divine or learned men among those "who possess authority amongst ye."

As regards the third function, those persons may be considered the Khalifas of the Prophet who rule over a country, are in a position to enforce the law and to compel obedience to it, and have the ability to protect the country and to repel the encroachments by the enemies, provided they partake of the character of the Prophet, are adorned with outward and inward purity and conform to the laws and ordinances of Islam. It is just possible that Muslim rulers who hold sway over any country style themselves Khalifas in consideration of the third function of the Prophet. But their Khilafat or Government is confined to the Muslim inhabitants of that country alone over which they rule. For it is essential that a Khalifa should have absolute and independent power over his dominions and should be able to enforce the laws of Islam, uphold the true religion, to protect the lives and properties of his people against enemies, and to maintain order and peace in his country.

People who do not admit the claim of the Sultan of Turkey to the Khilafat, urge, that he does not come from the Quresh. But those who recognize his title to the Khilafat, assert that

the tradition requiring the Khalifa to be a Quresh is not genuine. We do not enter into this controversy, but acknowledging the Khilafat of the Sultan still maintain, that he can be Khalifa for those Musalmans only over whom he rules and among whom he has power to enforce the Islamic laws, to punish offences, and to uphold the ordinances of Islam. He can in no sense be the Khalifa for those over whom he has no such authority, the conditions for his Khilafat being altogether absent. We Indian Musalmans are subjects of the British Government, under whom we enjoy the blessings of peace. This Government has vouchsafed to us not only peace and security, but religious liberty also. The religion of the rulers is Christianity, but if a Christian turns Musalman, there is no interference on the part of the Government, just as there is none if a Muslim turns Christian. Christian Missionaries have no connection with the Government. They have liberty to go about preaching their religion just as hundreds of Musalman go about preaching theirs.

Besides this complete religious liberty there is perfect security of life and property. All our rights relating to marriage, divorce, inheritance, &c., are regulated according to Islamic laws. The judge may be a Christian, but he is bound to decide such cases on the basis of Islamic jurisprudence. For these reasons it is our religious duty to be loyal and faithful to British Government, and never to say or do anything which may savour disloyalty. We are not the subjects of Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan, nor has he any authority over us or in our country. No doubt he is a Musalman ruler and as such we are pleased when he is attended with some good fortune and feel sorry when some misfortune overtake him, but according to Islamic law he can in no way be our Khalifa. If he is Khalifa, he is such for those only over whom he holds jurisdiction.

A reference to Islamic History will clearly show that the sovereigns who adopted the title of Khalifa were acknowledged as such only in those countries which were under their direct rule, but no one recognised his Khilafat or Imamat beyond his territorial jurisdiction.

For instance, Abu Bakr, who assumed the reins of government after the death of the Prophet, was called Khalifa. But when Omar succeeded him he did not like to be called Khalifa of the Prophet, and adopted the title of Amir-ul-Mominin (chief of the faithful). This title remained in vogue till the time of Imam Hassan. When Imam Hassan abdicated and Muawiya, son of Abu Sufyan, who belonged to Omaya family came into power and Damascus became the capital, he too was styled Amir, and is still known in history as Amir Muawiya. But as the term Khalifa was regarded as sacred, because it implied succession to the Prophet, therefore, the Beni Omaya rulers who came after Muawiya, assumed the title of Khalifa, which in reality meant nothing more than a King.

When Alsaffah, the founder of the Abbaside dynasty, overthrew the Omayides power in 754 A. D. and his successor Almansoor transferred the seat of government from Damascus to Baghdad, Khalifa became a fixed title for the rulers, and all Abbaside Kings, like those of the Imayides, bore that title.

During the Khilafat (rule) of Almuqtadir Abbasi, another Khilafat was set up in Africa, by Abdulla-al-Mehdi, with its seat of Government at Kairwan. This new Khilafat was founded in 909 A. D. In 952 Almuizbilla transferred his capital to Egypt. Abdulla-al-Mehdi and his successors, who were the descendants of Ali adopted the title of Khalifa. Thus it was that the Islamic world was divided between two independent Khalifas, each having absolute authority over his own dominions.

In 755 A. D. Abdul Rahman Aldakhil had entered Spain and founded a new Omayide dynasty in that country. For some time his successors abstained from adopting the title of Khalifa, but during the Khilafat of Almuqtadir at Baghdad, Abdul Rahman Nasir sat on the throne of Spain in 912 he assumed the title of Khalifa, and his successors after him continued to bear that title. Their seat of government was at Cordova.

Thus at one and the sametime there were three absolute Khalifas in the Muslim world, each independent of the other, namely, the Abbasides in Baghdad, the Ulvies in Egypt, and the descendants of Abdul Rahman Nasir in Spain. These three Khalifas regarded themselves as Khalifas of only those countries which were under their direct rule. Each Khalifa had Mufties and Qazis attached to his Court who expounded the law and enforced it according to the will of the Khalifa of their own country. In the Abbaside Khilafat the Courts followed the Hanfi law. In the Courts of the Egyptian Khilafat the Ismaili law was administered, and the Maliki law was in force in the Courts of Spain.

The examples that we have cited above make it sufficiently clear that Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan cannot be Khalifa for the Indian Musalmans who are subjects of the British Government.

Undoubtedly the Sultan is the protector of the two sacred places, rather of three holy cities, namely, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, the last being regarded sacred by the Musalmans, Jews and Christians alike. But this fact has nothing to do with his claim to be called Khalifa.

Some people assert that in every age there should be one Khalifa for all the Musalmans of the world, consequently they

look upon the Sultan of Turkey as such a Khalifa. But this is a mistaken view of the case. The contention that there should be one Khalifa or Imam for the whole world does not find any support from the Quran or Hadis (traditions of the Prophet). Such a Khalifa has never existed in the world and perhaps shall never come into existence. Musalmans inhabit different parts of the world, and when they live in countries ruled by non-Muslims, no Musalman can be Khalifa over them, nor a universal Imam, which is another term for Khalifa Besides this view is falsified by the historical events we have just related, which clearly prove that there were three Khalifas at one and the same time, who were declared to be rightful Khalifas by the Muslim Jurists, Divines and Qazis who lived under their rule.

Musalmans also believe that just before the Day of Doom, when Christ descends from Heaven, Imam Mehdi, will make his appearance, who will be Imam for the whole world. Those who will be in the world of the living, will see what takes place then, but in our opinion, neither Christ will come down from heaven nor is any Mehdi going to make his appearance, for all the traditions relating to the resurrection of Christ and the appearance of Mehdi are spurious.

From some traditions it is inferred that it is indispensible for every Musalman to recognise the Imam of the time and sumbit to him. These traditions too are fabricated and not worthy of credit. But we do not wish to discuss the subject and taking the truth of those traditions for granted, we also assert that it is obligatory for every man to know and to submit to the Khalifa, under whose rule he lives. Every one who lives under a Government is bound to be obedient to it but not to a foreign rule with which he has no direct connection. In short no Musalman ruler can be a Khalifa for those Musalmans who do not live in his dominions.

V

The Imam and the Imamat.

By Imam we do not mean a person who leads the prayers in a mosque, but one who by virtue of his spiritual perfection, great learning and piety comes to be known by this title.

The Prophet was God's Messenger, it was his duty to promulgate God's commands, and to protect the Musalmans. He possessed besides this personal perfections and virtues in the highest degree. So to acquire a likeness in the various attributes of the Prophet, enables a person to attain to the dignity of Imam. For instance, the Prophet possessed to perfection, the ability to interpret and explain the divine law by the help of holy inspiration, any person, therefore who acquires the ability to elucidate problems of law and divinity, though he is not infallible, is looked on by the people as an Imam. It is for this reason that the four great jurists, Abu Hanifa, Shafai, Hanbal, and Malik were given the title of Imam.

Similarly the Aima Ahlibait (the Imams of the Prophet's family) were called Imams, because the majority of Musalmans admitted their having acquired resemblance with the Prophet, either through instruction or by inspiration, in his virtues of personal purity, spiritual excellence, and knowledge of divine laws.

The Musalmans again conferred the title of Imam on Ghizali, Fakharuddin Razi and other learned men in ethics for they established their reputation through logical reasonings as to their having attained likeness to the Prophet in treating of the science of human duty, morals and faith.

In like manner a person who acquires resemblance to the Prophet in all his spiritual and moral attributes and is at

the same time the ruler of a country in which he has power to enforce law and to protect the Musalmans, he has an undoubted right to be styled an Imam or Khalifa for that country over which he possesses the authority. If he does not bear any resemblance to the Prophet in any of his virtues, but is merely the ruler of a country, he can only be called the Sultan or King of that country, and not the Imam or Khalifa of the Prophet, although he may adopt that title for self glorification and compel the people to call him a Khalifa. Any religious mandates issued by such a Khalifa do not carry weight at all.

Considering the state of things at the present time, there appears to be no such person who may justly claim the position of an Imam, nor there is any person, who is entitled to be called the Khalifa of the Prophet, although he should be the ruler of a country. Any Musalman who is governing a country can only be called the Sultan of that country and he is in reality so, whatever title he may have assumed for himself.

We have now to see, what are the teachings of Islam as to the duties which Muslim subjects owe to their Sultan or Sovereign. A Hadis (tradition of the Prophet) which we quote here verbatum from the *Mishkat* will throw light on the subject:—

> Ibn-i-Omar has reported a saying of the Prophet that "A king is the shadow of God on the earth. Every wronged person out of his subjects, seeks his protection. If he deals justly, he shall be rewarded, and his subjects are bound to be thankful to him. But if he is unjust he shall be answerable to God, and it is incumbent on his subjects to be patient."

In this tradition the word Sultan (ruler) occurs without any qualifying word, from which it must be concluded, that the subjects are bound to behave towards their ruler in the manner described in this tradition, irrespective of his religion, whether he be a Musalman, a Christian, a Jew, a Fireworshipper or an Idolworshipper.

In this tradition the king is styled the shadow of God, because every wronged person seeks the protection of his Sovereign in the same way as he does of God.

Now we come to the consideration of the case of the Indian Musalmans, who are living in peace and security as subjects of the British Government, which deals justly with them to the best of its abilities. The Government has framed laws for the settlement of their all kinds of disputes and every one knows the consequences of his acts.

English Government has granted religious freedom to all communities under its rule. The followers of each religion have their religious matters settled according to the rules of their own religion. There is perfect security of life and property. Every body has perfect liberty, and nobody is questioned unless he is seditious or mischief monger. So the Musalmans particularly in view of the tradition quoted above, must feel grateful to the Government, and must not, as long as they are the subjects of this Government, do or say anything which should savour of sedition, rebellion, or hostility.

There are various other traditions in the books of Hadis, in which the Holy Prophet has enjoined in the most distinct and emphatic terms to render implicit obedience to their rulers under all circumstances, whether they oppress them or treat them in a just and generous manner. In all these traditions the word *Hakim* (ruler) is not preceeded with any qualifying word, as to his religion. The Musalmans

are bound to obey the teachings contained in these traditions, and consequently it is obligatory upon them to be perfectly loyal and faithful to the British Government under which they are fully enjoying the blessings of peace. Tney should thank God that he has entrusted their lives, properties, honour and religion, to the care of a Government under which all these things are safe, and which never requires us to do anything which may involve disobedience to God.

VI

The king's name in the Khutba.

Some days ago we read an article in the *Pioneer* on the subject of the Friday *Khutba* (sermon). According to the teachings of Islam every sermon, whether delivered on a Friday or on the two 'Ids, should contain nothing but the praise of God and exhortations to virtue. The religion of Islam has not prescribed or fixed the context of the Khutbas, every speaker delivers it according to his own knowledge and ability or reads out one composed by some one else. The Khutba in Islam is nothing more nor less than a sermon among the Christians. The writer in the *Pioneer* has not thrown sufficient light on the question whether a king's name must find a place in the Khutba or not. We propose to discuss the subject in this article.

In the lifetime of the Holy Prophet and during the times of the first four rightly guided Khalifas, no body's name was mentioned in the Khutba. But owing to later dissensions and open hostilities among the companions of the Prophet, the Muslim society was split up into two rival factions. As one of the parties openly abused and vituperated the first four Khalifas, the practice of mentioning the names of the four Khalifas and those of the two uncles of the Prophet in the Khutba, was in-

troduced to signify that they were all worthy of honour and reverence, and the jurists recognised this practice as permissible. It is not certain, which of the Khalifas, who were only Kings in reality, had his name and his boastful titles mentioned in the Khutba. Syooti, in his History of the Khalifas, relates on the authority of Ali-bin-Muhammad Nofli, that no prayers were ever offered for Saffah, Mansoor, Mehdi, Hadi, and Haroon-ur-Rashid* nor were their praises spoken from the pulpit, nor their written farmans (mandates) contain any boastful words. But when Amin ascended the throne of Khilafat, prayers were offered for him from the pulpit under the title of Amir, Askari also writes in his book the Awail, that first of all prayers were said for Amin from the pulpit and his title was mentioned in there.

But we should see, what the jurists, on whose opinions modern Islam, principally depends, have to say on this point. Durri-Mukhtar, an authoritative work on Hanfi law says "It is not an act of religious merit to pray for the king in the Friday Khutba." Qahastani, alone has said that it does not matter if the name of the king is mentioned in the Khutba. Bahr-ul-Raiq on the other hand says, that it is improper to mention the name of the king in the Khutba, because it is an innovation. Khutba should only contain advice.

The following is from Durri-Mukhtar and its marginal notes :—

"It is a good act to mention (in the Khutba) the names of the four Khalifas and of the two uncles (Hamza and Abbas) of the Prophet, but it is not so to pray for the reigning king. But Qahastani has held it permissible. He says, that after mentioning the names of the four Khalifas and of the two uncles, prayers may be offered for the king to the effect that he may be enabled to rule justfully and do good to the people.

* First five Khalifas of Abbasside dynasty.

But one should restrain from such praises of him, which the learned have declared as iniquity and transgression. According to Durri-Mukhtar, Qahastani has only called it, 'permissible,' but not 'an act of religious merit.' The reason for this is, that religious merit, consists in doing a thing for which there is religious sanction, but there is no such sanction for taking the name of the king in the Khutba or for praying for him; and Bahrul-Raiq calls it an improper act and an innovation on the authority of Attar-ibn-Yasar." And every innovation in the religion is a transgression.

Like the Khalifas of Baghdad who, out of vanity and exultation, caused their names to be mentioned in the Khutba, the Emperors of India, ordered their names to be mentioned from the pulpit every Friday. This was of course not a religious act. We have ourselves, heard the name of Akbar Shah, mentioned from the pulpits of Dehli and the same was done at some other places, although he did not possess even the semblance of authority. But in many mosques in India nobody was named after the time of Shah Alam, as the preachers knew, that it was a lie to style Akbar Shah or Bahadur Shah as kings in their sermons.

In some of such mosques in which the names of the Mughal Kings were dropped from the Khutba, the preachers considering it essential to name some Muslim king, adopted the practice of naming the Sultan of Turkey therein. This practice was perhaps followed in Calcutta and Bombay and in some other distant places from Dehli, but there were other mosques in which nobody's name was mentioned, and the following short prayer was offered instead "O God help the Muslim with a just ruler, help them to be virtuous and obedient to thyself, and to follow the example of the Prophet, the Syed of the universe." This prayer is now recited in the majority of the mosques in India. It evidently includes a ruler, who

rules justly over us, does not interfere in the performance of our religious duties protects our lives and properties, and grants us our rightful privileges. This prayer in fact is not meant for any king, but for the welfare of the Muslim community. The conclusion is that it is not a religious duty or act of the Musalmans to mention the name of a king in the Khutba, nor are they required by their religion to render obedience to any such king.

VII

The Sheikh-ul-Islam.

The office of the Sheikh-ul-Islam is one of great importance in Turkey. By virtue of his office the Sheikh-ul-Islam is a member of the Supreme Council of which the Prime Minister is the chairman and which is called Bab'ali (the sublime porte).

The person who is appointed to this office, must belong to the Hanfi sect, and be a profound scholar and thoroughly versed in Hanfi jurisprudence. The Sheikh-ul-Islam has no power to frame a new rule of Shariat (Muslim Law) or to abrogate or modify any of the existing laws. His sole duty consists to giving the verdict of the Hanfi Law regarding the cases that arise from time to time or when any new law is to be introduced, to give his opinion whether it is in agreement with the principles of Hanfi Law or not. Formerly he possessed very extensive powers, and although those powers have been very much curtailed, he is still in a position to oppose such orders which in his opinion are against the law of Islam.

The Sheikh-ul-Islam therefore has a voice in all the matters relating to the State. For example, in the question of the deposition of Sultans Abdulaziz and Murad the assent of the Sheikh-ul-Islam was indispensible. A *Fatwa* religious

mandate) was obtained from him to the effect that Sultan Abdulaziz was unfit for the work of government and his deposition was in accordance with Islamic law. When a new king was to be installed, the same authority was required to recognise his fitness and right to the throne.

As the Musalmans have come to believe that in all matters whether they relate to faith or to affairs of the world, or the administration of State, Hanfi law must be blindly followed, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, therefore has a right to interpose in all matters of administration, such as the fixing of land revenue, imposing of tax or jazia, issuing orders relating to commerce and trade, legislation, establishment of courts, prescribing the procedure for such courts, determination of the principles of decision of disputes, military matters, the arranging of treaties with foreign powers, the equipment of the Army and even the details of its uniform, arms, and drilling did not escape his interference.

The Musalmans, to whatever country they may belong, never believe that the Sheikh-ul-Islam possesses any such spiritual qualities so as to render submission to his orders obligatory for the Musalmans. They do not regard him as the Roman Catholic Christians regard the Pope. It is because, he is recognised as the greatest learned man in the Hanfi law that respect is shown to his opinions.

In former times when the Turks were backward in civilization the Sheikh-ul-Islam, like the Pope, enjoyed complete and unlimited authority. But gradually restrictions were placed upon his power which was appreciably curtailed by Sultan Mahmood. He is not the lion now, but only a skin of it, in other words the shadow of his formerself. The Fatwas are still issued through him, and his interference in courts has been very much limited.

There was a time when the dismissal of a Sheikh-ul-Islam was not an easy matter. He at once issued a Fatwa, proclaiming the Sultan to have become an infidel or a Christian and stir up a rebellion. But the times have changed. Telegrams received on Monday have announced that the Sheikh-ul-Islam was dismissed and another one appointed in his place. Our European contemporaries are not acquainted with the principles of Islam, and therefore we do not know what ideas they have about the Sheikh-ul-Islam. The *Pioneer* writes "that some time ago we referred to a proclamation of jihad. This proclamation was issued by the same Sheikh-ul-Islam who has been removed from his office, and we assured the Government that the Indian Musalmans would not at all be affected by that proclamation, however, great their sympathy with the Turks might be. In the same way the dismissal of the Sheikh-ul-Islam is another such matter which might have some effect in Constantinople, but it will not affect the Muslim subjects of His Majesty the Emperor of India."

We wish to point out that Sheikh-ul-Islam is nobody in Islam. No one is under compulsion to obey his orders, and those who refuse to obey him do not cease to be Muslims nor do they commit any sin by doing so. His office is not such a religious office at all, as that of the Pope. Every Muslim has a right to examine his orders and to refute them if they are wrong. The Musalmans of India have nothing to do with the Sheikh-ul-Islam of Constantinople, nor is any of his orders binding upon them. They are the subjects of the British Government, under whom they live in peace, while the Muslims of Turkey are quite in a different state. Hence the laws applicable to the Turkish Musalmans do not apply to the Muslims in India and the orders of the Sheikh-ul-Islam have no religious value for the Musalmans of this country. It is a

religious duty of the Indian Musalmans to be strictly loyal to the Sovereign under whom they enjoy perfect security and complete religious liberty, however, great their fellow feelings for their Turkish brethren may be, and whatever may take place in Turkey or Constantinople. Supposing England to be in place of Russia, trying to seize Turkish territory by force ; this action might have caused any amount of sorrow and grief to the Indian Musalmans, still in accordance with the teachings of Islam, they had no alternative, but to be loyal to the English Government under whom they enjoyed religious freedom. We wish to ask our European friends to bear in mind that any revolution in Turkey or any proclamation issued in that country has no religious effect on us here in India. But at the same time there is no doubt, that the Musalmans feel very keenly when anything happens detrimental to the interests of Turkey. It is absurd in the extreme to say that the sympathy of the Indian Musalmans with Turkey is due to the fact that they believe him to be their religious head. The sympathy is natural as a Muslim feels for another Muslim, and it has been very much increased as the result of education and newspapers and facilities in travelling which have brought about easy means of intercourse between the two countries.

The Truth about the Khilafat.

Some Musalmans believe that the Khilafat must be held by one or other of the Muslim rulers in the world, and that by virtue of his position the Khalifa commands the obedience of all Musalmans. They also believe that for several generations the right to the position of Khilafat has been vested in the Osmanli rulers of Turkey. The matter for consideration is, whether the status of a Khalifa, as generally understood has any foundation and whether there is any need for such an office in the creed of Islam.

The meaning of the word Khalifa is, "successor" that is, one who takes the place of another. But there can be no such thing as a successor if the rights and responsibil ties of the position cannot be derived from the previous incumbent.

Every Musalman ruler may be said to be a Khalifa in its *primary* sense, if he has succeeded to the throne he occupies. It is obvious from this that the Turkish rulers do not claim the Khilafat in that sense.

Another meaning of the word Khalifa, is "agent or deputy." For example, where in the Quran, God calls Adam, His Khalifa, in a metaphorical sense, there the meaning plainly is agent or deputy.

In the Quran the word Khalifa is also used in the sense of dominion or sovereignty.

As it says :—

"God has promised to such of you as have believed and act virtuously that He shall surely grant them dominion over the land, just as he had granted dominion to those who had preceeded them."

Keeping in view all these various meanings of the word, we have to consider what kind of Khilafat is that the Sultans of Turkey lay claim to.

According to the sense in which the Quran calls man the Khalifa of God, the term applies to all human beings. In the same way Khilafat as meaning sovereignty comprehends all Musalman rulers.

Thus in Islam we cannot find any trace of a Khilafat, which should invest a Muslim ruler with any peculiar privilege rendering imperative for the Musalmans of all the world whether living in his dominion or outside, to bow to his authority and to obey him in every thing.

But it appears that the Turkish Sultans claim that title of Khilafat, which is attributed to, or is used with, the names of the first four great Khalifas of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, Omar, Usman and Ali; and the one which was adopted by the rulers of the Umiyah and Abbasi families. The significance of the term Khilafat generally among the uneducated Musalmans, is, that it was the succession to the Prophet, which began with Abu Bakr and continued in unbroken line, until in course of time it devolved on the Turkish rulers. Now the question to be discussed and determined is whether in the nature of things there can be any Khilafat of the Holy Prophet.

In Islam there is no reference to such Khilafat, and it was impossible that there should have been one. It is the belief of every Musalman worthy of the name, and it is essential that every one of them should believe that the Holy Prophet Muhammad was the last of all the Prophets. So from the point of view of Apostleship there could be no Khalifa or successor of the Prophet. But the Holy Quran suggests that besides the office of apostle-

ship God confers another office on his chosen ones. This office is termed Imamat.

The Holy Quran defines a Prophet in the following verse :—

"We have sent unto you a prophet of your species. He reads out to you our verses, reforms your lives, teaches you the book and teaches you wisdom and other things which you were ignorant of."

The sense in which the term Imam is used in the Holy book is clear from the following verses :—

"And when God tried Abraham in several things and he stood the test, God said to him. I will make thee Imam of all mankind, Abraham said, wilt Thou show the same favour to any of my children too ; God said, but such as are transgressors, are not included in this promise."

"And we made from among the Imams (leaders) that they guide people in the right way under our guidance. We sent orders to them to act virtuously, to offer prayers and to give zakat. All these were true worshippers."

"And we raised among them Imams, who guided people to the right path by our orders. They got this distinction when they endured the persecutions of the infidels patiently, and firmly believed in our signs.

From the above verses the following inferences can safely be drawn—

(1) Risalat (apostleship) and Imamat are distinct offices.

(2) Apostleship is confined to conveying to mankind the message of God ; and Imamat means to teach people to carry that message into practice.

(3) Both these offices can be combined in the person of one man.

(4) Apostleship has come to an end; but the office of Imamat has not been closed.

(5) Both these offices are Divine gifts to particular persons and are not such as may be transmitted from one person to another or may be hereditary in a family or sect or a party.

The truth of the above being granted, the Khilafat (succession) of the Prophet can be possible only as regards his Imamat and that even is a purely religious or spiritual distinction and not any wordly office.

The Prophet had no other function assigned to him besides this. The opponents of Islam on the other hand bring this charge against the Holy Prophet, that the chief aim underlying all his doings, indeed his one life object was the establishment of an empire, and religion was merely a cloak to conceal his real designs.

The opponents of Islam, we know, make such absurd and baseless assertions. But what makes us wonder is that fairly well read Musalmans, naively declare that the Holy Prophet laid the foundations of an empire. To assert that the Prophet founded an empire or it was his object to found one is to betray sheer ignorance of the real facts. Indeed this could form no part of his very lofty and exalted mission. But the truth is that he taught mankind a religion the followers of which by virtue of their pure and elevated character and their moral superiority were destined to get the upper hand even in the affairs of the world and thus the Divine promise contained in the following verse was fulfilled—

> "God has promised to such of you as have believed and act virtuously, that He shall surely grant them dominion (ascendency) over the land, just as He had granted dominion to those who had preceeded them."

It is sheer injustice to say that our Holy Prophet established an empire, for such an assertion is not only absolutely unfounded and utterly devoid of truth, but it is highly insulting to the majesty and dignity of the apostleship. It is to be borne in mind that there had been mighty empires long before the advent of Islam, and many powerful and vast kingdoms are still existing. A kingdom of this world is such a common thing that thousands have gained and lost it in time. What was the worth of that small strip of land of which he is styled the sovereign, considering that the mightiest potentates, this planet has seen, those who ruled with dazzling splendour over very large parts of the world have thought it their greatest glory to be reckoned among the humblest slaves of that sublime personality.

Had it not been for the rules of Islam, thousands of massive golden chains might have been seen hanging from the door frame of the Mansoleum of the Prophet at Medina, such as is found at Najaf, as a memorial of the pilgrimage of Nadir Shah, who wore it round his neck when he went there to visit the tomb of Ali. Those Musalmans who call their Prophet the founder of an empire, unwittingly support and confirm the insinuation of his accusers that his sole object was the setting up of a kingdom. The truth is that our Holy Prophet had nothing whatever to do with worldly dominion. In addition to preaching the unity of God, he brought with him a law, embodying the most perfect social and moral code and he was besides responsible for the safety of the Muslim Community, so it was quite necessary that in order to find guidance in their religious, social and other important affairs, Musalmans should look to him alone. To guide them in these matters which pertained to his position of Imamat, and in this capacity he was the head of the Muslim society. But this headship can have nothing in common with the kingship, in the ordinary

sense of the word, which some of the Musalmans attribute to him.

The Holy Prophet passed all his days in contented poverty. He never once grumbled and exhorted his friends and followers to live the same sort of life. Hundreds of instances may be cited from history to prove this. It is related on the authority of Aysha, the mother of the faithful, that Muhammad's family never ate their fill of barley bread for two days together, till he expired. Another incident is recorded on the authority of Omar. He says, "One day, I waited upon the Prophet and found him lying on his side on a matting of palm leaves. The matting was without any covering and the back of the Prophet, was covered with the impressions of the leaves. A leather pillow stuffed with palm leaves was under his head." Seeing him in this condition, I said "O Prophet of God, pray to God that he may give thy people plenty of good things of this world. The people of Persia and Rum, although they do not worship God pass their days in great ease and comfort." The Prophet, when he heard this, replied "O son of Khattab, dost thou desire abundance of good things in this world? The people of Persia and Rum have affluence, because their share of good things is given to them in this world. In the next world, their lot will be nothing but tribulation. O, Omar art thou not satisfied that they should get their gifts in this world and we in the next."

Tirmazi relates the following from Abu Talha, that "One day we complained of hunger to the Holy Prophet and showed him the pieces of stone which we had tied to our bellies, upon this the Prophet uncovered his own belly and showed us two pieces of stone tied there."

The Holy Prophet declared alms unlawful not only for himself but his whole family. One day Imam Hassan (his grandson), then very young, put a date, out of the dates brought as alms, into his mouth. The Prophet sternly made him take

it out of his mouth, throw it away and said " Don't you know, we sons of Hashim, never accept alms.

Whenever any rich man sent a present, the Prophet accepted it to prevent disappointment, and then gave it away to the people.

Poverty and destitution never left him. His own mosque was nothing but a platform of timber covered with leaves, much of the work of construction being done by the Prophet himself. When he marched forth to meet the invaders from Mecca, at Badr, his companions had scarcely ten horses among them, and of the 313 men of his following there were a great many who had no arms. There could be no better proof of his poverty than the fact that when he was at his death bed, there was no light in the house and there was nothing for the family to eat. His armour was pawned to a jew of Medina, and some barley flour was procured. Many a times when a guest chanced to come, not a bit of bread was to be found in the house.

This was the royalty in which that Holy Life was passed and that willingly and in preference to that life of which the Quresh held out the prospect to him before his flight to Medina. When the Quresh saw that in spite of their dire persecutions he did not abstain from denouncing their idols, they sent to him Mughira, son of Shaaba, a man of great wealth and high standing. He, as their spokesman, began his speech in a very gentle and conciliatory tone and said, " O my nephew, you possess very noble qualities and come from a high family. How is it that you speak ill of our idols, and call .us foohish and mad on account of our worshipping them, and create dissensions among us. If your desire is to marry a wealthy and beautiful lady, we are willing to wed you to the most beautiful woman in Mecca, whom you choose. If you have set your heart on wealth, we are prepared to heap up all our money

before you, so that you shall become the wealthiest man in Mecca. If your ideal is kingship, we are quite willing to elect you as our ruler and solemnly promise to bow our heads before you and to obey you implicitly in all things as one obeys a powerful king."

When Mughira had finished his message, the Prophet began to recite a portion of the Quran, containing a denunciation of idol worship and an explanation of the unity of God. Mughira, hearing this went away quite baffled.

If the Prophet had established an empire or he had intended doing so, it ought to have been a kingdom ruled over by a line of Hashmi kings and he ought to have nominated as his successor one of his two grandsons, Hassan and Hussain, or his cousin and son-in-law Ali, or any other person from the family of Hashim, to which the Prophet himself belonged. But what came about and all the world witnessed, was that after his death, the first Khalifa or Amir of the Musalmans was Abu Bakr, who was related to him in the seventh generation. Abu Bakr was succeeded by Omar who was related to the Prophet in the eighth generation. After Omar came Usman related to Prophet in the sixth generation, and between whose tribe, the Beni Umiyah and the Beni Hashim to which the Prophet belonged, there had been a long standing and deadly feud. After Usman came the turn of Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. On the termination of the Khilafat of Ali, the fourth Khalifa, the Beni Umiyah succeeded in founding a mighty and extensive Empire, and during their rule which lasted for over a century left no stone unturned to extirpate Beni Hasham, that is the tribe from which the Prophet has sprung.

It can be asserted, without any fear of contradiction, that the Holy Prophet in all his life never dropped even a hint relating to the matter of his succession. This was, because, he only delivered to mankind which was communicated to him

from on High, and never said anything that embodied a desire of his own heart, which is an irrefutable proof of his being a true Prophet. If he had given any directions as to who should be the head of his people after him, those unpleasant events which took place would never have been enacted.

When the Holy Prophet breathed his last, his body was still in the house and preparations for his burial were in progress, when at the instigation of the hypocrites, who were waiting for this opportunity, the Ansars, *i.e.*, the Musalmans belonging to Medina, assembled in a meeting in order to elect for their leadership, some one from among themselves, in opposition to the Mahajirs (the people of Mecca who had emigrated to Medina with the Prophet) and they had actually chosen, Saad-bin-Obada, the head of the Beni Khazraj, when Omar got an inkling of this, and before the meeting was broken up, he hastened to the spot accompanied by Abu Bakr. On the way Abu Obaida-bin-Jarrah and several others of the Mahajirs joined them. It is needless to give the details of the dispute which took place at the meeting hall, certain it is, that as Beni Aus, another tribe of Medina, did not look with favour on the election of Saad-bin-Obada, being the head of their rival tribe, the Beni Khazraj. It was with the support of the Beni Aus, that the Mahajirs carried the day and it was settled that the future head of the Muslim community should be from the Quresh. The next point for decision was, which of the Quresh was best fitted for this distinction. Abu Bakr pointed to Omar or Abu Obaida. But Omar said that Abu Obaida, had a better claim than himself as the Prophet had given him the title of Amin (Trustee or Trustworthy). Abu Obaida, in his turn declared Abu Bakr to be the fittest man for the place and Omar seconded the proposal, with the result that all the Mahajirs and Ansars who were present agreed upon Abu Bakr and they all saluted him as their future Amir.

If some one should assert that the Prophet had given any directions in the matter of his succession, he would have to acknowledge at the same time, that the influence of the teaching and company of the Holy Prophet had been so feeble and transitory as to be eradicated from the hearts of his followers, immediately after his leaving this world. The Ansars of Medina, who had opened their hospitable doors to the founder of Islam, and his persecuted followers, who having made over one half of their belongings to their Meccan guests, had given the world a glorious and unique example of fraternity, and who shed their blood like water and spent their money without stint for the defence of the Prophet and his religion, were actuated in all this by motives of selfishness, which were laid bare at the time of the Prophet's death. Further he should have to admit, that Abu Bakr, the Truthful, who had since his conversion followed the Prophet like a shadow; Omar, the Farooq (one who separates truth from falsehood) and Abdu Abaida, the trustworthy, were either ignorant of any such directions given by the Prophet, which is an impossibility or they purposely suppressed them which to say the least is a grave offence. In all the speeches made at the meeting for election, none of the speakers from both parties made any reference to any directions given by the Prophet.

The election of Omar, Usman, and Ali, can be described in a few words. Abu Bakr made a will just befor his death, that his mantle should fall upon the shoulders of Omar. When this news got afloat, some of the companions of the Prophet, presented themselves before Abu Bakr and objected to this nomination on the ground that Omar was a man of a harsh and uncompromising temper. But Abu Bakr did not yield to this reasoning and declared that Omar was the fittest person for the onerous task.

When Omar was stabbed by an enemy and there was no hope of his life, he named six persons, including Ali and

Usman to elect one from among themselves. The other four subsequently withdrew their names and the question remained between Ali and Usman, of whom Usman was finally elected After the murder of Usman, Ali was made the Amir.

In the light of these facts every one can easily understand that the so-called traditions attributed to the Holy Prophet that he had given directions to the effect that the Amirs should be out of the Quresh Tribe or that he had fixed the order in which four Amirs succeeded one another, are all spurious; and they were forged long after these events had taken place. For had any such directions been given by the Prophet the Ansars of Medina would never have dared to elect an Amir from among themselves, the election of Abu Bakr would have passed off unquestioned, nobody would have objected to the nomination of Omar, and Omar would not have named six persons as likely candidates for the post of Amir after him.

Similarly the statements that the founder of Islam laid the foundation of a republic, is without any historical basis. The Quran and the traditions do not contain any directions for the Muslims to set up any Government nor any instructions as regards the constitution of the Government to be established. This much is true, no doubt, that the equality and fraternity, which Islam had created among its followers, had infused a democratic spirit among them and as long as that spirit had endured, the only form of government possible among Musalmans, would have been a republic.

At this place I wish it to be borne in mind that the verse of the Quran quoted above, namely—

> "Those of you who have believed and who do virtuous deeds, have the Lord's promise, that He shall grant them dominion over the land."

is of general application, which holds true in the case of Musalmans at all times. Another verse in the Quran is still more general in its application, in which righteousness alone is predicated as the means for the attainment of dominion. The verse runs thus:—

> "And we have written in the Zaboor, after detailing the rules of piety, that our righteous servants shall inherit the land."

The two years of the Khilafat of Abu Bakr were taken up in quelling the disturbances eaused by the rise of the false Prophets and by the refusal of some of the people to pay the Zakat. The Musalmans called him by the title of Khalifa, and he did not object to being thus styled. But when Omar, who alone of all others, deserves to be called the founder of the Arabian empire, who, during his ten years' rule, succeeded in bringing the two mighty empires of those days at the feet of Islam; who combined in his person all the qualities of a pious and great ruler and a conquerer, being very far-seeing and prudent, when this great Omar stepped into the shoes of Abu Bakr, some suspicion arose in his mind as to the possible consequences of the continuance of the title of Khalifa. He decided to drop it and bade the Musalmans to address him as Amir-ul-Mominin (chief of the faithful), and as long as he lived continued to be called by this title. Nothing can be more definite and enlightening as to the true import of the word Khalifa, than this act of Omar. Usman and Ali followed the example of Omar in being called Amir-ul-Mominin.

Usman, the third Khalifa, was of Beni Omayyah extraction. It was generally believed that Ali had the undisputed right to be the next Khalifa after him, and the descendants of Omayyah were scheming to found a kingdom of their

own famiiy. The old Khalifa Usman, unconsciously helped them in their plot by allowing them to accumulate money and gather strength. The result was that when, after Usman's murder, Ali became the Khalifa, Moawiya, the head of the Beni Omayyas, broke into open revolt. A battle was fought, in which Moawiya, by a ruse, turned his defeat into a draw, and in the meantime Ali was murdered. There remained Hassan and Husain, the two sons of Ali, and the grandsons of the Prophet by his daughter Fatima, to contest Moawiya's claim to the throne. A compromise was entered into by the parties by which it was agreed that after the death of Moawiya the Khilafat shall revert to the house of Ali. Imam Hassan was poisoned during Moawiya's lifetime, and on his death Imam Husain was alive and he was the rightful claimant for the Khilafat. But it had no longer remained the question of right, but had rather become one of might. Moawiya had before his death cancelled his compact with the sons of Ali by nominating his son Yezid to succeed him. Imam Husain was invited by the people of Kufa, the then largest military station in Arabia, who promised allegiance to him against Yezid. But the Kufees betrayed him as they had done his father Ali and was left by himself with a number of the members of the Prophet's family to oppose a large army which Yezid had sent against him. The issue was obvious, and in spite of the great bravery and heroism with which Imam Husain and his companions fought, the unequal fight was soon over, and the Prophet's family including Imam Husain was slaughtered in the field of Karbala, and the Beni Umiyas were left undisturbed to rule over the country for over a century.

Muawiya during his reign contented himself with being called Amir, and is known in history as Amir Muawiya. The man who was the first to drop the title of Amir and

to deliberately and intentionally assume that of Khalifa, was no other than the notorious Yezid, the son of Muawiya, the man, of all others whose name receives a tribute of curses from every Musalman during the first ten days of the Islamic year, and shall probably continue to receive the same as long as there is a Musalman living in the world. This was the man who had the descendants of the Prophet slaughtered under circumstances of such barbarous cruelty and heartless savagery that the memory of the events will be shockingly painful to Musalmans for all times. This was the man who strained every nerve to make the Beni Hashams extinct from the face of the earth, and did not feel any compunction in murdering in cold blood the little children of the House of the Prophet. This was the man who violated the ordinances and sacred injunctions of Islam without any hesitation, shed innocent blood in Mecca and Medina, desicrated the Kaaba, and at Medina, turned the Prophet's mosque into a stable, undermined the foundation of Islam and destroyed for ever the democratic principles on which the Muslim empire was founded.

Could this man be "Khalifa" of the grandfather of those wronged martyrs, whose cries of anguish are still echoing from the plains of Karbala? Could he be the true successor of Abu Bakr, Omar and Ali, and could the title of Khalifa, which he assumed, be a source of honour to any Musalman after him?

There is no question that the Beni Omayyas produced pious and God fearing rulers like Omar-bin-Abdulaziz and mighty potentates like Walid, whose dominions extended to the heart of India on one side and the middle of France on the other; but then "Khalifa" became another name for an absolute and despotic monarchy, which was acquired from motives

of personal ambition and for personal aggrandisement, and Islam was an indefinite and incidental factor in it.

The end of the power of Beni Omayya was brought about by the combined efforts of the Beni Fatima (descendants of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet married to Ali) and Beni Abbas (descendants of Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet), who, under the pretence evenging the martyrs of Karbala, continued to work to this end for more than a century. The Beni Abbas recognised the right of the Beni Fatima to the so-called Khilafat and helped them to gain their object. But when the Beni Omayyas had been got rid of, the treatment meted out by the Beni Abbas, was in no way better than that dealt out to them by the Beni Omayyas. All those who stood between them and the throne were swept away with the sword and the Khilafat of the Beni Abbas was firmly established, which gave to the world such magnificent rulers as the Khalifas Haroon and Mamoon. Now if the Beni Omayyas are liable to censure because they dipped their hands in the blood of the Beni Fatima, the Beni Abbas, too do not show any cleaner hands in this respect. In order to gain their ends they too regarded the blood of the Prophet's progeny as lawful as the Beni Omayyas has done. From the above it is clear as day that all these things were done from wordly motives and to achieve wordly object and had no connection with religion.

When the Beni Abbas had thoroughly crushed the Beni Omayyas, they began to hunt down the unfortunate members of that family until they were satisfied that none had escaped their relentless sword. But one youth, Abdul Rahman by name, who was a grandson of Hisham, slipped through their hands and finding his way into Spain took possession of that country and founded an independent kingdom, the rulers of which wielded the sceptre for hundreds of years under the name of Khalifas. Similarly other dynasties which came into power

after them in Spain made use of the same epithet. The only relation that existed between the Khilafat of Spain and that of the Abbasides (Beni Abbas) at Baghdad was one of rivalry and antagonism, such as naturally exists between two kingdoms. In the time of Muqtadir, when the Abbaside Khilafat had become decrepit, a new kingdom of the Beni Fatima or the descendants of Ali sprang up in Africa. The sovereigns of this line too styled themselves Khalifas. This shows that three independent Khilafats existed in the Muslim world at one and the same time. Three Khalifas ruled in their respective kingdoms, none of whom recognised the others superiority, rather they were the enemies of each other, and wielded complete authority over their own subjects. The plain conclusion from this is that Khilafat means only kingdom, and every Muslim ruler if he wishes can adopt the title of Khalifa.

The Khilafat of Beni Fatima, established in Africa in 909 A.D., which had existed in a precarious condition for a long time, received its final death blow from the hands of the famous Salah-ud-din, the conquerer of Jerusalem, and Egypt again came under the spiritual sway of the Abbaside Khilafat of Baghdad. All these Khilafats, which were established in different parts of the world, bore a close resemblance to one another in one respect and that was, that as long as they produced rulers who possessed intrinsic ability and personal aptitude all power remained centered in their hands, but when effiminate, profligate and weak Khalifas came to the throne, people of different nationalities became possessed of the real power. The Khalifas remained only symbols of piety and holiness who mostly live a life of retirement and did not interfere in matters of State. This might have been due to faith or some political necessity, but the fact remains that these kings ruled under the suzerainty of the nominal Khalifas, who were like puppets in their hands, and changes of ruling dynas-

ties did not affect the existence of the Khilafat. The Khilafat of the Abbasides continued thus for centuries and if closely looked at, presents a close resemblance to the Popedom in Europe.

About the middle of thirteenth century (656 Hijri) the Abbasi Khilafat at Baghdad came to a bloody end. The Tartar hosts of Hulakco, not only carried fire and sword through Baghdad and Islamic lands, but according to trustworthy accounts, put to sword about eleven millions of Musalmans. All the members of the Abbaside dynasty were swept away in this whirlwind of slaughter.

The destructive deluge of the Tartars was at last beaten back by the Egyptian Prince Malik Zahir, who belonged to the dynasty of Mamluks, who had come to power after the decline of the line of Sultan Salah-ud-din. Sorely beaten the Tartars had to flee from Asia minor and peace was once more restored in that part of the world. The belief in the institution of Khilafat had by this time got such a firm hold upon the Muslim mind, that Malik Zahir felt the necessity of searching for a Khalifa. As the Tartars had killed every one belonging to the Abbaside family it was a difficult matter to find one bearing that name, and it was after a long search that he lighted upon a person named Ahmad. Having satisfied himself that he was of the Abbaside origin, he installed him as a Khalifa, the ceremony, it is said, costing him a million gold pieces. After a few days the new Khalifa was killed while fighting against the Tartars and need was felt for another person to fill the vacant place. A diligent search brought another man bearing the same name, who succeeded in tracing his lineage to the Abbasides and was installed in the office of the Khalifa.

The new line of the Abbaside Khilafat continued to exist in Egypt until the time when the Turkish Sultan, Selim, secured this office for himself.

As the Musalmans of the Sunni sect believed that it was essential for the Khalifa to be a Qureshi, therefore the Khilafat even though it was quite a shadow, remained in the Qureshis, till it was wrested from them by Sultan Selim.

The Abbaside Khilafat of Baghdad lasted from 740 to 1259 A. D. and there were thirty seven Khalifas who held this office during this period. From 1261 to 1517 another eighteen Khalifas of the same dynasty kept the name of the Abbasides alive in Egypt. The Abbasides had preference over the Omayides, because the latter had disgusted the generality of Musalmans with the means they had used in obtaining the Khilafat. The Khalifas of the Beni Fatima, were Shias of the Ismaili type and were not popular among the Musalmans as the majority of them followed Hanfi Law which was a creation of the house of Abbas.

Some people make a distinction between kingdom pure and simple, and Khilafat by declaring that Khilafat is that kingdom, which has the control of the two sacred places, Mecca and Medina, and which performs the duty of protecting them. But this contention too is not borne out by historical evidence.

I have stated above, that there was a time in the Muslim history, when three Khilafats existed simultaneously, namely the Abbasides at Baghdad, the Fatimites in Egypt and the Omayides in Spain. When the Abbasides wrested the power from the Omayides, the sacred places passed into their possession. But in the fourth century (Hijri) the Fatimites of Egypt obtained possession of them and it remained with them till the sixth century when Salah-ud-din seized them and restored them to the Abbasides of Baghdad. The Khalifas of Baghdad continued to be styled Khalifas, in spite of the fact that they had not the control and were not the protectors of the holy places during nearly three centuries. The Muslim kingdom

of Spain enjoyed always the title of Khilafat, although the sacred cities were never included in their dominions. Moreover there were times when the sacred places of Islam, were not under any of the Khalifas, because now and then some independent Arab Chiefs established their power over them. But the Khilafats still continued to be called Khilafats.

In a discussion about the Khilafat another question naturally arises, whether a Khalifa, ought to be such a person as should act upon the ordinances of Islam, should conform to the law and should strive to attain to the ideal afforded by the character of the Holy Prophet. If we fix any such standard, then the history of the Khalifas becomes a strange puzzle. After the four rightly guided Khalifas, Omar-bin-Abdulaziz of the Omayides of Damascus is likened to them, and of the Omayides of Spain, Hisham, son of Abdul Rahman I, is called the second Omar-bin-Abdulaziz. We need not restrict the number of good rulers and may freely admit that the one hundred and eighteen Muslim dynasties which have up to this time ruled in the world have produced good as well as bad rulers as has always been the case in this world, and those who were called Khalifas were in no sense better than those who were not so-called.

Muslim lawyers have always shown great readiness to issue Fatwas according to the exigencies of the time. When there were three Khilafats at one and the same time, they gave Fatwa of their legality. When a non-Qureshite dynasty established their power in Spain, the learned gave the usual Fatwa that to be a Qureshi was not an indispensible condition for a Khalifa. When men of dissolute lives became Khalifas, the theologians again rose to the situation and declared that the Khalifa, need not be just, or innocent or the best of men, and if he was wanting

in any of these virtues he could not be deposed. The qualification of a Khalifa were declared to be the following :—(1) he must be a free man, (2) he must be of age, (3) he must be sane, and (4) he must have the ability to manage the State affairs. Character was altogether excluded from the qualifications of the Khalifa. Akbar, the Moghul Emperor, who wished to invent a new religion and pretended to apostleship, received from the theologians the title of the "Just Imam."

We must leave out of account these timeserver theologians, who depended on kings for their livelihood and were ever ready to do their bidding, and ponder over the question independently and dispassionately whether such people as were slaves of their own evil passions and on account of their dissolute lives were instrumental in bringing discredit on Islam, were in any sense worthy of being called the Khalifas of the exalted founder of this great religion. Judged by this criterion they are not even worthy of being called Musalmans, let alone their title to the Khilafat.

It is impossible in the short space at my disposal to give full account of these so-called Khalifas. I will content myself with giving a few events from the life of the Turkish Sultan who was the first to claim this title. Selim was the first to adopt the title of Khalifa. I will relate a few facts regarding his personal history before stating the way in which he secured the Khilafat.

In 1511, he twice led an army against his father and having dethroned him in 1512, he occupied the throne and ruled for eight years. He was very brave and warlike. He was the first of the Osmanli Sultans who had his beard shaved. His eyes were large and his face was awe-inspiring. As he was famous for his statesmanship and proficiency in the arts of war, so he was notorious for his cruelty and bloodthirstiness.

Friend and foe without distinction fell victim to his mad wrath. It was a common curse in his time "May God make you the Vizier of Selim." Those who were so unfortunate as to be appointed to this post, never enjoyed it for more than a month or two and then were executed. Whenever any one received the order of appointment, he at once began to make preparations for journey to the next world and made his will. As soon as he was established on the throne, he caused his two brothers and five nephews, some of them quite young, to be murdered in cold blood, and turned a deaf ear to their supplications for mercy.

His predecessors had mostly been occupied in the conquest of Europe, but Selim let Europe alone and gave the Christians of Spain ample opportunity to drive the Musalmans out of that country. He paid no attention to the applications of the unfortunate Spanish Muslims for help, and devoted all his energy to the devastation of the two most powerful Musalman States of his day.

The first kingdom to attract his attention was the Persian, which at that time was ruled over by Shah Ismail Safwi. Selim hated him firstly because he was a Shia, and secondly because he had given refuge to one of his brothers and three of his nephews. At first Selim had to deal with the Shias of his own dominions. By means of his spies, he had a list of those who were suspected to be Shias prepared, and out of seventy thousand suspects, he had forty thousand slaughtered in cold blood, while the remaining thirty thousand were imprisoned for life. After this he led his armies against Shah Ismail and fought several battles in which lakhs of Muslims lost their lives.

In the first battle Shah Ismail was defeated and Selim put all the male prisoners to the sword, but spared the

women and children. Among the female captives was the favorite queen of Shah Ismail. Ismail sent four envoys with very rich presents entreating the conqueror to restore to him his wife. But Selim took the envoys prisoners and to add insult to injury, gave the queen in marriage to a soldier named Jafar. Ismail sued several times for peace but every time received his answer from the mouth of the cannon.

Having humbled Persia; the Sultan turned his attention to Egypt and annihilated the magnificent kingdom built up by the energy of the Mamluks.

When the Ayubia kingdom founded by Sultan Salah-ud-din, after his conquest of Egypt, and so-called after his father Ayub, declined and fell, the Mamluks who were the slaves of the house of Ayub rose to power. The first Mamluk King sat on the throne in 1264 A. D. The Mamluks established their fame as great warriors and founded a mighty kingdom which lasted off and on for six hundred years. It was the Mamluks who hurled back with tremendous slaughter the Tartar hordes under Hulaku, who after ravaging the Muslim kingdoms of Central Asia and Baghdad were advancing like a destructive hurricane towards the west. It was they who revived the Abbaside Khilafat in Egypt.

The real motive of Selim in invading Egypt was to secure the Khilafat, while the ostensible cause he gave out was the sympathy of the Egyptians with Persia. Selim got the much coveted Khilafat after wading through a river of Muslim blood. The Mamluks who had once inflicted a defeat on his father, fought with such determined bravery that the Sultan was thunderstruck, and it was his good fortune which saved his life on the battle-field. Sirdar Tooman Bey, the Chief of the Mamluks, had vowed that

he would either slay Selim or capture him alive. Accordingly he cut his way to the heart of the Turkish army where Selim had taken his stand, but he mistook Sanan Pasha for Selim, and having slain him returned safe to his own lines. At last Tooman Bey, through the treachery of his two officers who gave information of his designs to Selim and through the prejudice of the Mamluks that they regarded it as cowardly to make use of cannon and guns, while the chief strength of Selim lay in these arms, was defeated and fled. Selim advanced upon Cairo where the battle raged for three days longer. At last he made a proclamation that he would spare the lives of those who would lay down their arms. At this the fighting ceased and eight hundred Mamluk chiefs surrendered their arms, and came into the Turkish camp. Selim had them murdered and gave orders for a general massacre in which fifty thousand persons lost their lives and Muhammad the last Khalifa of the Abbaside house who lived in Cairo, was compelled in a state of great helplessness to make over the emblems of the Khilafat to Selim, and he handed over to him, the standard, the sword and the turban, which were supposed to be the relics of the Prophet, but of which there is no mention in the lives of the first four Khalifas. It was in this way that the qualifications for the Khilafat were transferred to the Sultans of Turkey.

What I have written of Selim is not solely characteristic of him. Most of the kings who have called themselves Khalifas, have, impelled by land hunger made an equally free use of the sword. The opponents of Islam do say and will say that Islam teaches bloodshed, rapine and disregard of treaties and contracts, and that these kings acted in this way because they were Musalmans. But I ask my Muslim brethren, "Is this true! Is this the teachings of

Islam, was this the example set by the Holy Prophe', and can the Divine origin of Islam be proved by persisting in calling these kings the exemplars and representatives of Islam? Or should we with the poet on behalf of these Musalman kings.

اسلام بذات خود ندارد عیبی
هرعیب که هست در مسلمانی ماست

"Islam is free from all kinds of blemishes, all the blemishes are to be found in that distorted Islam which we profess."

The Revolution in Arabia, the claims and conduct of the Turks.

A few weeks ago, I published a pamphlet " Haqiqat-i-Khilafat " (The truth about the Khilafat) in which I put together a few articles, written by the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1897, on that subject of vast importance to the Muslim world—the claims to the Khilafat. I had added to these articles, some fifty pages of explanatory notes, in which besides presenting a brief review of the subject matter of the articles, I discussed the political situation at that time, and its bearing on the subject. At the time of publishing my pamphlet I had no idea, that events in Arabia, which are, however, in no way unexpected, would, in the very near future, bring the question of the so-called Khilafat into prominence.

The effect upon the minds of the Musalmans of India, of the news, that the Sharif of Mecca had announced his independence may be embodied in a few words. The illiterate Muslim public showed complete ignorance of, and indifference to, the significance of the news, while the majority of the educated Musalmans, although they kept an open mind on the matter, failed to analyze the real nature of the revolution. Both parties, however, are perfectly satisfied when the cause and effects of the event are placed before them in a true light. Some of the enlightened Musalmans have given expressions to their satisfaction at the event, and their feeling is that this uprising in Arabia will solve for all time the vexed question of the Khilafat.

A protest has, however, been raised by one of the Maulvies of Lucknow, who seemingly has failed to grasp the true significance of the Arabian revolution, which, in his opinion, has greatly perturbed the minds of the Muslim community in India. Following him a few Muslims of Lucknow have raised

their voices in condemnation of the Arabs as rebels and enemies of Islam and have passed a resolution to the effect that the Arab revolt endangers the sanctity and safety of the sacred places of Islam.

Let us examine the sentiments of our sensitive brethren of Lucknow and their resolution. Do they really mean to assert that the Arabs are enemies of Islam because they have renounced their allegiance such as it was to the Turks who have lent our sacred religion to the Germany to be one of its weapons wherewith to gain an infamous supremacy in the world? Are the Arabs guilty because they refuse to be identified with a nation who side with our empire's enemies and tacitly concur in their inhumanity and utter depravity?

If the Arabs are enemies of Islam because they have endangered the sanctity and safety of our holy places, let us see how far the accusation is true. As regards the sanctity of Mecca and Medina it is difficult to imagine how it can be endangered. If the holy places derived their sanctity from being under the domination of Turkey, then, with the elimination of Turkish control, undoubtedly their sanctity would disappear. But if they derive sacredness from their connection with Abraham the first, and with Muhammad the last and greatest of the Prophets, then their sanctity will remain undiminished. In the past, attempts were made to desecrate the sacred places of Islam. For instance, Yazid, son of Muawiya, turned the Masjid of the Prophet into a stable, levelled the sacred tombs and pulled down the Kaaba. Yet in the minds of all true believers those places still remain as sacred as before, and will remain so despite the condemnation of the Arabs by certain misguided and biased Musalmans, who seem to overlook that the Sharif of Mecca is the direct descendant of the Prophet and that the Arabs are his kith and kin.

So far as the safety of the sacred places in Arabia is concerned, every Musalman has only to remember that God himself

has provided for this. He has ordained that Mecca and Medina should be situated in a country containing nothing which would tempt the ruthless invader. It is a country barren and inhospitable with not a sign of mineral wealth or any other worldly attraction. If in the distant past this part of Arabia was ever invaded, it was for the purpose only of chastising its ruler and in later times its possession has been sought by Muslim ruling dynasties, so that they might obtain thereby the privileges of the so-called Khilafat, and thus be able to wield those privileges for their temporal advantage.

The Arabs have been styled the enemies of Islam because they have freed themselves from the Turkish domination, but is it not more correct to say that Turkey has, practically by her own conduct, compelled the Arabs to disconnect their country from Turkey ?

We need not discuss whether Turkey before the war was capable of defending the safety of the holy places, although the Musalmans of Lucknow would have not such a bad memory as to forget the threatened bombardment of Jedda and Yembo by the Italians during their invasion of Tripoly and the intervention of Great Britain to stop them from the sacrilege of the holy land. But after Turkey joined in the Great War to whom did they entrust the safety of the holy places. There is no difficulty in answering this question if events leading to the participation of Turkey in the War are scrutinised.

The Turkish Military Party led by Anwar Pasha compelled Turkey against the inclinations of the Sultan, the Prime Minister, the Sheikh-ul-Islam, several other Ministers and the heir apparent to the Turkish throne, to join Germany. The Turkish heir apparent, who was the ablest statesman in the country, was subsequently murdered because of his peaceful and moderate policy. When Turkey was precipitated into the War, she withdrew from Arabia the heavy garrison which

she had been compelled to keep there for the purpose of overawing the Arabs and left the Arabs practically free to do as they listed. It is a well-known fact that the Arabs have never been conciliatory to the Turkish domination and the Turks never succeeded in gaining their confidence. During the four hundred years of the Turkish control of the Hedjaz, the Arabs have never missed the opportunity of struggling against and throwing aside the Turkish Yoke whenever one presented itself. Turkey, therefore, by weakening her Military strength in that part, virtually invited the present revolution in Arabia.

It is a question now, whether the Turkish Military Party who are the real rulers of Turkey, will desire to recover the Hedjaz and whether it will have sufficient value at all in their estimation to make it worthy of recovery and retention. It is generally known that Turkey never derived any material benefit whatever from their dominion over Hedjaz. In fact the nominal possession of that country annually cost Turkey crores of rupees in bribes and otherwise. This heavy expenditure was borne by the Turks, either that they might reap the fruits of it in the world to come, or that would be compensated in this world by purchasing the sympathies and aid of every Muslim community in their hour of need. In this latter expectation they have been utterly disappointed. Germany hoped and Turkey believed, that when the call sounded from the so-called Khilafat every Musalman would rise to help the Turks. But the Muslims outside Turkey were neither so foolish, nor so ignorant of their religious duties so as to allow themselves to be led away by the Turkish military party and German intriguers. Of the two conjectured objects of Turkish expenditure in the Hedjaz, there only remains the hope of spiritual reward and it is to be seen whether or not Turkey is willing to spend her money as before for that purpose.

Those people who are pleased to call the Arabs rebels,

perhaps are unaware that the Turks have never claimed to be the rulers of the Holy Land, nor have they ever treated the inhabitants of those parts as subjects, and the Arabs would in fact never have borne such treatment. The Sultans of Turkey have always taken pride in calling themselves the servants of sacred Mecca and Holy Medina. No taxes were ever levied on those cities, but on the other hand, enormous sums, as we have already stated were paid out from Turkish treasury as salaries, stipends, presents, etc. The Government of the Hedjaz and the holy cities was entirely in the hands of the Sharif who was paid 12,00,000 Karash per annum as a subsidy. The Turkish representative called Wali has always been liable to transfer if he incurred the displeasure of the Sharif. According to M. Mahboob Alam, no less than 10 to 12 Walies were transferred in a period of two years, because they did not please the Sharif.

Therefore it would be absurd to call the Sharif a rebel, although it may be said that the Sharif has not acted wisely in asserting his independence and thus deprived himself and many others of the monetary advantages which they received from the Turks. But the Sharif's answer to this is, that whatever he has done, has been for the purpose of upholding the sanctity of the holy cities and for protecting and saving them from those dangers which the Turks had created.

Previous to the War, Turkey had no enemies amongst the big Powers and the Turkish dominions were safe. But when Turkey joined in the War, the Arab opinion must necessarily have been that any part of the Turkish dominions was liable to be invaded by her enemies and this view must have been strengthened by the invasions of Gallopoli, Armenia and Mesopotamia. It is known that when Anwar Pasha, visited Mecca, some time ago, the Sharif told him "You are an ignorant person and you are dragging Turkey downwards to its ruina-

tion." The Sharif has therefore achieved the separation of Hedjaz from Turkey so as to remove it from any danger of a hostile action and being included in the ruin of Turkey.

The Sharif in declaring the independence of the Hedjaz has acted for the best in the light of his own understanding and if his act can be attributed to a good motive, no one has a right to use strong language in condemnation of it. Apart from the question as to whether Turkey or the Arabs have the power to protect the Hedjaz, the whole world knows, and the Muslim gentlemen of Lucknow, who like good Musalmans are feeling anxiety for the safety of holy cities, must also know, that our sacred land is being protected by the greatest Muslim power in the world for the sake of her eighty million Musalman subjects, or in other words the eight crore Muslim subjects of the British Empire are responsible for the safety of the Hedjaz. It is to be hoped that Musalmans have not degenerated to the extent and lost their sense of fairness that they are unable to feel grateful to those who have acted in a noble spirit towards them and have done good to them. It is neither loyal nor honest to increase the difficulties of the Government at the present time by publishing false views and thereby misleading the Musalman public. It does not require any deep thinking to come to the conclusion that it is abject disloyalty to sympathise with Turkey, even under any cloak as long as she is fighting against our Empire, and it is disloyalty all the same to condemn Arabs, under any excuse, who are in their present position the enemies of our enemies and therefore our friends.

Turkey is under such a deep debt of obligation to Great Britain, that it is impossible for her to repay, in fact she owes her very existence to the British Government. It is fairly well-known that in 1855 Britain and France saved Turkey from Russia. Again in 1878 when the Russians, after conquering Plevna and Shibka, had arrived almost under the

walls of Constantinople, England intervened and saved her from utter annihilation. But it is not so generally known that Hedjaz itself where the two holy cities are situated, as well as Syria, Asia Minor and the suzerainty over Egypt are the gifts of Great Britain to Turkey. The Wahabis in Arabia, having inaugurated a secret movement in 1750 A. D., created an organisation hostile to Turkey and gradually attained to so much power, that in 1803 they easily secured the possession of the holy Mecca and the blessed Medina. The Turkish forces sent to punish the Wahabis were one after the other defeated and the safety of Acre, Damascus, and Baghdad was imperilled. When the Turks had failed in retrieving the conquered territory and the sacred places, Muhammad Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, and the founder of its present ruling dynasty undertook the campaign against the Wahabis in 1811, and after a series of bloody battles succeeded in breaking their power in 1815. Muhammad Ali who then professed obedience to the Porte, sent the keys of Mecca and Medina to the Sultan, but Egyptian forces were appointed to guard the holy cities. Muhammad Ali, an Albanian by birth, having begun his career as an ordinary soldier attained to the Pashalit of Egypt. His ambition did not stop there, and in 1831 he found an excuse to renounce his allegiance to the Turkish Government, sent an army under his son Ibrahim to invade Syria. Ibrahim captured Acre and Damascus and after defeating Muhammad Pasha and Husain Pasha, at Homs and Baylon respectively, became the absolute master of the whole of Syria. He then advanced towards Asia Minor. The Turks sent strong forces under Wazir Rashid Pasha to check the progress of Ibrahim, but they were defeated at Konia in 1832 and Ibrahim reached within a hundred miles of Constantinople, to save which the Sultan had to beg Russia for assistance.

In 1839, the Turks made a final attempt to get back the lost territory from the Egyptians and a large army was despatched against them under Hafiz Pasha, a general of high repute. But this Turkish army met with no better fate and was defeated by Ibrahim at Nazib in 1839, which broke the Turkish Military power. At this critical juncture England came forward to help Turkey and sent an English fleet to Bairut under Stopford and Napier. This brought the turn of the Egyptian forces to be defeated and expelled out of Turkish territory, and Muhammad Ali was compelled to sign the Treaty of London in 1841, by which Hedjaz, Syria, and Asia Minor, an area of one hundred thousand square miles, were ceded to Turkey, and Egypt became her vassal, promising to pay a tribute.

England having saved Turkey and restored it to power in 1840 and afterwards in 1855 and 1878 had a right to expect Turkish friendliness during the present war and that should have been the dictates of a true Islamic spirit. The British Foreign Secretary used every effort to induce the Turks to remain neutral, but Anwar Pasha against all counsels plunged his country into the war against the allies.

Britain from her past knowledge and the exhibition of Turkish strength in recent times, had no reason to be afraid of Turkish Military Power, her anxiety arose from the fact that she had a vast number of Muslim subjects and had also Muslim neighbours. The basis of the danger which she feared was that weapon of fictitious Khilafat which the Turks were ready to use for the sake of Germany as a means of coercing all Muslims to their aid. But by the favour of God Almighty, the Muslim mind has not lost its equilibrium and the Musalmans remained steady in their loyal fedility to their own Government.

The Germans had so strongly taken hold of the Turkish

mind and had so bewitched them by vast promises that the Turks in direct violation of the true and real spirit of Islam did not hesitate to attempt to drag the whole Muslim world into disgrace and ruination. If the so-called Khilafat has any meaning, and the Turks have a claim to the sympathy and obedience of the Musalmans, surely they owe them some duty in return, of not misguiding them at least, and if there existed such a duty, the Turks have performed it with the utmost dishonesty in joining Germans in this war and inducing the Muslim world to side with them. The young Turks declared war against England, Russia and France, which govern the destinies of millions of Musalmans, and have identified themselves with Germany which cannot probably claim even a single Musalman among her subjects. The counsel of the Muslims of India to the Turks not to participate in the war was rejected by them with contempt. If the pernicious endeavours of the Turks to lure away the Muslims of other countries had succeeded, there would have been no place for the Musalmans in the world. If the Turks follow the same Islam which was preached by the Holy Prophet of Arabia, they have certainly violated the ethical principles of that religion. The Turks should certainly have known the God's command in the Holy Quran :—

وا ن ا ستنصر و كم فى ا لد ين فعليكم ا لنصر ا لا على قوم بينكم وبينهم ميثا ق -
سو رة ا نفا ل — ع ۹

Translation.

And if they ask your help in the religion, it would be your duty to help them, except against such people, between whom and yourself there shall be a compact subsisting.

Quran Chapter 8, verse 72.

The young Turks for their personal gain have engaged to help a Christian Government which is fighting against her

co-religionists to satisfy its worldly ambitions and this has no concern with Islam.

The Turks have openly violated one of the fundamental principles of Islam by trying to stir up the Muslims of India, Egypt, Russia, France, Persia, and Afghanistan against their rightful Governments. If their misguided endeavours had succeeded in undermining the loyalty of the people of those parts of the country from which the armies are drawn, those people would have been the chief sufferers and it is in those parts that the extent of danger could be realised and not in Lucknow or Dehli.

To save the Musalmans from a recurrence of a similar mischievous action by the Turks, the only course is that, which has presented itself, to deny them the claim to the so-called Khilafat, and entrust to the Arabs the safe keeping of the Holy cities, which is in reality their birth right. The Muslims should direct their united efforts, with a view to enable the Sharif of Mecca to consolidate his independence and compel the Turks by all possible means to disconnect themselves from Arabia. This is in no way to the advantage of European Powers, but is sure to be conducive to the interests of their Muslim subjects, who will gain clear of critical positions in which they have been placed and are again liable to be placed by the antagonism of the Turks to the various Powers of the world.

The Indian Muslims may claim to be superior beings than the Musalmans of Egypt, but it is an undeniable fact that the latter are in a better position to guage the present situation in Arabia. The Egyptian Muslims have given expression to their entire satisfaction at the declaration of independence by the Arabs and are anxious to see, that independence assured. The principal upholders of the ac-

tion of the Arabs, is that section of the Egyptian Musalmans, who are the followers of the late Sheikh Muhammad Abdoo, the great Egyptian Reformer, whose position in Egypt was similar to that which was held by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in India. The Muslims in India may possibly be surprised on hearing that the Sultan's nephew, Prince Sahab-ud-din, is one of the staunch supporters of the Arab's emancipation.

The description of the Arabs as rebels and enemies of Islam has been amplified by some good and pious Musalmans of Dehli, who think to have performed their duty by calling the Arabs, an ignorant and wretched nation. This is certainly a news and the Muslim world has yet to learn that such is the case. The Musalmans have believed so far, that the nation which had the honour of producing the noblest man of the world, the greatest of all Prophets, was more noble than any other nation of the world. If that nation has been reduced to an abject and ignorant condition, how has this come to pass? The Turks who have been governing the destinies of the Arabs for the last four centuries are in the best position to answer this question. The Turks have deliberately all along striven to deprive the Arabs of all education and keep them out of touch with civilisation, knowing that the political awakening of Arabia, would mean the end of their claims to the guardianship of the Holy cities and consequently of their claims to the Khilafat.

The Arabs are said to be ignorant, but it is not clear whether the criterion is the Indian Musalmans or the Turks who perhaps are considered to have led the world in pursuit of knowledge and to be a most enlightened nation. The Arabs may be deemed ignorant at this stage of their history, but it is an undeniable fact, that in the past they

derived their fame not only through their great conquests, but were known as great champions of science and learning throughout the world. They made Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova, Granada, and other places the great centres of science, arts and literature, they spread culture and gave impetus to civilisation, and in fact they were the pioneers of enlightenment who laid the foundation of modern Europe. What have the Muslims of India done in their times in this line. They have done nothing which might challenge competition with the intellectual achievements of the Arabs. The Tartars and the Turks whose forefathers, after extirpating the Abbaside Khilafat at Baghdad, had utterly destroyed all those precious and valuable treasures of knowledge, enlightenment and art—the result of the hard and strenuous efforts of intellect for centuries, and slaughtered the learned and enlightened philosophers and artisans, leaving not a single one of them alive. These Tartars, Moghuls or the Turks, even after their conversion to Islam, never made any marked progress in arts and science, and the descendants of the Indian or Central Asian Musalmans have no right to condemn the Arabs as ignorant, whose forefathers have left such a brilliant record behind them.

If a comparison is to be made between the Arabs and other Muslim Communities of the world, it should be in their respective services to the cause of Islam. If a Muslim attaches some value to his religion, and considers it a great blessing and divine favor, as he should, he does not stand in need of being told from what hands he has got it. The blessed souls of the Sublime Prophet, the Great Siddiq, the Glorious Farooq, the Noble Murtaza, and the Martyrs of Karbala, must be wondering at those Musalmans, who are airing their vanity and conceit by calling the Arabs, the enemies of Islam, ignorant, wretched and despicable people, in as much as, the Arabs have earned these titles for attempting

to do the same work, which was one of the chief objects of the Great Prophet's life and those of his successors, and which they had successfully accomplished, *i. e.*, the unity and independence of Arabia If the Arabs are the enemies of Islam, and the Turks have been its champions, some person, with a better knowledge of the Turkish history, would be wanted to tell us of the great deeds performed by the Turks in the service of Islam. So far as we know, the only service, the Turks, not unlike the majority of other ruling Muslim tribes, have rendered to Islam is, that they have degraded this noble religion in the eyes of the non-Muslim world by governing in direct violation of the principles of Islam. Their deeds are regarded by the strangers as the outcome of the teachings of Islam, and it has given a hard task to the exponents of Islam to convince the non-Muslims that Islam is not responsible for such acts. The attachment of the Turks to Islam has been put to test, when once and only once during their past history they were called upon to help their Muslim brethren in great distress and trouble. Towards the close of the fifteenth century of the Christian era, when the Arabian rule in Spain had tottered down and the Musalmans were being massacred in that country, the only terms offered for saving their lives being either to leave the country or adopt Christianity, at that critical time the Arabs of Spain appealed to the Turks and begged them for help, but they paid no heed and turned a deaf ear to their appeal, although the Turks were at that time in the zenith of their power and their naval supremacy was undisputed. The result was that in the country which the Arabs had governed for seven hundred years not a single Muslim was left towards the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Even in the recent time the services rendered by the Arabs to the cause of Islam have no parallel in the records

of any other Muslim community in the world. The poor Arab traders who had no Governments or wealthy communities to back them with money or give them encouragement, have confounded the united efforts of the Christian Missionaries of Europe and America, by converting the inhabitants of a great part of Africa to Islam. The Christian Missionaries have been constrained to admit that they cannot successfully compete with the Arabs in the propagation and spread of religion. This is the true spirit of Islam which the Arabs possess in the same degree as they did thirteen hundred years before and which no other Muslim community or ruling tribe including the Turks, have displayed with all the advantages they had at their command. Preaching of Islam and its propagation was the chief duty imposed by Islam on every Muslim but none has come up to the Arabs in its performance, in the old days or in recent times. If this is the enmity to Islam, we wish Islam had many more such enemies.

One grave defect that has always existed in the education of the Musalmans, has been that they have been denied the study of their own history, a subject which the Arabs brought into existence with all its perfections. It was considered a sin to study history in former days and every learned Maulvi was quite innocent of it, and in the present day school courses Islamic history has got no place. If the Muslims had been conversant with their national history, they would have welcomed the news of the present awakening of the Arabs. The degeneration of the various Muslim communities have generally reached the stage, at which the progress of nations has always stopped, and this has been through luxury and dissipation. The only exception to this rule are the Arabs in Arabia. Mutasim, the second son of Khalif Haroon, who succeeded his brother Mamoon at Baghdad got so tired of the equality of treatment by, and the

fearless behaviour of his own people, the Arabs, that he committed a grave political blunder by the point of view of the Arabs, by formation of a large standing army composed of Turks and other foreigners. He removed the seat of Government from Baghdad to Samarah, where he went to live with his favorite corps. The Arabs got so disgusted at this conduct of the Arabian Khalif that they began to renounce their close connections with the Government and returning to their own territories resumed their former mode of living. The descendants of these Arabs are in the same condition as they were at the time of the advent of the Holy Prophet. High resoluteness, bravery, courage, and the tractableness of body and mind are in the same condition as they were at the time of their first awakening. The Arabs have already proved that they are capable of attaining to the highest stages of human development if they are properly educated and trained, and they would again prove themselves responsive to highest and noblest ideals and aspirations. Progress of the Arabs and the proper arrangements for their education form a problem, which should equally absorb the interests of the whole Islamic world. The present day Arabs, who are considered to be ignorant, illiterate and idle, would become a most useful instrument of Islam, if they are properly cared for.

If the Arabs are able to maintain their independence, which there is every reason to hope they shall, their chief duty at the present time will be to make suitable arrangements for the pilgrims. The Sharif of Mecca was hithertofore responsible for the proper management of the pilgrims, and if there was any complaint, the blame was laid on his shoulders. In fact a system of double Government prevailed with regard to the arrangements for pilgrims, and therefore the complaints could not be properly dealt with. No body could ask the Sharif to

give explanations and the Turks turned deaf ears to all complaints. If the fault lay with the Sharif, the Turks should have been able to put the things right. If they could not reform the irregularities in the Sharif's administration and impose restrictions upon his independent actions, the Turkish suzeranty over Arabia had no meaning. The Sharif, who is responsible for this revolution in Arabia, is bound to make proper arrangements for the pilgrims. The Musalmans all over the world, through proper channels, should compel the Sharif to organise a managing body, consisting of the representatives of the Musalmans of all the countries, and act with their assistance. He has in fact expressed his willingness to do so. The development of this organisation should naturally be the prime object of the Sharif's Government. He must feel the necessity of finding out some source of income, as he will no longer enjoy the bounties of the Turkish Government. The only means of improving his financial conditions lies in the increase of the number of pilgrims and nothing but the satisfactory arrangements for their convenience will attract the larger numbers.

The Musalmans, who for their political regeneration are depending upon the existing Muslim Powers, as the means, are building their castles in the air and simply betraying their lack of intelligence and deep-thinking. History will repeat itself and the rise of the Musalmans will take place in the same manner as it did in the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The Turks and the Tartars, who had then brought about the fall of the Muslim Kingdoms, established them again by their own conversion to Islam. If the Islam succeeded in exhibiting the same miracle again, the future Muslim Powers will grow out of civilised and enlightened nations of the world. Those people who regard this as a utopian idea, have a weak faith, and don't seriously believe in the reality of Islam as the faith, exhibiting the highest, and noblest, principles of truth, justice, purity and

morality and capable of satisfying in full, the legitimate yearnings of humanity. Modern high education is the chief requirement of the Musalmans to help the non-Muslim communities to find out the true Islam. The time when the Muslims had to use their swords to attain to ascendency is fortunately gone, the Muslims now have to arm themselves with weapons of knowledge and enlightenment and by propagating the Holy Message of Islam ought to fulfil the Divine Will and the objects of the true Islamic teachings. At the end of this war the Europeans shall naturally feel a tendency to discover the causes of this woeful and wonderful phenomenon in the history of the world. The discovery might lead to its one real great cause, that is, the absence of spirituality among the majority of Europeans. The remedy they would find in the teachings of Islam, the religion whose chief and fundamental object was to combine the whole of humanity into one homogeneous whole, and establish a universal brotherhood by making them the worshippers of one God. Humanity shall never get rid of these calamities, till it has in all enthusiasm and sincerity of spirit embraced Islam.

RAWALPINDI,
22*nd July*, 1916.

SIRAJ-UD-DIN AHMED,
Bar-at-Law.

શાયસ્ત ને-શાયસ્ત

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ધાર્મિક રિવાજોનું એક પહલવી પુસ્તક

અસલ પરથી તરજુમો કરનાર

જેહાંગીર કાવસજી તવડીઆ, બી. એ., પીએચ. ડી.

લેકચરર, હેમ્બર્ગ યૂનિવર્સિટિ

મુંબઇ

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શાયસ્ત ને-શાયસ્ત

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મુંબઈ

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ફરામજી એરામજી મોદીએ, 'ધી મોદી પ્રિન્ટીંગ પ્રેસ,
૨૩૭-૨૩૯, બજારગેટ સ્ટ્રીટ, ફોર્ટ, મુંબઇમાં છાપ્યું છે, અને
ડૉ. જાલ ફરીરોઝ બલસારાએ પારસી પંચાયતના ફંડ તથા મિલ્કતોના
ટ્રસ્ટી સાહેબો માટે હોર્નબી રોડ, ફોર્ટ, મુંબઇમાં
પ્રગટ કીધું છે.

પ્રસ્તાવના

સાસાનીઅન જમાનાના પહલવી સાહિત્યમાંથી જે કંઇ બચવા પામ્યું છે, તેમાંનું એક પુસ્તક આપણા ધાર્મિક રીત રિવાજો અને ક્રિયા કામ પર છે. તેને શાયસ્ત ને-શાયસ્ત (અથવા શાયસ્ત લા-શાયસ્ત) એટલે 'વાજબી અને ગેરવાજબી' એવા નામથી ઓળખવામાં આવે છે. તે જેમ તેની બાબતને લીધે ઘણી જરૂરનું ગણાય છે તેમ તેની ભાષાને લીધે પણ ભારે અગત ધરાવે છે. ધાર્મિક જીંદગી પરજ નહિ પણ એમાં વપરાયલા અનેક પ્રકારના શબ્દો સાસાનીઅન સંસાર અને સંસ્કૃતી પર પણ કેટલુંક અજવાળું પાડે છે. આ કારણથી ડૉકટર ઑવ ફિલોસોફિ (પીએચ. ડી.) ની ડીગ્રી મેળવવા માટે મેં તેનેજ પસંદ કરી, અસલ લખાણનું શોધન કરી, તેનું વાંચન, તરજુમો, વગેરે તૈયાર કયું હતું, જે એક પુસ્તકના આકારમાં ૧૯૩૦ માં છપાયું છે.[૧]

આ પહલવી પુસ્તકમાં આપણા અનેક ધાર્મિક રિવાજોનું વર્ણન આવેલું હોવાથી જો તેનો ગુજરાતી તરજુમો થાય તો તે મોબેદ વર્ગ તેમજ બીજા જરથોસ્તીઓના ઉપયોગમાં આવે, એ વિચાર પારસી પંચાયતના ટ્રસ્ટી સાહેબો આગળ રજુ કરતાં તેમણે તે કામ મને સોંપ્યું. પણ કંઇક ગેરસમજ તેમજ બીજાં કારણોને લીધે તે હાથ ધરવામાં અને પુરૂં કરવામાં કેટલીક ઢીલ થઇ, જે માટે હું દિલગીર છું.

મારાં અંગ્રેજી પુસ્તકની પ્રસ્તાવનામાં જુદી જુદી બાબત પર જે લંબાણ વિવેચન કર્યું છે તે અત્રે રજુ કરવાની જરૂર નથી. એટલુંજ જણાવવું બસ થશે કે અસલ પહલવી લખાણ સાસાનીઅન જમાનાના છેવટના ભાગમાં, એટલે છઠ્ઠી સદીમાં, અવસ્તા નસ્કની પહલવી શરેહો પરથી તૈયાર કરવામાં આવ્યું છે. તેની ભાષા મોટે ભાગે સાદી, સરળ, અને ઉંચા પ્રકારની છે, છતાં કેટલીક વખત અર્થ સમજવામાં મુશ્કેલી લાગે છે. નહિ જણાયલા રીત રિવાજોને લીધે જ્યાં ખુલ્લા અને ખુલાસાવાર શબ્દો નહિ હોય ત્યાં ગુચવાડો

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૧ Sāyast-nē-sāyast A Pahlavi Text on Religious Customs edited, transliterated and translated with Introduction and Notes by Jehangir C. Tavadia Hamburg 1930. વધુમાં કેટલાક સુધારા માટે જુઓ હવે પછી પ્રગટ થનાર એક લેખ.

ઉભો થાય તેમજ નકલ કરનારાઓની ભૂલથી તેમાં વધારો થાય એ દેખીતું છે. વળી પહલવી લખાણની ખાસ મુશ્કેલી પણ જાણીતી છે. છતાં ધીરજ અને ખંતથી, ખાસ કરી શાયસ્ત ને-શાયસ્તમાં સમાયલી જે જે બાબતો બીજાં પુસ્તકોમાં મળી આવે છે તેનો અભ્યાસ કરી, સરખામણી કરી બને ત્યાં સુધી ખરો અર્થ નકકી કરવાની મેં કોશેશ કરી છે. આવાં પુસ્તકો તે વંદીદાદની જાણીતી પહલવી શરેહ, તેજ પુસ્તક પરની બીજી હજી સુધી નહિ છપાયલી શરેહ, એર્પતસ્તાન અને નીરંગસ્તાન, પહલવી રિવાયત, સદ્દર વગેરે જુની તથા દારાબ હોરમજદ-યારની નવી અને મોટી ફારસી રિવાયત, વગેરે મળી આવ્યાથી શકમંદ બાબતમાં ખાતરી કરવાનું બન્યું છે. આમ કરતાં આ પુસ્તકો પર પણ કંઇક અજવાળું પાડવાનું બની આવ્યું છે.

આ બધી ચીજો મારાં અંગ્રેજી પુસ્તકમાં સમાવવામાં આવી છે; પણ તે અત્રે પાછી આપવાની જરૂર જોઇ નથી. માત્ર જે પરિણામ નીપજાવ્યું છે તેજ આપ્યું છે, એટલે કે નકકી કરેલો અર્થ તરજુમા રૂપે રજુ કર્યો છે. વળી તેમ કરતાં બને ત્યાં સુધી અસલ રચનામાં કશો ઉમેરો કે ફેરફાર કર્યો નથી; અને જ્યારે પણ કર્યો છે ત્યારે લખનારની મતલબ ગુજરાતી ભાષામાં સારી રીતે સમજણ પડે એટલાજ માટે તેમ થયું છે. જેમ અર્થ ઉપજાવવા માટે કરેલી શોધખોળ અત્રે આપી નથી તેમજ અર્થને સરળ ગુજરાતીમાં લખવા જે છુટ છાટ લીધી છે તે પણ દેખાડી નથી; કારણ કે આ તરજુમો અભ્યાસી વર્ગ માટે નાહ, પણ સામાન્ય વાંચનાર માટે કર્યો છે. જેને વધુ ખાતરી કરવી હોય, તેણે મારૂં અંગ્રેજી પુસ્તક તપાસવું.

વળી હમણાંજ જણાવેલાં કારણને લીધે ભાષા પણ સાદી અને સરળ રાખી છે. શબ્દો મોટે ભાગે મૂળ સંસ્કૃત, ફારસી, વગેરે રૂપમાં ન આપતાં તેના ગુજરાતી રૂપમાંજ આપ્યા છે. કદાચ જણાવવું જોઇએ કે એમ કરવામાં ભાષાની શુદ્ધતામાં વાંધો પડતો નથી; તે તો વ્યાકરણ અને જોડણીના નિયમોનો ભંગ કરવાથી પડે છે. જોડણીમાં જે મારાથી કોઇ નિયમ નહિ જળવાયો હોય તો તે ખાસ કરી 'ઇ' અને 'ઉ' સ્વર સંબંધી છે, કેમકે તેમના ઉચ્ચારમાં અને લખવાની રીતમાં ફેરફાર હોવાને લીધે કોઇ એક નકકી નિયમ આજ સુધી કબૂલ કરાયો નથી; અને તેથી ઘડી કઢાયલા જુદા જુદા નિયમમાંથી કોને પસંદગી આપવી તે નકકી ન કરતાં જેમ ત સ્વરો સામાન્ય રીતે લખાય છે તેમ મેં પણ લખ્યા છે, વધતી ઓછી ભૂલ સાથે.

શૈલી સંબંધી જાણવું જોઇએ કે આ એક જુના અને પરદેશી લખાણનો તરજુમો હોવાથી તે લખાણની અસર કુદરતી રીતે થઇ છે. વળી આવાં પુસ્તકોના સારા અને નમુનેદાર તરજુમા ભાગ્યેજ કરવામાં આવ્યા છે; તેથી કોઇ ચોકસ રૂઢિ પડી નથી જેને આપણે સહેલાઇથી અનુસરી શકીએ. વળી મને પોતાને પણ ગુજરાતીમાં લખવાનો મહાવરો નથી એમ જણાવવું જોઇએ.

એક યા બીજા કારણને લીધે ધાર્મિક રીત રિવાજોને લગતા કેટલાક શબ્દો તો અસલનાજ વાપર્યા છે, મોટે ભાગે તો મૂળ સ્વરૂપમાં, પણ કોઇકિને જે રૂપમાં હાલ પારસીઓ સામાન્ય રીતે વાપરે છે તે રૂપમાં આપ્યા છે, દાખલા તરીકે 'મરગરજાન' નહિ કે 'મર્ગ–અર્જાન્' (=મોતને લાયક). એજ પ્રમાણે નામોનાં સંબંધમાં જાણવું. આ બધાં માટે એકજ નિયમ રાખ્યો હોત તો ઠીક થાત, પણ આશા છે, કે આ અને આવીજ બીજી બાબતોથી ગુચવાડો ન થતાં ખામી જેવું લાગશે નહિ. આ તરજુમાના વાંચનાર તો પારસી સિવાય બીજા કોઇ ભાગ્યેજ નીકળે, અને પારસીઓને તો આવા શબ્દોનું જ્ઞાન હોયજ, છતાં તેના અર્થ આપવાથી કોઇને પણ લાભ થશે. કેટલાક તો તરજુમામાંજ દાખલ કર્યા છે. બીજા અત્રે આપ્યા છે.

અવાવ: અપવિત્ર, (ચીજને માટે)
અશો: પવિત્ર, નેક, (માણસ માટે).
આહરેમન: મુખ્ય નુકસાનકારક શકિત.
ઇજવું: આરાધવું, ક્રિયાની ભેટ માટે તૈયાર કરવું.
ઇજશ્તી: આરાધના, ક્રિયાનું નામ.
કસ્તી: અસલ 'કુસ્તી', પારસીઓની જનોઇ.
ગરોથમાન: સઉથી ચઢતું બહેસ્ત, સ્વર્ગ.
ગરોથમાની: ઉપલાંને લગતાં, તેમાં જનાર અને રહેનાર.
ગેતી ખરીદ: એક ક્રિયા.
ગેહ: દિવસના પાંચ ભાગમાંનો એક ભાગ.
ગોમેજ: ગાય વગેરેનું મૂતર, ('તરો') સાદું, અથવા ક્રિયાથી તૈયાર કરેલું.
ગોસ્પંદ: ગાય વગેરે ઉપયોગી જનવર.
જોર: ક્રિયાની એક ખોરાકવાળી ભેટ.
જીવામ: ક્રિયામાં વાપરવાનું દૂધ.
દરાણુ: અસલ 'દરન,' ક્રિયામાં વાપરવાનું નાન, એક ક્રિયાનું નામ.
દરજ: એક નુકસાનકારક શકિત.

દસ્તાનવાળી : અડકાયલી અથવા જેને અંગ્રેજીપરથી માસિક માંદગીવાળી કહે છે તે હાલત, સ્ત્રી, ઇ.

દેવ : કેટલીક નુકસાનકારક શક્તિઓ માટેનું સામાન્ય નામ.

નસુશ : કોહવાટ ફેલાવનારી ચીજ અથવા શક્તિ.

નસો : લાસ વગેરે કોહવાટ ફેલાવનારી ચીજ.

નાવર : ધર્મગુરુનું એક પદ.

પતેત : પશ્ચાતાપ (ની ક્રીયા).

પરગરદ : 'પર્ગર્દ્', પ્રકરણ, બાબ, chapter.

ફરોહર : માણસની એક અણદીઠ ખુદાઇ નૂરવાળી શક્તિ.

બદ-દીન : ખરાબ ધર્મ (વાળુ માણસ).

બરશનૂમ : 'બરશ્નૂમ્', એક પ્રકારનું ધાર્મિક સ્નાન્-નહાણ.

બરસમ : 'બર્સમ્', ક્રિયાનું એક સાધન.

બરસમદાન : ઉપલાંને મુકવાનું વાસણ.

બાજ (ધરવી) : બંદગી કરવી, ભણુતર ભણવું.

બેહ-દીન : જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ પાળનાર.

મરગરજ્જન : સઉથી ખરાબ ગુનાહનું નામ; એવાં બીજાં પણ ચઢ ઉતર પાયરીના નામ વપરાયાં છે.

રીમન : અપવિત્ર, ખાસ કરી લાસ વગેરે ચીજથી.

રીમની : અપવિત્રાઇ, ખાસ કરી લાસ વગેરે ચીજથી.

સગ-દીદ : કુતરાંએ જોયલું, લાસ માટે કરવાની એક ક્રિયા, લાસને કુતરાંએ જોવી તે.

સદરો : પારસીઓનું પવિત્ર પહેરણ.

સરોશ-ચરનામ : 'સ્રોશચર્નામ્', સઉથી નહાનો ગુનાહ વગેરે,

હા : પ્રકરણ, બાબ, chapter.

આ ઉપરાંત પુસ્તક વગેરેનાં નામ મળી આવે છે, જેની સમજણ આપવાની જરૂર નથી.

શાયસ્ત ને-શાયસ્તમાં આવેલી બાબતોનું પુરેપુરૂં વર્ણન ન આપતાં તે અત્રે ટુંકમાં આપીશું તો વાંચનારને કંઇક સગવડ પડશે. ૧ : ગુનાહની પાયરી વગેરે સામાન્ય વાત. ૨ : ૧-૫ ક, (૧૦, ૩૨) : સગદીદ. ૬-૧૧ : લાસને દખમે કેમ લઇ જવી. ૧૨-૩૭ : લાસ વગેરેમાંથી રીમની કેમ અને કયારે થાય. ૩૮-૫૩ : જ્યાં મરણ પામે તે ઘરમાં શું બંદોબસ્ત કરવો. ૫૪-૬૨ : રીમનીનો ફેલાવો. ૬૩-૭૨ : લાસને અડકવાનો ગુનાહ. ૭૩-૭૫ : લાસનું જુદી જુદી ચીજને લાગવું. ૭૬-૯૪ : લાસ પાણીમાં

હોય ત્યારે શું કરવું. ૯૫–૧૦૪: કપડાં વગેરે પર લાસ લાગે ત્યારે શુ કરવું. ૧૦૫–૧૧૧: નસો ખાવા માટે. ૧૧૨–૧૧૭: ધાતુ વગેરેને નસો લાગવા માટે. ૧૧૮–૧૨૪: લાકડાં, અનાજ, વગેરેને નસો લાગવા માટે, ૩: દૃસ્તાન. ૪: સદરો–કસ્તી. ૫: બાજ વગર જમવાનો ગુનાહ. ૬: ગુનાહ અને સવાબનો હિસાબ અને બદલો. ૭: સૂરજ વગેરેની આરાધના. ૮: ગુનાહ અને તેની પતેત. ૯: કિરિયાતું ભણતર વગેરે. ૧૦: જુદી જુદી બાબતો.

છેવટે એટલુંજ કે આ તરજુમો કરવામાં જે મહેનત લીધી છે તેનુ ફળ તો હું એમ સમજું છું, કે આપણા દીનદાર પારસીઓ તે વાંચે, વાંચીને વિચારે, વિચારીને વરતે. એમાં આવેલા અસંખ્ય રિવાજો દેશ, કાળ, અને સ્થિતિના ફેરવાવાથી નહિ પણ પળાય (કેટલીક વાત તો ફકત નિયમ તરીકેજ ઉપજાવવામાં આવી હશે એટલે તે પાળવાનો સવાલજ રહેતો નથી), છતાં તેમનું મૂળતત્ત્વ જળવાય એટલી કાળજી તો જરૂર લેવાવી જોઇએ; જેથી આપણી કોમનું કોમીપણું ટકી રહે અને સાથે સાથે અનેક લાભ થાય. વળી જો આ રિવાજો હાલના રિવાજથી જુદા પડતા હોય તો તેનો દોષ તરજુમો કરનારને માથે ન મુકતાં એટલુંજ જાણવું કે તે કોઇ બીજાંજ કારણને લીધે હોય. જોઇતો ખુલાસો મારાં અંગ્રેજી પુસ્તકમાંથી મળશે જેમાં મેં હમણાં કેટલાક સુધારા કર્યા છે અને શકમદ બાબતમાં હજુ પણ સુધારા કરવાના રહ્યા હશે.

યૂનિવર્સિટિ, હેમ્બર્ગ. **જેહાંગીર કાવસજી તવડીઆ.**
તા૦ ૨૦–૧૨–૩૫.

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પ્રસ્તાવના

હેમ્બર્ગની યૂનિવર્સિટિમાં પ્રોફેસર તરીકે કામ કરતા ડો. જેહાંગીર કાવસજી તવડીઆ (બી. એ., પી એચ. ડી.) એ "શાયસ્ત ને-શાયસ્ત" નામની પાહલ્વી કિતાબનો અંગ્રેજીમાં તરજુમો કરી શરેહ સાથે તે પુસ્તક આકારમાં ૧૯૩૦ નાં સાલમાં છપાવ્યો હતો.

ડો. તવડીઆના અંગ્રેજી તરજુમા વિષે ઇરાનીયન ભાષાનાં વિદ્વાનોએ સારૂં મત ઉચ્ચારેલું હોવાથી, અને વળી એ કિતાબમાં ધાર્મિક રિવાજોનો સમાવેશ થયેલો હોવાથી, તે આપણી કોમના ફકત ગુજરાતીજ લખી વાંચી જાણતા સામાન્ય વાંચક વર્ગ માટે અને ખાસ કરી ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગ માટે ઉપયોગી થઇ પડે તે હેતુથી તેનો ગુજરાતી તરજુમો ડો. તવડીઆ પાસે કરાવવાનું ટ્રસ્ટી સાહેબોએ દરસ્ત ધારી તેમને તે કામ સોંપ્યું. તેમ હાલે એ ગુજરાતી તરજુમો તૈયાર થતાં છપાવી પ્રગટ કરવામાં આવ્યો છે, અને આશા રાખવામાં આવે છે કે સામાન્ય વાંચકવર્ગ માટે તે રસીલું તથા ઉપયોગી વાંચણ પુરૂં પાડશે.

જાલ ફીરોઝ બલસારા,

મુંબાઇ તા. ૩ જી ફેબ્રુઆરી ૧૯૩૭. જોડયા સેક્રેટરી, પારસી પંચાયત.

શાયસ્ત ને-શાયસ્ત

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ધાર્મિક રિવાજોનું એક પહેલવી પુસ્તક

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(૦) ખુદાના નામથી અને સારાં નસીબના જોરથી શરૂ કરું છું. જે કંઇ ભલું છે તે થાઓ: તન-દરસ્તી, લાંબી જીંદગી, અને આબાદ દોલત બધા બેહદીનોની અને સીધાં કામ કરનારાઓની, ખાસ કરીને તેની કે જેને માટે હું લખું છું!

(૧) જેમ અવસ્તાથી જાહેર છે—વંદીદાદમાં કહ્યું છે કે—તેમ દીનમાં ગુનાહની આ આઠ પાયરી જાહેર કરવામાં આવી છે: ક્રમાન, આગ્રિફ્ત, ઓવિસ્ત, અર્દુશ, ખ્વર, બાજ્જક, યાત, અને તનાપૂર (૨) ક્રમાનનો દંડ, ચાર સ્તેર—અને દરેક સ્તેર ચાર દિરમની કીમતનો—આગ્રિફ્ત અને ઓવિસ્તનો બદલો સહુથી નાનો, અને તેની ખાસ કહેવાયલી કીમત-દંડ માટે કોઇએ કહ્યું છે જે ઘણામાં ઘણી એક દિરમ; અર્દુશનો ત્રીસ સ્તેર; ખ્વરનો સાઠ સ્તેર; બાજ્જકનો નેવું સ્તેર; યાતનો એકસો ને એંસી સ્તેર; અને તનાપૂરનો ત્રણ સો સ્તેર. (૩) પોરિયોદકેશીના (એટલે મહાન કાયદો ઘડનારાના) કાયદામાં કેટલાક એ માટે જુદા વિચારના છે.

(૩ ક) વળી જાણવું જે ગોગુશ્નસ્પે આદર હોરમજદની શરેહમાંથી, અને સોશ્યંસે આદર ફર્નબગ નર્સેહની શરેહમાંથી, અને મેદિયોમાહે ગોગુશ્નસ્પની શરેહમાંથી, અને અપરકે સોશ્યંસની શરેહમાંથી જાહેર કર્યું છે. (૪) અને બધા પોરિયોદકેશો એ ત્રણ શરેહ પ્રમાણે ચાલે છે; અને તેમાંથી કેટલાક નરમ અને કેટલાક સખત વરતે છે.

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(૧) વળી જાણવું જે મેદિયેાભાહના વંદીદાદની ત્રીજી પરગરદમાં જાહેર છે જે તે વખતે કે જ્યારે જાન જાય ત્યારે જો પગ આગળ એક કુતરૂં બાંધ્યું હોય, તેા પછી પણ નસુશ ધસારેા કરે; અને પછી જો તે જોય, તેા નસુશને મારી કાઢે.

(૨) ત્યાં સવાલ આ છે કે જે કુતરાં નસુશને મારી હટાવે તે કયાં? જવાબ: ભરવાડી કુતરૂં, ઘર સંભાળનાર કુતરૂં, માણસ સંભાળનાર કુતરૂં, શિકારી કુતરૂં, અને કુતલીઉં; કુતલીઆં માટે દસ્તુરેા જુદા જુદા વિચારના છે; વનંદ હોરમજદે અપરકની શરેહની સામે જણાવ્યું છે કે તે નહિ મારી હટાવે.

(૩) કુતરૂં નસુશને તે વખતે મારી હટાવે કે જ્યારે ગેાશ જોય; અને જ્યારે બાલ અથવા નખ જોય, ત્યારે નહિ મારી હટાવે. (૪) અને આંધળું કુતરૂં તે વખતે મારી હટાવે કે જ્યારે મેાહું નસા ઉપર મુકે; અને જ્યારે તેને બાલ અથવા નખ ઉપર મુકે ત્યારે નહિ મારી હટાવે.

(૫) જે પક્ષી નસુશને મારી હટાવે છે તે ત્રણ છે: પહાડી બાજ, કાળેા કાગડેા, અને ગીધ. અને પક્ષી તે વખતે મારી હટાવે કે જ્યારે તેના ઉપર પડછાયેા નાખે.

(૫ ક) જ્યારે કુતરૂં અથવા પક્ષી નસાને પાણી, કાચ, અને એવી બીજી ચીજમાં જોય, ત્યારે નહિ મારી હટાવે.

(૬) મહિનાવાળી સ્ત્રી માટે વનંદ હોરમજદે કહ્યું છે કે તે બે મરદેાથી લગ જવાવી જોઇએ, અને બન્નેને બરશનુમથી નહવડાવવા જોઇએ.

(૬ ક) જ્યારે નસાને લગ જાય, ત્યારે માથું દખમાં તરફ કરવું. (૭) ચેપને લીધે બેને એકજ વખતે નહિ લગ જવા; અને બેને એકજ વખતે લગ જવા હોય, તેા માણુસેાના બાબમાં નહિ ચાલે, એક કુતરૂં અને એક માણસ ચાલે.

(૮) જે કોઇ નસાની પહરેજ (સંભાળ) જાણે, તે ચાલે; આઠ વરસનાં બે છોકરાઓ જેઓ પહરેજ જાણે તેઓ ચાલે; બે દસ્તાનવાળા અથવા બે નસાવાળી સ્ત્રી ચાલે; અથવા એક મરદ, એક સ્ત્રી, અને એક આઠ વરસનું બાળક ચાલે.

(૯) નસાને બધો ઢાંકેલો નહિ લઇ જવો જોઇએ, કેમકે તે નસો દાટવો ગણાય. (૯ ક) તેને વરસાદમાં લઇ જવો એ મરગરજાન ગુનાહ. (૧૦) જ્યારે આજુબાજુ વાદળાં હોય ત્યારે ઘરમાંથી લઇ જવાની સત્તા છે, અને જ્યારે રસ્તામાં વરસાદ પડે ત્યારે ઘર આગળ પાછો લાવવાની સત્તા નથી; જો આગળ દેહલી—છાપરી હોય તો ત્યાં મુકે;—જેની દેહલી હોય તેને જો બીક હોય, તો સત્તા છે કે નસાને અંદર લાવવા નહિ દે—; અને પછી તેની જગ્યાએ (એટલે દખમે) લઇ જવો, અને જો અંદર એક ભાલાની ઉંચાઇ જેટલું પાણી હોય તો પણ તેને ત્યાં મુકે, અને ચાલી આવે. (૧૧) મેદિયોમાહે કહ્યું છે કે તે જગ્યાની ઉપર એક કામળ બાંધે, નીચે સૂકું કરે, નસાને પેલી કામળ નીચે મુકે, કામળને લઇ લે, અને ચાલી આવે.

(૧૨) મેદિયોમાહના વંદીદાદની પાંચમી પરગરદમાં એમ કહે છે કે તે જગ્યાએ કે જ્યાં જાન જાય, ત્યાં જો બિછાના પર મરણ પામે અને એક બાલ અથવા એક અવયવ (શરીરનો ભાગ) ચોરા અથવા બિછાનાની બેઠક પર એટલે કે જમીન પર હોય—થોડો પણ હોય તેનું પણ એમજ—, તો રીમની જમીનની નીચે પાણી પચે ત્યાં સુધી દાખલ થાય. (૧૩) અને જ્યારે પલંગ પર મરણ પામે અને પાયા જમીન સાથે જોડાયલા નહિ હોય, ત્યારે જો એક બાલ અથવા એક અવયવ પલંગ પર ખુલ્લો હોય તો પણ રીમની નીચે નહિ દાખલ થાય. (૧૪) જો પ્લાસ્ટર કીધેલી જમીન પર મરણ પામે તો પ્લાસ્ટર રીમન; અને જો તે પ્લાસ્ટર ખોદી નાખે અને બીજું પ્લાસ્ટર પાંથરે તો તે જગા પાક. (૧૫) જો પત્થર પર મરણ પામે અને પત્થર જમીન સાથે જોડાયલો હોય, તો પત્થર જમીન સાથે એક વરસે પાક બને; અને જો તે જગ્યાએ ખોદી નાખે તો પત્થર એકલો રીમન; તેને તેજ વખતે ધોઇ નાખવો. (૧૬) જો પત્થર જમીન સાથે થોડોક જોડાયલો અને થોડોક જુદો હોય, અને તેની ઉપર મરણ પામે, તો જેટલી જગ્યા પર નસો

આવ્યો હોય તેટલી રીમન; જો એમને એમ રહેવા દે તો જમીન સાથે એક વરસે પાક બને; અને જો ખોદી કાઢે તો પત્થર બધો રીમન, તેને તેજ વખતે ધોઇ નાખવો; જો પત્થર જમીન સાથે નહિ જોડાયલો હોય, એટલે કે જમીનની ઉપર હોય, તો પત્થર બધો રીમન, તેને તેજ વખતે ધોઈ નાખવો. (૧૭) છાણ અને રાખ જો નસો અને દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રીનો અવયવ તે પર લાગે તો બન્ને રીમન. (૧૭ ક) અને જે નિમક અને પ્લાસ્ટર ટુકડાવાળું હોય તેનું ધોવું એમ કે જેમ પત્થરનું. (૧૮) જો છાપરાં પર મરણ પામે તો જ્યારે એક અવયવ અથવા એક બાલ ખુલ્લો છાપરાંની કિનારી પર હોય, ત્યારે છાપરૂં ખુલ્લા ભાગ સુધી અને શરીરના માપ જેટલી જમીન પાણી પચે ત્યાં સુધી રીમન;—અને તે ઘરમાંની સઘળી બર્સમ—એટલે ક્રિયાના સાધનો માટે જાણવું કે જ્યાં રીમની ઉતરી હોય તે જગ્યાથી બર્સમ સુધી ત્રણ પગનાં ત્રીસ પગલાં હોય, તો બર્સમ રીમન નહિ;—અને જ્યારે બાલ અથવા અવયવ દીવાલને નહિ લાગ્યો હોય ત્યારે એકલું છાપરૂં ખુલ્લા ભાગ સુધી રીમન. (૧૯) અને જો ઇંટ (કે માળની જમીન?) પર મરણ પામે તો તે શરીરના માપ જેટલી પાણી પચે ત્યાં સુધી રીમન; એક વરસે જમીન સાથે પાક બને. (૨૦) બાંધેલો પુલ એમ થાય કે જેમ છાપરૂં. (૨૧) જો હોજના છાપરાં પર મરણ પામે તો તે પણ એમ થાય કે જેમ છાપરૂં. (૨૨) જો હોજમાં મરણ પામે તો જ્યારે એક અવયવ અથવા એક બાલ દીવાલને નહિ લાગે ત્યારે રીમની નીચે નહિ ઉતરે, અને જ્યારે ખુલ્લો લાગે ત્યારે નીચે ઉતરે;—સત્તા છે કે તેને ખોદી નાખે અને વળી બીજું પ્લાસ્ટર પાછું પાંથરે અને પાક ગણે.

(૨૩) જ્યારે ફાંસીથી એટલે ગળાંમાં દોરીથી મરણ પામે ત્યારે જો પડવાની બીક નહિ હોય તો રીમની નીચે નહિ ઉતરે, અને જો પડવાની બીક હોય અને તે બીક એક બાજુથી હોય તો તે બાજુએ નીચે ઉતરે; અને જો નસો પડયો હોય તો જેટલી જગ્યા પર પડયો હોય તેટલી જગ્યાએ નીચે ઉતરે. (૨૪) જો કોઇ સીધું બેઠું હોય અને મરણ પામે તો જ્યારે એક બાજુથી પડવાની બીક હોય ત્યારે તે બાજુએ, અને જ્યારે ચારે બાજુથી બીક હોય ત્યારે ચારે બાજુએ રીમની નીચે ઉતરે; અને જો પડી ગયો હોય તો જેટલી જગ્યા પર પડયો હોય તેટલી જગ્યાએ નીચે ઉતરે.

(૨૫) જ્યારે ઝાડ પર મરણુ પામે ત્યારે જો છાલ લીલી હોય અને પેલાના પડવાની બીક નહિ હોય, તો રીમની નીચે નહિ ઉતરે; અને જો બીક હોય તો શરીરના માપ પ્રમાણે નીચે ઉતરે. (૨૬) અને જો ઝાડની છાલ સૂકી હોય તો, બીક હોય કે બીક નહિ હોય, રીમની નીચે ઉતરે. (૨૭) જ્યારે લીલી ઝાડની ડાળી પર મરણુ પામે ત્યારે જો પડવાની બીક નહિ હોય તો રીમની નીચે નહિ ઉતરે. (૨૮) અને જો બીક હોય અને સૂકાં ઝાડની ડાળી હોય તો જ્યારે જરા પણ બાલ અથવા અવયવ મુખ્ય ઝાડ (એટલે થડ) પર ખુલ્લો હોય, ત્યારે શરીરના માપ પ્રમાણે નીચે ઉતરે. (૨૯) અને જ્યારે મુખ્ય ઝાડ પર ખુલ્લો નહિ હોય ત્યારે સિવાય કે પેલાના પડવાની બીક હોય ત્યાં સુધી નહિ ઉતરે.

(૩૦) જો નસો બરણીની બહારની બાજુ પર ખુલ્લો હોય અને બરણીમાં દારૂ હોય, તો બરણી રીમન અને દારૂ પાક. (૩૧) અને જ્યારે અંદરની બાજુમાં, બરણીમાં, દારૂમાં મરણુ પામે ત્યારે જો જરા પણ બાલ અથવા કરચ બરણી પર ખુલ્લી નહિ હોય, તો દારૂ રીમન અને બરણી નહિ રીમન. (૩૨) જો તે એવી બરણી કે જેમાં ઘી હોય અને તેપર બહારની બાજુએ નસો ખુલ્લો હોય તો બન્ને રીમન, બરણી અને ઘી;—જ્યારે અંદરની બાજુએ હોય ત્યારે પણ એજ હાલ, આને લીધે કે ઘી બહાર આવે છે અને પાછું અંદર જાય છે;—અને વળી બરણી સૂકી ચીજ ભરવા માટે પણ લાયક નહિ.

(૩૩) જેમાં દારૂ હોય તેવી એક બરણીમાં જો સાપ હોય તો બન્ને નકામાં અને રીમન, કેમકે ચેપ લાગે છે. (૩૪) અને જો અંદર અનાજ હોય તો જ્યારે સાપ બરણીની બહારની બાજુએ હોય ત્યારે બરણી રીમન અને અનાજ પાક; અને જ્યારે બરણીની અંદર હોય અને જરાપણ બરણીની લગોલગ નહિ હોય, ત્યારે બરણી પાક અને અનાજ જેટલી જગ્યાએ સાપ આવ્યો હોય એટલે સાપનો પટ લાગ્યો હોય—જાણવું જે સાપની પ્રવાહીનો પટ મોત સમાન છે—તેટલી જગ્યાથી લઇ લેવો અને ફેંકી દેવો. (૩૫) અને જ્યારે બાલ અથવા નસો જરા પણ બરણીની લગોલગ હોય ત્યારે બરણી રીમન, પણ સૂકી ચીજ માટે લાયક.

(૩૬) ઈંટ, માટી, અને ચૂનો સ્વજાતીય (એટલે પોતાની) ચીજ સાથે જુદા કટકાવાળાં અને જમીન સાથે એક કટકાવાળાં (એટલે જોડાયલાં) ગણાય છે; સ્વજાતીય ચીજ સાથે જુદા કટકાવાળું હોવાની અસર આ કે જેટલી જગ્યાએ નસો લાગ્યો હોય તેટલીજ રીમન; અને જમીન સાથે એક કટકાવાળું હોવાની અસર આ કે રીમની પાણી પચે ત્યાં સુધી નીચે ઉતરે. (૩૭) છાણ, રાખ, આટો અને બીજી ભૂકાવાળી ચીજ સ્વજાતીય ચીજ સાથે એક ટુકડાવાળી, અને જમીન સાથે જુદા ટુકડાવાળી; સ્વજાતીય ચીજ સાથે એક ટુકડાવાળું હોવાની અસર આ કે જ્યારે તે પર નસો લાગે ત્યારે તમામ રીમન; અને જમીન સાથે જુદા ટુકડાવાળું હોવાની અસર આ કે જ્યારે તે પર નસો લાગે ત્યારે જમીન રીમન નહિ થાય.

(૩૮) જ્યારે એક ઘરમાં ઇજસ્તી કે કોઇપણ ક્રિયા તૈયાર કીધી હોય અને કુતરૂં અથવા માણસ તેમાં મરણ પામે ત્યારે પહેલું કામ આ કરવું કે આતશને નુકસાનમાંથી બચાવવો; જો આતશને એવી રીતે લઇ જઇ શકાય કે નસાથી ત્રણ પગલાં દૂર રાખી તેને કોઇ લઇ જાય તોજ લઇ જવો; અને દીવાલને નહિ ભાંગવી. (૩૯) રોશને કહ્યું છે જે માટીની ભાંગવી, અને છોની (અથવા પ્લાસ્ટરવાળી) નહિ ભાંગવી; અને નીચે કે ઉપર, દીવાલના ભાંગવા માટે કશું લખાણ નથી. (૪૦) આતશને નસાથી ત્રણ પગલાંની અંદર લઇ જવો, એ એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ; અને જ્યારે તેની ઝાળ નસાને લાગે ત્યારે મરગરજ્જન. (૪૧) તૈયાર કરેલો ખોરાક તે ઘરમાં સઘળો નકામો, અને નહિ તૈયાર કરેલા માટે નવ રાત અથવા એક મહિનાની લંબાઇની જરૂર છે. (૪૨) કપડાં માટે પણ એમજ, સિવાય તે કે જે તન પર હોય; અને આ તેટલા વખતમાં પાક નહિ ગણાય કેમકે વપરાસમાં હોય છે. (૪૩) જે જોર કાઢેલી (એટલે તૈયાર કરેલી) હોય અને તે જગ્યાએ હોય, તેને તરતજ પાણીમાં મેળવવી; જીવામ માટે પણ એમજ. (૪૪) ઇજસ્તીના જામા માટે વનંદ હોરમજદે કહ્યું છે કે નવ રાત અથવા એક મહિનાની લંબાઇની જરૂર છે; દિપીરે કહ્યું છે કે જે ગોમેજ લગાડે અને ધોય તો તે વખતેજ પાક થાય.

(૪૫) જો એક ઘરમાં થોડેક ભાગે એક કોઠાર હોય અને દરગાહમાં મરણ પામે તો એમ બનેઃ જો એમ હોય કે બારણું ઉઘાડે અને નસો આ બાજુ આવે તો આ બાજુની ખાલી જગ્યા રીમન, અને જો નસો પેલી બાજુ આવે તો પેલી બાજુની ખાલી જગ્યા રીમન, અને જો બન્ને બાજુ આવે તો ફકત દરગાહની ખાલી જગ્યા એકલી રીમન, બન્ને ઘર પાક. (૪૬) જો આતશ બેહરામના ગુંબદ ઉપર મરણ પામે તો (આખી ઉંચાઇ સુધીની) ખાલી જગ્યા રીમન નહિ થાય.

(૪૭) જો બહારના અકેલા ખંડમાં મરણ પામે તો તૈયાર કરેલો ખોરાક જે ત્રણ પગલાંની અંદર હોય તે સઘળો નકામો, અને જે ચાર પગલાંથી દૂર તે રીમન નહિ. (૪૮) તૈયાર ખોરાક તે આઃ રોટી, રાંધેલું અને ભુંજેલું ગોશ, અને કટકા કરેલી ખાવાની વસ્તુ. (૪૯) આતશ બેહરામની રાખ ઉપલા નિયમ પ્રમાણે રીમન થાય. (૫૦) જે ઘરને પાક થવાને નવ રાત અથવા એક મહિનાની જરૂર હોય તેમાં આતશ લઇ જાય તો આ ગુનાહ લાગેઃ અંદર લઇ જવા માટે એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ; સળગાવવા માટે એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ, અને દરેક ચિણુગારી માટે—જે બૂજાઇ જાય કે રહે—એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ. (૫૧) પાણી માટે પણ અંદર લઇ જવા માટે એક ક્રમાન ગુનાહ, અને જે જગાએ જાન ગયા હોય ત્યાં પાણી રેડવા માટે એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ, અને બીજી જગાએ રેડવા માટે એક યાત ગુનાહ. (૫૨) કિરિયા માટે પાક કરેલી ચીજો અંદર લઇ જવાથી સઘળી અવાવ થાય. (૫૩) જે કોઇ પોતાના કામ વગર અંદર જાય તેણે હર વખત અને બન્ને, શરીર અને કપડાં ધોવાં, અને તેનો એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ; અને જ્યારે પોતાના કામ માટે અંદર જાય ત્યારે સવાબ બી નહિ અને ગુનાહ બી નહિ.

(૫૪) સઘળી ચીજની આ રીમની ખાલી જગા માટેના લખાણમાં આવી જાય છે, જે આ પ્રમાણે છેઃ જ્યારે જાન જાય ત્યારે ત્યાંની ખાલી જગા પણ રીમન. (૫૪ ક) શારીરિક સંબંધવાળી અપવિત્રતા ગોશ મારફતે તેમજ બાલ અને નખ મારફતે પણ લાગે છે. (૫૫) શારીરિક સંબંધવાળી અપવિત્રતા, જે અવસ્તામાં જાહેર છે, તે એક બાજુથી ગણાય છે અને હમેશ લાગે છે; સબંધ વગરની (એટલે આડકતરી) અપવિત્રતા, જે પણ અવસ્તામાં જાહેર છે, તે ચારે બાજુથી લાગે છે. (૫૬) સોશ્યંસે કહ્યું છે કે કુતરૂં દેખાડ-

વામાં આવે ત્યાં સુધી એમ બને કે જેમ જ્યારે જાન જાય તે વખતે બને. અથોરનાન, લડવૈયો, કે બેડુત હોય તેનું કંઈ નહિ, કેમકે ફકત કુતરૂં દેખાડવાનીજ વાત છે. (૫૭) કય–આદર–બોજેદે કહ્યું છે કે જ્યારે જાન જાય તે વખતે ગણુત્રી થાય; અને જે કંઈ ખાસ કય–આદર–બોજેદે કહ્યું છે તે આ છે: જ્યારે એક ચીજ અંદર હોય ત્યારે રીબની જ્યાં તે ચીજ હોય તે જગા સુધી. (૫૮) અને જ્યારે એક કુતરૂં અથવા એક ઘેટું અથવા એક ડુક્કર તેનું પકડનાર બને ત્યારે ચાલે, કેમકે (અથવા : ત્યારે બનવા જોગ છે કે) રીબની ત્યાં આગળ ધસતી નથી; પેટમાં બચ્ચું હોય તેની રીબની માય સાથે. (૫૯) શાઉડી સંબંધથી અપિવત્ર કરે છે અને આડકતરી રીતે નહિ. (૬૦) જેનું શરીર નસા સાથે એક તન થાય તે સંબંધથી અપિવત્ર ગણાય; અને જે નસાથી અડકાયલાં સાથે એક–તન થાય તે આડકતરી રીતે અપવિત્ર ગણાય અને તેની સાથે એક–તન થવાથી અગિયારમું માણસ પણ તેજ પ્રમાણે આડકતરી રીતે અપિવત્ર થાય. (૬૧) વાંદરાનું દૃસ્તાન આડકતરી રીતે અપિવત્ર નહિ કરે; તે થમ્ભ રહે. (૬૨) ભરવાડી કુતરૂં, ઘરનું કુતરૂં, અને બીજાં પણ શારીરિક સંબંધવાળી અપવિત્રતા સરખી રીતે આઠમાં સુધી લઇ જાય છે. (૬૨ ક) અને જો જમીન પર લઈ જાય તો તેજ વખતમાં (અથવા વખતે) પાક; અને જે છાપરાં પર મરણ પામે તે ખાલી જગા સુધી લઇ જાય, અને એક વરસની લંબાઇ સુધી રીબન.

(૬૩) જે કોઇ નસાને એકલો લઇ જાય તે મરગરજાન; અને જાણવું જે મરગરજાન તે વખતે બને કે જ્યારે કુતરાંએ નહિ જોયલો (સગદીદ વિનાનો) નસો હોય, અને ઇલાજ અને શકિત છતાં અને વળી વગર કામે હલાવે, અને તેની સાથ એક થઇને હલાવે, અને જાણે કે મરગરજાન ગુનાહ લાગે.—કુતરાંએ જોયલો કે કુતરાંએ નહિ જોયલો નસો છે કે કેમ એટલું સારી રીતે જાણવું, અને આ પણ કે નબળો અથવા શકિતવાળો માણસ છે કે કેમ, અને મોત અથવા દુઃખનો સમય છે કે કેમ. (૬૪) અપરકે કહ્યું છે જે ઇલાજ અને શકિતનો હિસાબ નથી; કેમકે મરગરજાન ગુનાહ કરવાની મોત અને દુઃખના સમયમાં પણ સત્તા નથી. (૬૫) જે નસાને કુતરાંએ નહિ જોયો હોય તેને જો હજાર માણસો ખસેડે તો પણ સઘળાંનાં શરીર રીબન, અને તેમને બરસ્નૂમથી નહવડાવવા જોઇએ. (૬૬) અને જેને કુતરાંએ

જોયો હોય તેને ખસેડે તો બરશનૂમથી નહવડાવવાની જરૂર નથી, સિવાય કે—આ એકલુંજ—જ્યારે એક માણુસ તેની સાથે એક થઇને તમામ ખસેડે. (૬૭) અને જ્યારે એક-તન થાય, પણ ખસેડે નહિ, ત્યારે ગોમેજ અને પાણીથી નહવડાવવો. (૬૮) અને જે નસાને કુતરાંએ નહિ જોયો હોય તેને જો લાકડીથી ખસેડે તો સિવાય કે—આ એકલુંજ—તેને તમામ ખસેડે ત્યાં સુધી બરશનૂમથી નહવડાવવો નહિ. (૬૯) વળી જે નસાને કુતરાંએ નહિ જોયો હોય તેને જ્યારે એક માણુસ બીજા એક માણુસના હાથ વડે ખસેડે, ત્યારે જો જે ખસેડે તે માણુસના હાથથી તેમજ જેનો હાથ તેના હાથથી તે કામમાં જોર વપરાયું હોય, તો બન્નેના તન રીમન, અને પોતા માટે એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ અને બીજાને માટે એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ તે વધારે, આને લીધે કે પોતાનાં તનને તેમજ પેલાના તનને, બન્નેને, ગુનેહગારીથી રીમન કર્યાં. (૭૦) અને જો જેનો હાથ તેનું જોર જરા પણ તે કામમાં વપરાયું નહિ હોય, તો એમ બને કે જેમ જ્યારે લાકડીથી નસાને ખસેડયો હોય; અને જેણે નસાને હાથથી ધર્યો હોય તેને એક-તન થવાને લીધે બરશનૂમથી નહવડાવવો; અને જેનો હાથ તેને માટે એક તનાપૂર અને પોતા માટે એક ખ્વર ગુનાહ તે વધારે. (૭૧) જો એક માણુસના હાથથી નસાને ખસેડે અને નસો કુતરાંએ જોયો હોય તેમાંનો હોય તો સિવાય કે—આ એકલુંજ—સઘળો ખસેડે ત્યાં સુધી બરશનૂમથી નહવડાવવો નહિ. (૭૨) જો કોઇ રાતે એક જગાથી પસાર થાય, અને બીજે દહાડે ત્યાં પાછો આવે, અને નસાને ત્યાં પડેલો જોય, અને જાણે નહિ કે: ગઇ રાતે હું આવ્યો ત્યારે તે ત્યાં હતો કે નહિ—તો એમ ધારે કે તે ત્યાં નહિ હતો.

(૭૩) જો ઘેટાંના ટોળામાંથી એક ઘેટાએ નસો ખાધો હોય, અને જંગલમાંના એક ઝાડમાં નસો ભેળાયો હોય, અને બાળવાના લાકડાંમાંથી એક કટકામાં નસાની ચરબી ભેળાઇ હોય, તો અપરકે કહ્યું છે, કે પેલાં ટોળા અને જંગલને શકમંદ કરવાનું ચાલે નહિ પણ બાળવાનાં લાકડાં નકામાં.

(૭૪) જે દરવાજા પર નસો અથડાય તે વિષે: ગામ અને શહેરના દરવાજા માટે બધા એક વિચારના થયા છે કે તેને તેજ કામ માટે રહેવા દેવો; સઉથી બહારના દરવાજા માટે જુદા વિચારના થયા છે: ગોગુશ્નરપે

કહ્યું છે કે તેને તેજ કામ માટે રહેવા દેવો, કેમકે તે ચાલે; અને સોશ્યંસે કહ્યું છે કે નહિ ચાલે; બીજા દરવાજા માટે એક વિચારના થયા છે કે નહિ ચાલે. (૭૫) જજરાં (સંડાસ)નો દરવાજો દૃષ્ટાનવાળી સ્ત્રીઓના ખંડ માટે ચાલે, અને આ ખંડનો દરવાજો દખમાને માટે ચાલે, પણ દખમાનો દરવાજો કોઈ પણ બીજના કામમાં ન ચાલે, ટુંકમાં સારી જગાનો દરવાજો ખરાબ જગા માટે ચાલે.

(૭૬) જે કોઇ ગુનેહગારીથી નસાને પાણીમાં નાખે તે તરતજ મરગરજ્જન; જો એક નાખે તો એક મરગરજ્જન ગુનાહ; અને જો દસ એકીજ વખતે નાખે તો પણ એક મરગરજ્જન ગુનાહ, પણ જો જુદા જુદા નાખે તો દરેકને માટે એક મરગરજ્જન ગુનાહ. (૭૭) જે પાણીમાં કોઇ નસો નાખે તેની રીમનીનો અંદાજો: ત્રણ પગનાં ત્રણ પગલાં પાણીના ચઢાણમાં, ત્રણ પગનાં નવ પગલાં પાણીના ઉતરાણમાં, ત્રણ પગનાં છ પગલાં પાણીની બાજુમાં, ત્રણ પગનાં છ પગલાં પાણીના ઉંડાણમાં, અને ત્રણ પગનાં ત્રણ પગલાં નસાની ઉપરના પાણીમાં–એટલે કે છેવટનાં (અથવા ઉંડા) ઉંડાણમાં–રીમન. (૭૮) જો વિસ્તારવાળાં અને થંભ પાણીની વચમાં નાખ્યો હોય તો માપ તેજ પ્રમાણે: જેમ નસો આવે ને જાય તેમ માપ સાથે લઇ જાય (એટલે ફરી ફરી ગણાય). (૭૯) જ્યારે એક માણસ આવી પહોંચે અને નસો પાણીમાં પડેલો હોય ત્યારે જો તેને બહાર લાવવાને શકિતવાન હોય અને કંઇ નુકસાન નહિ હોય તો તેને છોડવાની સત્તા નથી સિવાય કે જ્યારે બહાર લાવે. (૮૦) સોશ્યંસે કહ્યું છે કે જો નુકસાન હોય તો સત્તા છે કે બહાર નહિ લાવે; અને જો નુકસાન નહિ હોય અને છતાં પણ બહાર નહિ લાવે તો એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ. (૮૧) કય–આદર–ઓજે.દે કહ્યું છે કે નુકસાનમાં પણ તેને છોડવાની સત્તા નથી સિવાય કે જ્યારે બહાર લાવે; જો બહાર નહિ લાવે તો મરગરજ્જન. (૮૨) અને ગેાગુશ્રસ્પે કહ્યું છે કે એમ: નુકસાનમાં પણ છોડવાની સત્તા નથી સિવાય કે જ્યારે બહાર લાવે; અને જો નુકસાનને લીધે બહાર નહિ લાવે તો એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ, અને જો નુકસાન નહિ હોય અને છતાં પણ બહાર નહિ લાવે તો મરગરજ્જન. (૮૩) અને જ્યારે બહાર લાવવાને ઇચ્છે ત્યારે કપડાં બાજુએ મુકવાં, કેમકે કપડાં રીમન થાય છે; અને જે કંઇ લાવવાને પહેલે શકિતવાન હોય અને સારી રીતે શકિતવાન

હોય તે બહાર લાવવું. (૮૪) જ્યારે પાણીની પહોળાઇ મારફતે બહાર લાવવાને શકિતવાન હોય ત્યારે તેમ લાવવું; અને જ્યારે નહિ શકિતવાન ત્યારે પાણીની લંબાઇ મારફતે લાવવું;—અને કુતરૂં દેખાડવું અને બે માણસો માટે થોભવું નહિ. (૮૫) અને પાણીની નજદીકથી એમ લક્ષ જવું કે જ્યારે નીચે મુકે ત્યારે નસામાંથી જે પાણી નીકળે તે પેલાં પાણીને પાછું મળે નહિ; કેમકે નસામાંથી જે પાણી નીકળે તે જો પેલાં પાણીને એક થાય તેવી રીતે પાછું મળે તો મરગરજન ગુનાહ લાગે;—અને તે પછી કુતરૂં દેખાડવું અને બે માણસ મારફતે નસાને લક્ષ જવો. (૮૬) જો કોઇ તેને પાણીમાંથી બહાર ફેંકવાને ઇચ્છે તો મર્દ—મુદ્દે કહ્યું છે કે એમ બહાર ફેંકવાની સત્તા છે કે નસામાંથી જે પાણી હોય તે પેલાં પાણીને એક થાય તેવી રીતે પાછું નહિ મળે; રોશને કહ્યું છે કે દૂર ફેંકવાની સત્તા છે. (૮૭) નસાને પાણી ઉપર ખેંચવાની સત્તા છે; ફરી ફરી લેવાની અને મુકવાની સત્તા નથી. (૮૭ક) અને જ્યારે એમ કરવાને શકિતવાન હોય કે મોટા વિસ્તારવાળાં પાણીમાંથી નાના વિસ્તારવાળાં પાણીમાં લક્ષ જાય, ત્યારે જો બન્ને પાણી જોડાયલાં હોય તો સત્તા છે અને જો જુદાં હોય તો સત્તા નથી. (૮૮) અપરકે કહ્યું છે કે પાણીમાં નીચે ખેંચવાની સત્તા છે પણ ઉપર ખેંચવાની સત્તા નથી, કારણ કે પેલાં પાણીપર ભય આવી ચુકયો છે અને ભય ઉપર નથી આવ્યો. (૮૯) મેદિયોમાહે કહ્યું છે કે ઉપર ખેંચવાની સત્તા છે, નીચે ખેંચવાની સત્તા નથી; કારણકે પેલાં પાણીમાંથી ભય પસાર થઇ ચૂકયો છે અને હવે ભય ઉપર લાવવાનો નથી, અને નીચે જ્યાં ભય નથી આવ્યો ત્યાં આખરે ભય આવે છે (જો નીચે ખેંચે તો). (૯૦) જ્યારે પાણીમાં જાય ત્યારે આ વિચારથી અંદર જવું કે જો નીચે ઘણો નસો હોય તોપણ સઘળો બહાર લાઉં; કારણકે જો આ વિચારથી અંદર નહિ જાય અને એક બીજો નસો ત્યાં પડેલો હોય અને તેને અડકે, તો રીમન થાય. (૯૧) અને જો નસો ભારી હોય અને એકલો બહાર લાવવાને શકિતવાન નહિ હોય અને આ વિચારથી જાય કે 'હું જાઉં, ઓજાર તૈયાર કરૂં, અને પછી આ નસાને પાણીમાંથી બહાર લાઉં' અને જો ગુનેહગારીથી પાછો નહિ જાય, તો તન રીમન અને મરગરજન, પણ જો પાછો જવાને અશકિતવાન તો રીમન નહિ. (૯૨–૯૩) જો નસો એટલો કોડી ગયો હોય

કે ફકત એમ બહાર લાવવાને શકિતવાન કે કટકા કટકા કાપે, તો પછી નસો કાપવો અને બહાર લાવવો; અને દરેક કટકા માટે હાથ અને છરી ગોમેજથી ધોવાં અને ખાકથી ભીનાશને દૂર કરી પાક કરવી; અને દરેક કટકા જે તે બહાર લાવે તે માટે એક તનાપૂર સવાબ.

(૯૫) જે કપડાં નકામાં બને તે આ: તે કે જેના પર તેઓ નસા લઇ જાય,—અને જો વળી નીચે ઘણું હોય તો સઘળાં નકામાં—; અને તે કે જેના પર નસાની રજ ખરે; અને જેના પર મુએલાંનું મળમૂત્ર પડે તેટલી જગા કાપી નાખવી અને બાકીનું અવસ્તામાં જણાવેલી ખ્વેશ માઓંધ્‌હો ('છ મહિના સુધી') ની રીત પ્રમાણે ધોવું. (૯૬) જે કપડાં દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી વપરાસમાં રાખે તે તેજ કામ માટે રાખવાં.— (૯૭) જે કપડાં ખ્વેશ માઓંધ્‌હો ('છ મહિના સુધી') ની રીત પ્રમાણે ધોવાં જોઇએ તે એવાં કે જેવાં અવસ્તાથી જાહેર છે: (૯૮) જો કપડાં ચામડાંનાં હોય તો ત્રણ વખત ગોમેજથી ધોવાં, દરેક વખતે ખાકથી સૂકાં કરવાં, ત્રણ વખત પાણીથી ધોવાં, અને છ મહિના સુધી સૂરજની રોશની પડે તેવી જગાએ મુકવાં;—અને પછી તે કોઇ દરદીને માટે, કે જેણે નાવરની ઇજસ્તની નહિ કરી હોય, અથવા દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી માટે ચાલે. (૯૯) બીજાં કપડાંનું, જો તેના પર ફરવાં હોય તો, એમ બને કે જેમ વણેલાંનું; ઊન, કાચું રેશમ, રેશમ, બાફ, અને ઊંટના ઊન એ સઘળાના કપડાંનું ધોવું એમ બને કે જેમ વણેલાંનું; અને વણેલાં કપડાં છ વાર ધોવાં. (૧૦૦) એક ઢગમાં કરેલાં ઊનને માટે જાણવું કે જો એક ઉપર બીજું એમ વળ દીધેલા હોય અને તેના પર નસો પડે તો જોડાણને લીધે સઘળું રીમન; અને જો ઘેટાં દર ઘેટાં રાખેલું હોય તો જેટલી જગા પર નસો પડે તેટલું રીમન. (૧૦૧) જ્યારે ગોદડાં પર મરણ પામે ત્યારે જો ગોદડું કામળ ઉપર એક કરેલું હોય તો કામળ અને ગોદડું બન્ને રીમન, અને જો જુદું હોય તો કામળ પાક. (૧૦૨) જ્યારે કેટલાક તકિયા એક ઉપર બીજો એમ ગોઠવેલા હોય અને જોડેલા નહિ હોય અને તે પર નસો પડે, તો સઘળા એક વિચારના થયા છે કે જેની ઉપર નસો પડયો હોય તે એકલોજ રીમન. (૧૦૩) અને તકિયાનું ઊનના ખોગીર સાથે એમ થાય જેમ ગોદડાનું કામળ સાથે. (૧૦૪) અને કેટલાક તકિયા જેને સાથે બાંધેલા હોય તેનું એમ થાય: જો

નસો દોરીને લાગે તો બન્ને રીમન, દોરી અને તકિયા; અને જો નસો તકિયાને લાગે અને દોરીને નહિ લાગે તો તકિયા જોડાયલા હોવાથી બધા રીમન અને દોરી પાક.

(૧૦૫) જે મહિનાવાળી સ્ત્રી, ગુનેહગારીથી નસો ખાય તે રીમન અને મરગરજ્જન, અને તેને નહવડાવવાનું બનેજ નહિ; અને જ્યારે બચ્ચું બરશનૂમથી માહિત બને ત્યારે તેણે આતશ બેહરામની રાખ અને ગોમેજ પીવાં અને નહાવું. (૧૦૬) નસાને એકલાં લઇ જનાર માણસના બચ્ચાં માટે કહે છે જે જો બાપ અને મા બન્નેએ ગુનેહગારીથી નસો ખાધો હોય, તો જે જનમે છે તે તરતજ પાક, કેમ કે જેને જનમ આપવાનું તે રીમન થી થતું. (૧૦૭) રોશને કહ્યું છે કે જે કોઇ ગુનેહગારીથી નસાને લીધે રીમન થયું છે તે મરગરજ્જન અને તેનું રીમન તન હરગેજ પાક નહિ થાય, કારણકે વધારે સારૂં તો આ કે એક જીવતું કોહલું પાણીમાં નાખે અને તે પાણીમાં મરણ પામે. (૧૦૮) મરગરજ્જન હરગેજ પાક નહિ બને. (૧૦૮ક) નસાને એકલાં લઇ જનાર માણસને કિરિયાની ચીજોથી ત્રીસ પગલાં દૂર રાખવું. (૧૦૯) ગોસપંદની જાત એટલે ગાય, ઘેટાં વગેરે માટે જાણવું કે જે કોઇએ નસો ખાધો હોય તેનું દૂધ, છાણ, બાલ, અને ઊન એક વરસ સુધી રીમન અને જે ગાભણાં જાનવરે ખાધો હોય તો બચ્ચાંએ પણ ખાધો હોય એમ ગણાય; અને બચ્ચું માથી જનમ્યા પછી વરસની લંબાઇએ પાક. (૧૧૦) જે નર જાનવરે ખાધો હોય અને માદા ઉપર ચઢે તો માદા રીમન નહિ. (૧૧૧) જે નસો ખાધો હોય અને પછી પચાવ્યો નહિ હોય અને મરણ પામે, તો એમ બને કે જેમ એક ચામડાંનો કોથળો કે જેમાં નસો હોય.

(૧૧૨) સોના ઉપર નસો લાગે, તો એક વખત ગોમેજથી ધોવું અને એક વખત ખાકથી સકું કરવું અને એક વખત પાણીથી ધોવું અને પછી પાક ગણવું. (૧૧૩) રૂપું બે વખત ગોમેજથી ધોવું અને બે વખત ખાકથી સકું કરવું અને બે વખત પાણીથી ધોવું અને પછી પાક ગણવું. (૧૧૪) અને લોહું ત્રણ વખત, પોલાદ ચાર વખત, અને પત્થર છ વખત. (૧૧૫) અપરકે કહ્યું છે કે કાચ એમ પાક બને કે જેમ સોનું; અને કેરબો એમ કે જેમ પત્થર, અને બીજાં સઘળાં રતન (રત્ન) એમ

કે જેમ લોહું. (૧૧૬) મોતી, કેરબા, અને માણેકને રતન ગણવાં; પીરોજ અને કાળા અકીકને પત્થર, હાડકું અને બીજી વસ્તુ જે નામથી કહેવામાં નથી આવી તેનું ધોવું એમ બને કે જેમ લાકડાંનું, એટલે કે જ્યારે વપરાસને માટે તૈયાર કીધું હોય ત્યારે ધોવું બનેજ નહિ, અને નહિ કીધું હોય ત્યારે તેનું ધોવું એક વાર. (૧૧૭) માટીની અને શિંગડાંની ચીજોનું ધોવું બને નહિ; અને બીજી વસ્તુ જેને વપરાસ માટે તૈયાર કીધી નહિ હોય તેનું ધોવું એક વાર, અને જે વપરાસમાં હોય તે માટે જાણીતું છે જે ધોવાનું નહિ બને. (૧૧૮) બાળવાનાં લાકડાં, જો લીલાં હોય તો, એક પછી એક જેટલાં હોય તેટલાં એક વેંત લાંબાં કાપી નાખવાં, અને જો સૂકાં હોય તો એક વેંત અને બે આંગળાં; અને એક વરસની લંબાઇ સુધી એક જગાએ મુકી રાખવાં, અને તે પર પાણી જવા દેવું નહિ; વરસની લંબાઇ પછી પાણી છાંટે. સોશ્યંસે કહ્યું છે કે પછી તે આતશ બેહરામના બળતણ માટે ચાલે; અને કય-આદર-બોજેદે કહ્યું છે કે જેમ અવસ્તામાં જાહેર છે તેમ ધોયા પછી પણ ફકત સૂકી ચીજના વાસણ માટે ચાલે.

(૧૧૯) અનાજને માટે એક વિચારના થયા છે કે જેટલી જગા પર નસો લાગે તેટલી જગા રીમન; પણ જેને ખળીમાં ભર્યો અથવા ઝુડયો હોય તેને અને જેને બીજી જગાએ ઝાટકયો હોય તેને માટે જુદા વિચાર જાહેર છે: સોશ્યંસે કહ્યું છે કે જેટલી જગા પર નસો લાગે તેટલી જગા રીમન અને ગોગુશ્નસ્પે કહ્યું છે કે સઘળો રીમન. (૧૧૯ ક) પરાળ-કડબ સઘળું રીમન. (૧૨૦) અખરોટ જોડાણના કારણે આખી રીમન; અને છોટલાંનું અને મગજનું બન્નેનું ધોવું એમ કે જેમ લાકડાંનું, (૧૨૧) દાડમનું એમ કે જેમ અખરોટનું. (૧૨૨) જો ખજૂર ડાંખળી સાથે નહિ જોડાયલો હોય તો ખજૂર રીમન અને ડાંખળી પાક;—ખજૂરનું ધોવું એમ કે જેમ અનાજનું-; અને જો ડાંખળી પર નસો પડે અને જો ડાંખળી, ઠળિયો, અને ખજૂર જોડાયલાં હોય તો સઘળાં રીમન; જો ખજૂર ડાંખળી સાથે જોડાયલો નહિ હોય અને નસો ડાંખળી પર પડે તો ખજૂર પાક; ડાંખળી અને ઠળિયાનું ધોવું એમ કે જેમ લાકડાંનું. (૧૨૩) જો દાડમ, લીંબુ, સફરજન (સપરચન), સેબ, જમરૂખ, અને બીજો મેવો ઝાડ પરથી ઉતાર્યો હોય અને પાકવટ તે

પર દેખાતી હોય અને જો તે પર નસો પડે તો તેનું ધોવું બનેજ નાહ; અને જો પાકવટ તે પર નહિ દેખાતી હોય તો તેનું ધોવું એમ કે જેમ અનાજનું.—લીંબુની સાથે તેની પાકવટ હમેશ જાણવી. (૧૨૪) ગોશ, ઘી, દૂધ, પનીર, અને અચાર (અથવા મુરબ્બા) નું ધોવું બનેજ નહિ.

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(૧) દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રીનાં કપડાં, જે તે નવેસરથી હાથમાં-વપરાસમાં લે, તે રીમન; અને જે હાથમાં-વપરાસમાં હોય તે નહિ રીમન. (૨) જ્યારે શેતરંજી પાથરી હોય, અને તે પર ગાદી (ગોદડું) અને તકિયો બન્ને મુકયાં હોય, અને તકિયા પર સ્ત્રી બેઠી હોય, અને દસ્તાન થાય-ત્યારે જો પગ તકિયા પરથી ગાદી પર અને ગાદી પરથી શેતરંજી પર મુકે, તો ગાદી અને શેતરંજી બન્ને રીમન; કેમકે તે નવેસરથી હાથમાં-વપરાસમાં લેવાયાં; તકિયાની રીમની આ કારણને લીધે નથી કેમકે તે હાથમાં-વપરાસમાં છે. (૩) અને જો તકિયા પર એમ બેઠી હોય કે ગાદી અને તકિયો બન્ને હાથમાં-વપરાસમાં હોય તો શેતરંજી એકલી રીમન; અને ત્રણે હાથમાં-વપરાસમાં હોય તો કંઈ પણ રીમન થાય નહિ.

(૪) જેવું જાણે કે દસ્તાન થયું ત્યારે તરતજ તેનાં કામ પર મંડવું: પહેલાં ગળાંની સાંકળી, પછી કાનનું ઘરેણું, પછી માથાબાણું અથવા માથાનું ઘરેણું, અને પછી કપડાં ઉતારવાં.

(૫) જ્યારે તરતજ આ કામ પર મંડી જાય, ત્યારે જો વળી તે કામમાં લાંબો વખત સુધી રોકાય, તો પણ કપડાં પાક ગણાય; છૂપા ભાગના પેહરણનો સવાલ નથી. (૬) જ્યારે નકકી જાણે કે દસ્તાન છે ત્યારે સઘળાં કપડાંના બદલવા અને દસ્તાનવાળી જગાએ બેસવા સુધી બાજ ધરવી-ભણવી. (૭) જો ઇજારની કીધી હોય, બાજ ધરતી હોય અને દસ્તાન થાય, તો બાજ ભણી જવી. (૮) અને જ્યારે બાજ ભણતાં દસ્તાન થાય ત્યારે પણ જો પેહેલે શરૂ કરતી વખતે બેશક હોય તો હમણાં-આ વખતે પણ બેશક ગણવી. (૯) જ્યારે બાજ ધરતી હોય અને પીશાબ લાગે ત્યારે બાજ ભણવાનું કામ નથી કેમકે પીશાબના અવસ્તા ભણવાનાં છે,

(૧૦) પાદ્વિયાઅ એટલે પવિત્ર વસ્તુથી સાફ કીધેલા હાથને જે દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી જોય, તો જોવાથી અપવિત્ર થાય; અને જો જોતી એટલે કિરિયા કરનાર મોએદને જોય અને બરસમ નહિ જોય તો પણ એક સરખું.

(૧૧) એક બારણાંવાળાં ઘરમાં જ્યારે દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી ઉપર અને બરસમ બરાબર સીધી નીચે હોય, ત્યારે જોકે પંદર પગલાં સારી રીતે પુરાં હોય, તો પણ બરસમ અપવિત્ર; અને જ્યારે બરાબર સીધી નીચે નહિ હોય ત્યારે પંદર પગલાં બસ છે. (૧૨) જે તૈયાર કરેલો ખોરાક દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રીથી ત્રણ પગલાંની અંદર હોય તે રીમન; અને જે ખોરાક સવારનાં ખાણાંમાંથી બાકી રહે તે સાંજના ખાણાં માટે, અને જે સાંજનાં ખાણાંમાંથી બાકી રહે તે સવારનાં ખાણાં માટે નહિ ચાલે;–તેજ સ્ત્રી માટે પણ નહિ ચાલે; અને જે પાણી ત્રણ પગલાંની અંદર હોય તેને જો ટાંકામાં અથવા પવિત્ર પાણીના વાસણમાં નાખે, અને પછી હાથને લગાડે તો હાથ પવિત્ર થાય. (૧૩) જો તે કોઇના કપડાંલત્તાંને અડકે તો સોશ્યંસે કહ્યું છે જે તેટલી જગા ગોમેજ અને પાણીથી ધોવી; જો તેનાં કપડાં કોઇના કપડાંને અથડે તો રીમન નહિ થાય.

(૧૪) જે દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી ત્રણ રાતમાં પાક થાય તેણે પાંચમા દિવસ સુધી નહિ નહાવું; અને પાંચમાં દિવસથી આગળ નવમા દિવસ સુધી જ્યારે પણ પાક થાય ત્યારે એક દિવસ સમાપ્તી માટે પાક અવસ્થામાં બેસી રેહવું અને પછી નહાવું; અને નવ રાત પછી સમાપ્તીનું કામ નથી. (૧૫) જીવતાં અથવા મુએલાં બચ્ચાંને જનમ આપનાર સ્ત્રી, ચાલીશ દિવસ સુધી, જ્યારે પણ પોતાને રીમન જોય, ત્યારે સિવાય કે નકકી જાણે કે તે દસ્તાનથી છે ત્યાં સુધી, તે જનમ આપવાની અસર તરીકે ધારવું; અને ચાલીશ દિવસથી આગળ જોય તો, સિવાય કે નકકી જાણે કે તે જનમ આપવાથી છે ત્યાં સુધી, દસ્તાન તરીકે ધારવું. (૧૬) જ્યારે દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી એક મહિનો દસ્તાનમાં બેઠી હોય અને ત્રીસમાં દિવસે પાક થાય, ત્યારે જો તેજ વખતે પાક થઇ હોય અને પછી દસ્તાન થાય, તો સમાપ્તીનો વખત પહેલાંથી ગણાય અને પાંચમા દિવસ સુધી નહાવાની સત્તા નથી. (૧૭) અને જો દસ્તાનમાંથી નાહ્યા પછી ત્રણ દિવસ પાક

અવસ્થામાં બેડી હોય અને બીજું દસ્તાન થાય, તો શરૂઆતની માફક ચાર દિવસ થોભવું અને પાંચમા દિવસે નહાવું. (૧૮) જો બીજાં દસ્તાનના થવા પછી નવ દહાડા-રાત નહિ પસાર થયા હોય તો પાકી માટે એક દહાડો-રાત થોભવું અને પછી નહાવું; અને જો નવ દહાડા-રાત પુરા થયા હોય તો તેજ દિવસે નહાવું સારૂં. (૧૯) વીર્ય ધાત જેવી ચીજ જણાય-જ્યારે રંગ બદલાઇ જાય છે અને જે દસ્તાનની અગાઉ અને પછી આવે છે તે-તો તેની રીમની એમ થાય કે જેમ દસ્તાનની.

(૨૦) જ્યારે દસ્તાનથી એવી પાક થઇ હોય કે તેનું નહાવું દસ્તુર-ધારા મુજબ હોય, ત્યારે બરસમ અને બીજી ચીજ ત્રણ પગલાંથી દૂર રીમન નહિ થાય. (૨૧) સખત ઠંડીમાં આતશના છેડા આગળ દૂરથી બેસવાની સન્તા છે. (૨૧ક) અને જ્યાં સુધી નહાય, ત્યાં સુધી બાજ ધરવી; અને હાથ ધોવાનું નહિ ચાલે સિવાય કે ગોમેજથી. (૨૧ખ) અને જ્યારે નાહી ઉઠે ત્યારે બસો ખરફ્સ્તર એટલે નુકસાનકારક જીવજંતુઓ ગુનાહના બદલા તરીકે મારવાં.

(૨૨) એક સ્ત્રી જ્યારે તેનું દસ્તાન ખરા વખતથી ચઢે (એટલે મોડું થાય) અને પછી પોતાને રીમન જોય ત્યારે જો હમેલ નકકી હોય તો ગોમેજ અને પાણીથી નહાવું, સિવાય કે મુએલું બચ્ચું અથવા અધુરા હમેલ ખુલ્લા દેખાય; અને જો હમેલ નકકી નહિ હોય તો દસ્તાન તરીકે ગણવું. (૨૩) કોઇ એમ કહે છે જે તેને દસ્તાન તરીકે ગણવું સિવાય કે મુએલું બચ્ચું અથવા અધુરા હમેલ નકકી ખુલ્લા દેખાય. (૨૪) કોઇ એમ કહે છે જો જો અધુરા હમેલ માટે શક હોય તો બરશનૂમથી નહાવું.

(૨૫) જે કોઇ દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રીને અથવા એવાં માણસને અડકે, કે જેને પાણી અને ગોમેજથી નહાવાની જરૂર છે, તેને સાઠ સ્તેરનો ગુનાહ લાગે. (૨૬) અને જે જાણી જોઇને દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી સાથે સંબંધ કરે તેને પંદર તનાપૂર અને સાઠ સ્તેરનો ગુનાહ લાગે.

(૨૭) દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી જો આતશને જોય તો એક ક્રમાન ગુનાહ; અને જો ત્રણ પગલાંની અંદર જાય તો એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ; અને જો આતશના અંગ પર હાથ મુકે તો પંદર તનાપૂર ગુનાહ,—અને રાખ અને

ચૂલાનું પણ એમજ. (૨૮) જો પાણી તરફ જોય, તો એક ફ્રમાન ગુનાહ; અને જો પાણીમાં બેસે, તો પંદર તનાપૂર ગુનાહ; અને જો આડા (વિપરીત) વિચારથી વરસાદમાં ચાલે, તો દરેક ટીપાંએ પંદર તનાપૂર ગુનાહ. (૨૯) અને તેણે સૂરજ અને બીજી રોશની તરફ નહિ જોવું, ગોસ્પંદ એટલે ગાય વગેરે જનવર અને ઝાડપાન તરફ નહિ જોવું, અને અશો મરદ સાથે વાત-ચીત નહિ કરવી; કેમકે પેલી દસ્તાનની દરજ–ખરાબ શકિત એટલી તો ભયંકર દરજ છે, કે જ્યારે બીજી દરજ ફકત આંખથી જોઇને બીજનો નાશ નહિ કરે, પણ તે તો આંખથી જોઇને નાશ કરે.

(૩૦) જે ઘરમાં દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી હોય, તે ઘરમાં આતશ નહિ સળગાવવો. (૩૦ ક) જે ખોરાક દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી આગળથી બચે, તે તેજ સ્ત્રી માટે પણ નહિ ચાલે. (૩૧) ખુમચો અને પ્યાલું જે તેની આગળ હોય, તે જો તેની સાથે એક–તન નહિ થાય, તો રીમન નહિ; થાળી જો જાંગથી અલગ અને એક–તન નહિ થાય, તો તેને પોતાને માટે ચાલે.

(૩૨) જ્યારે દરૂન કરવા ઇચ્છે, ત્યારે જો બરસમને બરસમ–દાન પરથી ઉંચે ધરે, અને દસ્તાન થાય, પણ જેવું જાણમાં આવ્યું કે તરતજ બરસમ મુકી દે, અને બહાર જાય, તો બરસમ નહિ રીમન. (૩૩) અને દસ્તાન વખતે એમ બેસવું કે પોતાનાં શરીરથી પાણી સુધી ત્રણ પગનાં પંદર પગલાં, આતશ સુધી પંદર પગલાં, બરસમ સુધી પંદર પગલાં, અને અશો-મરદ સુધી ત્રણ પગલાં હોય. (૩૪) અને તેનો ખોરાક લોઢાંના અથવા સીસાંના વાસણમાં લઇ જવો; જે કોઇ ખોરાક લઇ જાય તે ત્રણ પગલાં દૂર રહે. (૩૫) જો નાવરની ઇજાની કીધી હોય તો હર વખતે સરોશની (ખસ્નૂમન) સાથે દરૂન યસ્ત ભણવી; કોઇ કહે છે જે 'ઇથા આત યજ–મઇદે' અને 'અપેમ્ વૉહૂ.'

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(૧) જો કસ્તી સાદાં રેશમની બનાવી હોય તો નહિ ચાલે; બકરાંના ઊન (બાલ) ની, ઊનની, અને ઊંટના ઊન (બાલ) ની ચાલે; અને બાલની સાધારણ લોક માટે ચાલે. (૨) કમમાં કમ પહોળાઇ બરાબર ત્રણ આંગળી જોઇએ; જ્યારે એક બાજુથી બધે બરાબર ત્રણ આંગળી હોય, ત્યારે જો

બાકીની કાપી નાખે તો ચાલે. (૩) જો બાજ ધરે, અને કસ્તી બાંધેલી હોય, અને એક બીજી પાછી બાંધે, અને પેલી જે બાંધેલી તેને છોડી નાખે,—તો નહિ ચાલે.

(૪) સદરા માટે જરીનું કપડું, ચળકતું રેશમ, સાદું રેશમ, અને છાપવાળું રેશમ સારું નહિ; અને ચામડાંનું જ્યારે તેમાંથી બાલ ચુંટી નાખ્યા હોય ત્યારે, અને ઊનનું, બાલનું, રૂનું, શણનું, રેશમનું, અને છાલનું કપડું સદરા માટે ચાલે. (૫) સદરાનાં ચાર આંગળાં એ પહોળાઇનો અંદાજે; એક બાજુથી બીજી બાજુ સુધી, ગરદનથી કુલાં (? ખભાં?) સુધી; અને લંબાઇ, આગળથી પાછળ સુધી, જેટલી બાંધવા જોઇએ, તેટલી સારી. (૬) આટલી લંબાઇ અને પહોળાઇ જો સદરો બે પડનો અથવા અસ્તર કાઘેલો (? ફાટેલો?) હોય તો નહિ ચાલે; જ્યારે એક બાજુથી બે પડનું ગરમ (?) કપડું પહેરવું હોય, ત્યારે જો કે કસ્તી રાખે—અને જો કસ્તી નહિ રાખે (તે તો દેખાતુંજ છે)—તો પણ કસ્તી વગરના ખુલ્લાં શરીરે રહેવાનો ગુનાહ લાગે. (૭) જો એક પડનો સદરો પહેર્યો હોય, બન્ને કુલાં (? ખભાં?) ઢંકાયા હોય, અને તે પર કસ્તી બાંધી હોય, તોજ ચાલે. (૮) જો બે સદરા પહેર્યા હોય, અને કસ્તી ઉપલા પર બાંધે, તો કસ્તી વગરનાં ખુલ્લાં શરીરે રહેવાનો ગુનાહ લાગે.

(૯) મરદ અને સ્ત્રી પંદર વરસના થાય ત્યાં સુધી કસ્તી વગરના ખુલ્લાં શરીરે રહેવાનો ગુનાહ નહિ ગણુંનો; ખાતી વખતે બોલવાનો (એટલે વગર બાજે ખાવાનો) ગુનાહ પંદર વરસ પછી લાગે છે. (૧૦) કસ્તી વગરના ખુલ્લાં શરીરે ચાલવાનો ગુનાહ ત્રણ પગલાં સુધી દરેક પગલાંએ એક ફ્રેમાન ગુનાહ; ચોથાં પગલાંએ એક તનાપૂર.

(૧૧) જે કસ્તીમાં ચીરા નહિ હોય તે ચાલે; અને જો સ્ત્રી ગાંઠ (અથવા બાલ) બાંધે, તો નહિ ચાલે.

(૧૨) પગમાં એકજ જોડ પહેરીને ચાલવાનો ગુનાહ ચાર પગલાં સુધી એક તનાપૂર; જો એકજ ગતિમાં અને ચોથાં પગલાં પછી ગમે

તેટલું જાય તો પણ એક તનાપૂર; અને જો એસી જાય અને આગળ ચાલે તો જે શરૂઆતથી થાય તેજ ગુનાહ ફરીથી; અને કોઇએ કહ્યું છે જે દરેક ફરસંગે એક તનાપૂર.

(૧૩) રાતે જ્યારે સુએ ત્યારે સદરો કસ્તી રાખવાં; કેમકે તે શરીર માટે પાસબાની (સંભાળ) કરનારૂં અને રવાન માટે સારૂં છે.

(૧૪) જો સદરા કસ્તી સાથે સુએ અને ઊંઘ આવે તે પહેલાં એક અષેમ્ વૉહૂ ભણે, તો દરેક આવતા જતા દમે ત્રણ સરોશચરનામ સવાબ; અને જો તે ઊંઘમાં ગુજર પામે તો પતેત કાધેલી ગણાય.

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(૧) પાંચ વરસના બાળકનો બાજ વગર જમવાનો ગુનાહ લાગતો નથી; અને પાંચ વરસથી આઠ વરસ સુધી, જો તેનો બાપ તેને શીખવવામાં બેગુનાહ હોય, તો તે ગુનાહ નથી લાગતો, અને જો ગુનેહગાર હોય તો બાપને લાગે. (૨) અને આઠ વરસથી પંદર વરસ સુધી મરદ અને સ્ત્રી, જો કે નાવરની ઇજસ્ની કરવામાં બેગુનાહ હોય પણ 'ઇથા આત્ યજમઇદે' અને 'અષેમ્ વૉહૂ' ભણવાને શકિતવાન હોય છતાં નહિ ભણે, તો બાજ વગર જમવાનો ગુનાહ લાગે; અને જો નાવરની ઇજસ્ની મોંઢે કરવાને શકિતવાન હોય છતાં 'ઇથા આત્ યજમઇદે' અને 'અષેમ્ વૉહૂ' ભણે, તો કોઇએ કહ્યું છે કે એમ બને કે જેમ જ્યારે નાવરની ઇજસ્ની નહિ કીધી હોય, એટલે કે ગેતી ખરીદ નહિ થાય, અને કોઇએ કહ્યું છે કે બાજ વગર જમવાનો ગુનાહ નહિ થાય. (૩) આ ગુનાહ દરેક ખાણાંએ થાય; અને જેણે નાવરની ઇજસ્ની કીધી હોય તેને એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ લાગે અને જેણે નાવરની ઇજસ્ની નહિ કીધી હોય તેને કમ,—કોઇએ કહયું છે કે ત્રણ સરોશ ચરનામ. (૪) આ ગુનાહનું માપ એક તનાપૂર; પણ આ મને નથી સમજાયું કે દરેક ખાણાંએ, અથવા દરેક ટુકડે (બૂકે કે વાણીએ ?), અથવા દરેક સવાદે. (૫) જેણે નાવરની ઇજસ્ની નહિ કીધી હોય તેના બાજ વગર જમવાના ગુનાહ માટે અપરકે એક પાયરી હલકી કહી છે; મેદિયોમાહે બન્ને માટે એકજ કહ્યું છે, અને તેણે આ પરથી કહ્યું છે: કેમકે જેણે નાવરની ઇજસ્ની નહિ કીધી હોય અને 'ઇથા આત્ યજમઇદે' અને 'અષેમ્ વૉહૂ' ભણવાનું

પસંદ નહિ કરે (અથવા યકીન નહિ રાખે) તે તેના કરતાં ભારે ગુનેહગાર છે કે જેણે નાવરની ઇજ્જતી કાધી હોય અને દરાણુ ઇજવાનું પસંદ નહિ કરે (અથવા યકીન નહિ રાખે).

(૬) મેદિયોમાહે કહ્યું છે કે આ છેલ્લા માટે ગેતી ખરીદ નહિ થાય અપરકે કહ્યું છે કે ગેતી ખરીદ દરેક માણુસથી થાય, સિવાય એવા માણુસથી કે જેને નાવરની ઇજ્જતી મોંઢે, છતાં ગુનેહગારીથી તે નહિ કરે;—અને તે તે વખતે પણ બને કે જ્યારે તેની જીંદગી દરમિયાન, તેના ફરમાનથી, અને આ મનસ્તી (એટલે વિચાર) થી કે 'હું કરવાને ઇચ્છું છું, મને દીન પર આસ્થા (યકીન) છે,' તે ભણુવામાં આવે. (૭) બેહરૂં અને મુગું માણસ જો અર્પેમ્ શબ્દ પણ બોલવાને શકિતવાન નહિ હોય તો તે બાજ વગર જમવાનો ગુનાહ નથી કરતું; અને અર્પેમ્ શબ્દ બોલવાને શકિતવાન હોય તો અર્પેમ્, અર્પેમ્, અર્પેમ્ એમ ત્રણ વાર બોલે; અને જો 'ઇથા આત્' અને 'અર્પેમ્ વૉહૂ' ભણુવાને શકિતવાન તો સારૂં; અને જો એકકો ઇથા બોલવાને શકિતવાન, તો તેનું કામ નથી.

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(૧) બહેરૂં, મુગું, અને અપંગ જો પવિત્ર નિયમનું અને સીધાં મનનું હોય, તો જ્યારથી જનમે તે જ્યારે મરણ પામે ત્યાં સુધી જે કંઇ કામ અને સવાબ દુનિયામાં કરવામાં આવે તે તેનાં પોતાનાં એવાં બને જેવાં તેનાં કે જેણે કર્યાં હોય; કોઇ એમ કહે છે કે જેવાં જરથોસ્તના બને. (૨) જો જરા પણ સવાબ નહિ કરે અને જરા પણ ગુનાહ નહિ કરે, તે તેના કરતાં વધારે સારૂં, કે જ્યારે જરા પણ સવાબ કરવાને શકિતવાન અને તે નહિ કરે અને જરા પણ ગુનાહ કરે. અને પછી જ્યારે ગુજરી જાય ત્યારે ગુનાહ અને સવાબનો હિસાબ થાય; અને જો સવાબ જરા પણ વધારે હોય તો બહેસ્તમાં, અને જો ગુનાહ જરા પણ વધારે હોય તો દોજખમાં, અને જો બન્ને સરખાં હોય તો હમેસ્તકાનમાં જાય. (૩) જો ત્રણ સરોશ ચરનામ સવાબ વધારે તો બહેસ્તમાં, જો ગુનાહ કરતાં એક તનાપૂર સવાબ વધારે તો સઉથી સારી જીંદગીવાળાં બહેસ્તમાં જાય,—અને જો નાવરની ઇજ્જતી કાધી હોય તો. (૪) સોશ્યંસે કહ્યું છે કે

સૌથી સારી જીંદગીવાળાં બહેસ્તમાં જવા માટે નાવરની ઇજસ્તી કરવાની જરૂર નથી, કેમકે જો ગુનાહ કરતાં સવાબ એક તનાપૂર વધારે હોય તો સઉથી સારી જીંદગીવાળાં બહેસ્તમાં જાય; અને નાવરની ઇજસ્તી કરવાનો હિસાબ (સવાલ) નથી, કેમકે ગરોથમાની માણુસો માટે પણ નાવરની ઇજસ્તી કરવાની જરૂર નથી, કેમકે વધારે સવાબથી ગરોથમાનમાં જવાનું બની શકે છે. (૫) જેમ સોશ્યંસે કહ્યું છે તેમ બહેસ્તમાં જે નીચે હોય તે ઉપર ચઢે છે. કહ્યું છે કે "તું ખરેજ સુખી છે, ઓ માણુસ, જે કેમે કરી નાશ વિનાની જીંદગીની નજદીક છે."

(૬) કય-આદર-બોજેદે કહ્યું છે કે જો ગુનાહ કરતાં એક તનાપૂર સવાબ વધારે હોય તો બદ-દીન દોજખમાંથી બચે છે.

(૭) પવિત્ર નિયમના અને બેહ-દીનના આપણે છીએ અને શ્રેષ્ટ ધર્મના પણ આપણે છીએ; ભેળસેળવાળા નિયમના સેનના શાગેર્દો છે; અને સઉથી ખરાબ નિયમના માનીવાળા, ખ્રીસ્તી, યાહુદી, અને એ પ્રકારના બીજા લોકો છે.

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(૧) બામદાદના સૂરજને બપોર સુધીમાં આરાધવો જોઇએ, અને બપોરના સૂરજને બપોર પછીની ગેહ સુધીમાં આરાધવો જોઇએ, અને બપોર પછીની ગેહના સૂરજને રાત સુધીમાં આરાધવો જોઇએ. (૧ ક) જ્યારે પણ પોતાના કામ કાજ માટે તૈયાર થાય અને પછી આરાધે તો ચાલે. (૨) અને જ્યારે કંઇ ચીજ નીકળી આવે કે જેથી હાથ ધોવાનું નહિ બને, ત્યારે એમ ધારે કે જો સૂરજને નહિ આરાધે તો તે થોભે છે; અને જ્યારે તે પછીની ગેહ દાખલ થાય ત્યારે પણ સૂરજને આરાધવાનો છે, તેથી પાછળથી જ્યારે હાથ ધોયા હોય ત્યારે પાછો (એટલે બે વખત) આરાધવો; અને જો તેમ નહિ આરાધે તો સૂરજ આરાધેલો ગણાય નહિ, સિવાય કે નહિ આરાધવામાં બેગુનાહ હોય. (૩) વધારે સારૂં આ કે જ્યારે સૂરજને હર વખત પોતાની ગેહમાં આરાધે; જો નહિ આરાધે તો ત્રીસ સ્તેર ગુનાહ. (૪) સૂરજને આરાધવો એ હર વખતે એક તનાપૂર સવાબ; અને માહ બોખ્તાર (એટલે

ચાંદ) નું અને આતશનું પણ એજ પ્રમાણે. (૫) જો વાદળાંને લીધે સૂરજ નહિ દેખાય છતાં તેને આરાધે તો ચાલે. (૬) અને જ્યાં સુધી સૂરજને નહિ આરાધે, ત્યાં સુધી જે સવાબ તે દિવસે કરે તે પોતાનાં થાય નહિ; કોઇ એમ કહે છે કે જે સવાબ બેહદીનોના કાયદાની હદમાં કરાય તેમાં તેનો ભાગ નહિ.

(૭) જ્યાં સુધી રાતના (વાસીદા) હાથ નહિ ધોય, ત્યાં સુધી જે કંઇ સવાબ કરે તે પોતાનાં નહિ બને; કેમકે જ્યાં સુધી નસુશને હાંકી કાઢે નહિ ત્યાં સુધી યજદેાનું તનમાં આવવું બને નહિ, અને જો યજદેાનું તનમાં આવવું નહિ બને તો દીન પર આસ્થા (યકીન) નહિ બેસે, અને જો દીન પર આસ્થા (યકીન) નહિ બેસે તો સવાબજ મળે નહિ.

(૮) જ્યારે આતશની (ખ)સ્તૂમન કરવા ધરછે, ત્યારે 'આથ્રો' એમ એકલું ભણવું; અને જ્યારે બે હોય ત્યારે 'મત્ વીસ્પએઇબ્યો આતૅરૅબ્યો' ભણવું; આ પણ જાહેર છે કે એમ હર જગાએ (ખ)સ્તૂમન કરવાની સત્તા છે; કોઇ એમ કહે છે કે સિવાય કે જુદા રિવાજો ચાલે ત્યાં સુધી એમ કરવાની સત્તા છે.

(૯) જે કોઇ એક આતશને બૂજવી નાખે, તેણે દસ આતશ એકઠા કરવા, દસ સજા ભોગવવી, દસ કોડી મારી નાખવી, અને આતશ બેહરામને જોર (ચરબી) ભેટ કરવી.

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(૧) વિરોધીઓને લગતા ગુનાહનો બદલો વિરોધીઓને આપવો, અને રવાનને લગતા ગુનાહનો બદલો ધર્મના મુખીઓને આપવો; અને જો જે કંઈ ધર્મના મુખીઓ ફરમાવે તે કરે તો ગુનાહ જતો રહે; અને જે સવાબ તે પછી કરે તે પુરેપુરાં મળે.

(૨) મરગરજ્જન ગુનેહગારે પોતાના ગુનાહનો પશ્ચાતાપ ધર્મના મુખીઓ આગળ કરવો, અને પોતાનું તન તેમને સોંપી દેવું;—ધર્મના મુખીઓને તન સોંપી દીધા વગર પશ્ચાતાપ નહિ થાય.

(૩) [આ લખાણને અહીં સંબંધ નથી; એ ભુલથી દાખલ થયું છે] ધર્મના ઉપાધ્યાયોએ વિદ્યાભ્યાસને ખાતર શિકાર નહિ કરવો એ તેમની ફરજ

(તેમનું કર્ત્તવ્ય); અને બીજા માણુસોને શિકારને ખાતર શિકાર કરવાની સત્તા નથી, સિવાય કે તેમની મિલકત કમમાં કમ ત્રણ સો સ્તેર હોય.

(૪) મરગરજ્જનોનું જે ક્રિયાકામ પતેતને ખાતર નહિ કરાય, તે ક્રિયા-કામ દેવ-પૂજા; અને જો મોબેદ તે નહિ જાણે, તો ક્રિયાનો સવાબ યજદાના ગંજમાં જાય; અને તે સવાબમાંની ખુશાલી મીનોઈ જહાનમાં એવા માણુસના રવાનને આપે કે જે ફકત મનસ્ની (એટલે વિચાર)થીજ અશો હતો.

(૫) મરગરજ્જન જો પોતાનું તન અને ધન ફકત ધર્મના મુખીઓને સોંપે, અને થયલા ગુનાહ માટે મનસ્ની (એટલે ખરાં મન)થી પતેત કરે, અને ધર્મના મુખીઓ કામ અને સવાબને માટે હક આપે, તો જે કામ અને સવાબ આગળ કરેલાં તે પાછાં મળે, અને જ્યારે મરણ પછીની ત્રણ રાત સજા કરાય ત્યારે તે દોજખમાં નહિ જાય.

(૬) અને જો ધર્મનો મુખી માથું કાપવા ફરમાવે, તો તરતજ અશો થાય, અને તેની ત્રણ દિવસની ક્રિયા કરવી; અને ત્રણ દિવસની ક્રિયાની ગણતી નષ્ટ (અથવા નિષ્ફળ) નથી થતી,—(અથવા ત્રણ દિવસની સજા તેને નથી થતી).

(૭) અને જો ખરી પતેત નહિ કરે તો કયામત સુધી દોજખમાં; અને કયામતને દહાડે દોજખમાંથી તેને બહાર લાવે, અને દરેક મરગરજ્જન ગુનાહ માટે એક વખત માથું કાપી નાખે, અને છેલ્લી વખત પાછો જીવતો કરે, અને ત્રણ રાતની ભારી સજા કરે.

(૮) માણુસ ગમે તેમ ગુનાહથી પતેત કરી પાછો ફરે, પણ તેની પતેતનું કામ જાહેર રીતે અને મનસ્ની (એટલે ખરાં મન)થી પતેત કરી ગુનાહમાંથી પાછો ફરવાનું છે; જાહેર રીતનું કામ આ કે જે ગુનાહને માટે જાણે કે 'તે મારાથી થયો છે' તે નામ દઈને બોલવો; મનસ્ની (એટલે ખરાં મન)નું કામ આ કે આ વિચારથી પતેત કરે કે હવે પછી ગુનાહ નહિ કરું.

(૯) અને જેની આગળ પતેત કરે, તેણે સારી રીતે સાંભળવું, જોયું ન જોયું ન કરવું (અથવા નજીવું ન ગણવું), અને છાની વાત બહાર ન પાડવી; કેમકે જે કીધેલા ગુનાહ સંબંધી જોયું ન જોયું કરે (અથવા: નજીવું ગણે) અથવા છુપી વાત બહાર પાડે, તો તેનો ગુનાહ પેલા ગુનાહના

જેટલો થાય;—કોઇ કહે છે કે ત્રણ સરોશ–ચરનામ, અને કોઇ એમ કહે છે કે જો ત્રણ સરોશ–ચરનામ ગુનાહ સંબંધી છુપી વાત બહાર પાડે, તો મરગરજ્દન ગુનાહ લાગે અને કોઇ કહે છે કે તેહેલાજ. (૧૦) જરથોસ્તના દીકરા આદરબાદે એક શાગેર્દને આ કામ માટે નક્કી કર્યો હતો કે તું પતેત સાંભળ; અને આણે એક વખત છુપી વાત બહાર પાડી, તેથી તેણે (આદરબાદે) ફરમાવ્યું કે 'હવે પછી આ કામ માટે હરગેજ દેખાતો ના'; અને તે પછી પેલા શાગેર્દમાં દિલગીરી અને પશેમાની ઘણી જોઇ, તે છતાં પણ તે દસ્તુરી–સત્તા પર આવ્યો નહિ.

(૧૧) એક ઠેકાણે સવાલ છે કે આ સત્તા-હક માટે કોણ લાયક? જવાબ આ કે તે માણસ લાયક કે જે કાયદો અને શરેહ મોંઢે જાણે, ગુનાહ અને સજા મોંઢે જાણે, અને પોતાના શરીરને સદ્‌ગુણથી સણગાર્યું હોય;—કોઇ એમ કહે છે કે જેણે મોબેદી અભ્યાસ કર્યો હોય, (૧૨) અને ગુનાહ અને સજા મોંઢે જાણે, અને પોતાના શરીરને સદ્‌ગુણથી સણગાર્યું હોય તે લાયક. (૧૨ક) અને જો ધાસ્તીમાં હોય ત્યારે દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી આગળ પતેત કરે તો ચાલે. (૧૩) નેરિયોસંગે કહ્યું છે કે ઘણુંજ અજબ જેવું માન કે પતેત કરવી એ બધાની શક્તિમાં છેઃ એનો કાર્યક્રમ (એનું કામકાજ) ગમે તે હોય, પણ બધા આટલા તો એક વિચારના થયા છે, કે પતેત જ્યારે પણ કરે, જે રીતે પણ કરે, અને જેની આગળ પણ કરે, પણ જો હંમેશ જરા પણ મનસ્તીથી (ખરા મનથી) કરે, તો પતેત કીધેથી ગણાય. (૧૩ક) જો મરગરજ્દન ગુનાહ અતિ ઘણા કીધા હોય, અને દરેક માટે મનસ્તીથી જુદી જુદી પતેત કરે, તો તે પતેતથી તેને માટે દોજખનો રસ્તો રહેતો નથી; અને જો એકજ મરગરજ્દન ગુનાહ હોય કે જે માટે પતેત નહિ કીધી હોય, તો દોજખનો રસ્તો બંધ થતો નથી, કેમકે તે હોરમજદના ફાયદા માટે નથી. (૧૩ખ) પછી ધર્મના મુખીને તેના પર તોજેશ (એટલે ગુનાહનો બદલો) નક્કી કરવાનો–નાખવાનો હક છે અને ગુનેહગારે તે બદલો ભરી આપવો; અને જ્યારે ધર્મનો મુખી તેના પર તોજેશ નક્કી કરે અને ગુનેહગાર તે બદલો નહિ ભરી આપે ત્યારે રાસ્તી મુજબ ગીરો લેવાની સત્તા છે.

(૧૪) જો વિરોધીઓની સામે ગુનાહ કીધો હોય—અને એમ કરવું ચાલે અથવા શક્ય છે કે કામચલાઉ ઘણી ખરાબ વિચારનો નહિ થાય, અને સ્ત્રીને છોડી નહિ દે અને તેને (દુઃખ)માં નહિ રાખે...[આ ભાગ અહીં ભૂલથી

દાખલ થયેલો લાગે છે] —તો વિરોધીઓ આગળ પતેત કરવી; અને જો નહિ અને તો ધર્મના મુખીઓ આગળ પતેત કરવી, અને ત્યારે ગુનાહ કરજના રૂપમાં ફેરવાય છે; કરજ માણસને દરવંદ (એટલે દોજખી અથવા પાપી) નથી કરતું; તેની અસર આ થાય છે કે કયામતને વખતે પેલા (વિરોધીઓ) કરજ જવા દે છે, અને આ માણસને ભારી શરમ લાગે છે અને તેની ખુશાલીમાં ભંગ પડે છે. (૧૫) જો વિરોધીઓને લગતા ગુનાહની મુખ્ય ચીજનો બદલો અપાય તો તેના પાયા (મૂળ) નો બદલો અપાય; — કોઇ એમ કહે છે કે તેનો પાયો રહેતોજ નથી, કોઇ એમ કહે છે કે એવી રીતે કે જેવી રીતે એક ઝાડ તેનાં પાનરાંને સુકવી નાખે છે. (૧૬) રવાનને લગતો ગુનાહ, જો તેને માટે પતેત કરે તો તે અટકે, અને જો તેનો બદલો વાળે તો સારૂ; અને જો બદલો ન વાળે તો મરણ પછીની ત્રણ રાત સજા પામે છે અને પછી અગો (એટલે બહેરી) થાય છે. (૧૭) કય-આદર-બોજે.દે કહ્યું છે કે વિરોધીઓને લગતો ગુનાહ પણ જો પતેત કરે તો અટકે.

(૧૮) નર્સેહ બુર્જ.-મિહરે આ ત્રણ વચન કહ્યાં છે કે ખ્વેનોદથ મરગરજ્દન ગુનાહને જડ મૂળથી કાઢી નાખે છે, અને બરસમ જો તેની પાદિયાબી (એટલે પવિત્રાઇ) રૂપાં જેવી હોય તો લાયક ગણાય, અને મરદ જો પોતાની સ્ત્રીને હમેશવાળી કરે (તો લાયક ગણાય).

(૧૯) જ્યારે પાણીની સામે ગુનાહ કરે, ત્યારે જો દેડકાં અને બીજાં પાણીને લગતાં નુકસાનકારક પ્રાણીને મારી નાખે તો તેનો બદલો વાળેલો ગણાય. (૧૯ક) અને જો પાણીને લગતા ગુનાહનો બદલો આતશને આપે, અને જો આતશને લગતા ગુનાહનો બદલો પાણીને આપે તો ચાલે; કોઇ એમ કહે છે કે જો વીછુને મારી નાખે તો ચાલે. (૨૦) જ્યારે એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ કીધો હોય, ત્યારે જો એક દરાણ યજે અથવા એક તનાપૂર સઞાશ કરે, તો તેનો બદલો વાળેલો ગણાય. (૨૧) જો મરગરજ્દન ગુનાહ કીધો હોય અને મનસ્ની (એટલે ખરાં મન)થી પતેત કરે અને ધર્મનો મુખી જાણે કે તન આપી દેવું જોઇએ, તો ગુનેહગાર તે આપે;—પેલાને સત્તા છે કે એને મારી નાખે, કેમકે તે હોરમજદના ફાયદા માટે છે. (૨૨) 'યઝ્.ન કતૂ ના હકતૂ' થી શરૂ થતા કાયદાથી જાહેર છે કે તેના હાથ પાક થાય છે, સઘળા છુપા સઞાશ તેને લાગે છે, અને પછી તેને માટે યજદોની યજસ્ની (આરાધના) કરવી.

(૨૩) મારસપંદના દીકરા આદરમાદે કહ્યું છે કે યજદોની ઇજસ્ની (આરાધના) કરવામાં હમેશ તે વખતે મેહેનતુ થવું જોઇએ કે જ્યારે કેટલાક મરગરજ્મન ગુનાહ કીધા હોય.

(૨૩ક) જો તું પુરેપુરો જીવ આપીને (એટલે ખરાં જીગરથી) ગુનાહનો બદલો આપે, તો ફકત પતેતથીજ સઘળા ગુનાહના બદલા આપવાની સત્તા છે; જાણવું કે જો ગુનાહના મૂળથી પતેત કરી પાછો ફરે, તો જે ગુનાહ માટે પતેત કરી હોય તે ગુનાહથી છુટકારો થાય છે; કેમકે હોરમજદ પોતાની પેદાયશને ગના મીનો (એટલે આહરેમન) પર છોડતો નથી, સિવાય કે પતેત નહિ કર્યાને લીધે.

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(૧) દહાડા-રાતનો મોટો હાસ્ત (કલાક જેવું માપ) તે બાર ભાગમાંથી એક ભાગ, અને નાનો હાસ્ત તે અઢાર ભાગમાંથી એક ભાગ.

(૨) અથોરનાન જો પરદેશમાં ગુજરી જાય, તો તે ભારી વાત ગણાય છે; કોઇ દસ્તૂર પરદેશ ખોલ માટે જુદા વિચારના છે, કોઇ કહે છે કે અન-ઇરાની દેશ. (૩) જાહેર છે કે જે સઉથી વડો દસ્તૂર પરદેશમાં ગુજરી જાય તો તે ઘરમાં એક આશમોઘ (એટલે દીન દુશ્મન, ધર્મદ્રોહી) જનમે છે; અને આ ભારી વાત એકલા સઉથી વડા દસ્તૂર સંબંધી કહેવાય છે.

(૪) દીન પર આસ્થાવાળા થવા માટે એરવદો અને દસ્તૂરો સાથે વાદવિવાદ કરવો; અને જો વાદવિવાદ નહિ કરે તો સત્તા છે કે તેને નહિ શિખવે.

(૫) જે ક્રિયા આતશ બહેરામમાં કરવામાં આવે, તે જો સારી રીતે (અથવા 'ખુબ' વાળી) નહિ કરે, તો પણ દેવોને નહિ પુગે; અને જે બીજી જગાએ કરવામાં આવે, તે જો સારી રીતે (અથવા 'ખુબ' વાળી) નહિ કરે, તો દેવોને પુગે, કેમકે ત્યારે ક્રિયાનો કોઇપણ સંબંધ રહેતો નથી—જે પ્રમાણે કરે, તે પ્રમાણે યજદો અથવા દેવોને પુગે. [જુઓ સુધારા, વધારામાં]

(૬) જો એક માણસે એક રિવાજ કાઢયો હોય અને તેની સારી શકિતથી તે રિવાજ પડી જાય, તો કયામત સુધી તે સવાબ ચાલુ રહે

(૭) જે કોઇ વહાણમાં મરી જાય તેને ચેપની બીકને લીધે પાણીમાં નાખવાની સત્તા છે; કોઇ એમ કહે છે કે પાણી પોતેજ તેનું દખમુ છે.

(૮) આ પણ જાહેર છે કે અંધારાંમાં ખોરાક ખાવાની સત્તા નથી, કેમકે જો અંધારાંમાં ખોરાક ખાય, તો દેવ અને દરૂજ એક તૃતીયાંશ અકકલ અને ખોરેહ (એટલે તેજ) લુટી લે છે. અને આ તે જગાથી જાહેર છે જે હોરમજદે જરથોસ્તને કહી છેઃ રોશનીના જતા રહ્યા પછી અને હાથ ધોયા વિના ખોરદાદ અને અમરદાદના પાણી અને શાક ભાજી ખાતો મા; કેમકે રોશનીના જતા રહ્યા પછી અને હાથ ધોયા વિના ખોરદાદ અને અમરદાદના પાણી અને શાક ભાજી તું ખાય, તો તારી પાસેથી દરૂજ બે તૃતીયાંશ અસલ અકકલ લૂટી લે. અને જો તે લૂટી લે, તો જે ખોરેહ અને દીન તે દિવસે તારાં હોય તે ભંગ થાય, એટલે કે તે દિવસનું તારૂં કામ નાશ પામે.

(૯) પાજેન નસ્કની પાંચમી પરગરદમાં એક જગા જાહેર છે જ્યાં યજદોની ક્રિયાનાં આ ચાર જાતના લક્ષણ કહ્યાં છેઃ એક આ કે જેના અવસ્તા રાસ્ત અને માણુસ ખરાબ, બીજી આ કે જેના અવસ્તા ખોટા અને માણુસ નેક, ત્રીજી આ કે જેના અવસ્તા રાસ્ત અને માણુસ નેક, ચોથી આ કે જેના અવસ્તા ખોટા અને માણુસ ખરાબ. (૧૦) જેના અવસ્તા રાસ્ત અને માણુસ ખરાબ, તેની આગળ અમશાસ્પંદો અને યજદો આવે, તેને સાંભળે પણ કબુલ નહિ કરે; જેના અવસ્તા ખોટા અને માણુસ નેક, તેની આગળ અમશાસ્પંદો અને યજદો આવે, પણ તેને નહિ સાંભળે, છતાં કબુલ કરે; જેના અવસ્તા રાસ્ત અને માણુસ નેક, તેની આગળ અમશાસ્પંદો અને યજદો આવે, તેને સાંભળે અને કબુલ કરે; જેના અવસ્તા ખોટા અને માણુસ ખરાબ, તેની આગળ નહિ આવે, તેને નહિ સાંભળે અને કબુલ નહિ કરે.

(૧૧) સઘળી ઇજસ્તીમાં (અથવા હમા-ઇજસ્તીની ક્રિયામાં?) ઇજસ્તીની શરૂઆતમાં અને દરૂન (યસ્ત?) ની શરૂઆતમાં યજદોને અને અશોના ફરોહરોને ઇજસ્તી માટે નોતરવાં. (૧૨) જો તેમને ત્યાં બોલાવે તો તેઓ ઇજસ્તી કબુલ કરે છે; અને જો તેમને ત્યાં નહિ બોલાવે તો સ્તઅૅમિ (૨૬ મા હા) ની શરૂઆતમાં સઘળાં અશોનાં ફરોહરોને બોલાવવાં; અને જો નહિ બોલાવે તો 'ફ્રશોચરૅથ્રામ સચ્આૅશ્યન્તામ્' (હા ૨૬, ૬) સુધી થોભે છે, અને જો તેમને ત્યાં બોલાવે, તો ઇજસ્તી કબુલ કરે છે; અને જો નહિ

બોલાવે તો 'વીસ્પાઑ ફ્રવષયો અષઑનામ્ યજ્.૦' (હા. ૨૬, ૧૧) સુધી થોભે છે, અને જો તેમને ત્યાં બોલાવે તો ઇજશ્ની કબુલ કરે છે; અને જો નહિ બોલાવે તો 'તાઑસ્ચા યજ્૦, અષૅમ વૉહૂ' ત્રણ વાર (હા ૬, ૨૧; ૭, ૧) અને 'દામનામ', બે વાર 'અઑખ્તો-નામનો' (હા ૭, ૨૦), અને અષાત્ હચ (હા ૭, ૨૩), અને 'યાતુમનહે જસઇતિ' (હા ૮, ૪) સુધી જો તેમને બોલાવે તો કબુલ કરે, અને જો નહિ બોલાવે તો એક ભાલાની ઉંચાઇ સુધી ઉંચે જાય અને ઉભાં રહે, (૧૩) અને એમ બોલે કે આ માણસ જાણતો નથી કે મને પણ ગેતી (એટલે દુનિયા)માંથી જવું પડશે, અને મારો આસરો માણસો મને યાદ કરે તેમાં છે. જાણવું આ કે અમારી દિલગીરી આ કારણથી નથી કે અમને તેની ઇજશ્ની (એટલે આરાધના) ની જરૂર છે, પણ અમારી દિલગીરી આ કારણથી છે કે જો તેઓ અમને નહિ ઇજે (આરાધે) અને નહિ બોલાવે, તો જ્યારે તેમના પર દુઃખ આવી પડે ત્યારે તેને દુર રાખવાને અમે શકિતવાન નથી.

(૧૪) ઓ પેદાના કરનાર, પેલું જે મરણ પામેલું છે તે જીવતાંઓમાં કેટલો લાંબો વખત હોય છે? અને હોરમજદે કહ્યું કે માખની પાંખ ફફડે તેટલો, ઓ સ્પિતમના જરથોસ્ત, અથવા બરાબર નહિ જોનારની આગળ કાન-ચીમડીઆંની પાંખ ફફડે તેટલો.

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(૧) એક નિયમ આ કે જો કસ્તી આડકતરી ત્રણ આંગળાં હોય, તો સઘળી શરેહ પ્રમાણે તે ચાલે, જો ઓછી હોય તો કેટલીક પ્રમાણે તે નહિ ચાલે.

(૨) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે ફરવરદેગાનના દિવસોમાં ગુજર પામેલાની (ખ)સ્નૂમન મુકીને ગહમ્બાર, નો નાવર, સદુશ, હોમ દરૂન, અને બીજી અરદા ફરવશની કિરિયા કરવી; અને જો નહિ કરે તો કેટલીક શરેહ પ્રમાણે તે નહિ ચાલે.

(૩) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે નિયાતોમ નસ્કની શરેહમાં કહે છે, કે જ્યારે એક માણસ ચોરી કરવા જતો હોય, ત્યારે જો તેના પર દીવાલ ટુટી પડે, તો તે તેનો છુપો નાશ કરનાર, અને જો એક માણસ તેને મારે, તો તે તેનો વિરોધી કહેવાય; અને પેલો માણસ બન્ને સંબંધી ગુનેહારીગમાં

છે. પણ જ્યારે યજદોની ઇજશ્ની (એટલે આરાધના) કરવા જતો હોય ત્યારે બન્ને સંબંધી એગુનેહગારીમાં છે.

(૪) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જ્યારે સ્ત્રી હમેલવાળી હોય ત્યારે બને ત્યાં સુધી આતશ સારી રીતે પહરેજ કરી ઘરમાં રાખવો; કેમકે સ્પંદ નસ્કમાં જાહેર છે કે જરથેશ્તના માતાજી દુગ્ધાવ જ્યારે જરથોસ્ત સાથે હમેલવાળાં હતાં, ત્યારે ત્રણ રાત સુધી દરેક રાતે એક દેવ એકસો ને પચાસ દેવ સાથે જરથોસ્તનો નાશ કરવા ધસી આવતો હતો; પણ ઘરમાં આતશ હોવાને લીધે ચારો કરવાનું જાણતા હતા નહિ.

(૫) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે અથોરનાન શાગેર્દોમાંથી પણ કેટલાક છે કે જેઓ જ્યારે યજદોની ઇજશ્ની (એટલે આરાધના) કરવા જતા હોય ત્યારે પીશાખની જગા સાફ કરે છે. જો તે સાફ કરવી હોય અને તેમાંથી પીશાખના વહેવાને લીધે ભીનાશ કરે, તો બેસીને કરવું; કેમકે વંદીદાદમાં ઉભા રહીને પીશાબ કરવા માટે દસ્તૂરોએ શરેહ કરી છે, કે તેનું માપ થોડું પણ હોય અને કેથે પણ જાય તો પણ ગુનાહ તો થાયજ. અને જે પીશાબ કરે તેણે પીશાબ માટેના અવસ્તા ભણવા, પછી એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ લાગે; અને જો નહિ ભણે તો વધારે ભારે.

(૬) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે ગુજરેલાં માટે ગાથા ભણવાનું ગફલતમાં નહિ રાખવું, કેમકે આ ત્રણ હા જે ઉસ્તવત્ ગાથાની શરૂઆતમાં છે તે જ્યારે પણ રસ્તામાં ભણવાનું નહિ બને ત્યારે જો એક માણસ ઘરમાં બી ભણે તો તનદરૂસ્તીભર્યું (અથવા શાંતિકર) છે.

(૭) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે રાતે દારૂ, તુળસી જેવી સુગંધી વનસ્પતિ, અને કોઇ પણ ખોરાકની ચીજ ઉત્તર દિશા તરફ નાખવી નહિ, કેમકે દરૂજ હમેલવાળી થાય છે; અને જો નાખે તો એક 'યથા અહૂ વઇર્યો' ભણવો.

(૮) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે ગોસ્પંદની જાતને બેકાયદે કાપવાથી સખત પહરેજ રહેવું; કેમકે સ્તૂતકર નસ્કમાં જેઓએ ગોસ્પંદને બેકાયદે કાપ્યાં હોય તેઓ ઉપર આવી સજા કહી છે, કે પેલાં ગોસ્પંદના બાલ તેજદાર ભાલાની અણી જેવા બને છે અને પેલો બેકાયદે કાપનાર માર્યો જાય છે. (૯) ગોસ્પંદ કાપવાની બાબતમાં હલવાન (એટલે ઘેટાંનાં બચ્ચાં)ને, લવારાં (એટલે બકરાંનાં બચ્ચાં)ને, ખેતીના બળદને, લડાઇના ઘોડાને, સસલાંને,

બાજ પક્ષીને, મરઘાને, બહમન પક્ષી (એટલે ઘુવડ) ને, ચાષ અથવા કાબર પક્ષીને, સારિકા પક્ષીને, ગીધને, અને ચકલી જેવાં અબાબીલ (swallow) ને ઘણાં પહરેજ રાખવાં (એટલે સંભાળવાં).

(૧૦) હમેલવાળી સ્ત્રી જો ગુજરી જાય, તો જેઓ ચાલુ હમ-જોર એટલે એક બીજા સાથે જોડાએલા હોય તેવા ચારથી કમ માણસોએ નહિ ઉચકવી;—બીજા નસાને, કુતરાંએ જોયા પછી, જો બે માણસો હમ-જોર રહીને ઉંચકે તો રીમન નહિ થાય;—અને હમેલવાળી સ્ત્રી માટે બે કુતરાં જોઇએ, જેને હમ-જોર રાખીને દેખાડવાં; અને જો હમ-જોર રહીને ચાર માણસોથી ઉંચકાય તો રીમન નહિ થાય; અને જો બે માણસોથી ઉંચકાય તો બરશનૂમથી નાહવું.

(૧૧) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જ્યારે ગુજરેલાં માણસ માટે માફી ઇચ્છે, ત્યારે જો આ પ્રમાણે બોલે તો વધારે અકકલપસંદ (એટલે પ્રયોજન વાળું): જ્યારે પણ જે ગુનાહ મેં તેની સામે કીધો હોય, તેનો હિસાબ જે ગુનાહ તેણે મારી સામે કીધા હોય તેની સાથે થાય, અને એ પ્રમાણે ગુનાહ એક બીજા સાથે નીકળી જાય, ત્યારે વધારાના ગુનાહ જે તેણે મારી સામે કીધા હોય, તેની મેં અશોદાદ (=ભેટ, એટલે કે માફી) કીધી છે.

(૧૨) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે બૂટ (જોડા) વગર નહિ જાય, અને તેથી આ પણ ફાયદો થાય કે જો પગમાં બૂટ હોય અને પગ નસા પર મુકે—પણ નસાને હલાવે નહિ—તો રીમન નહિ થાય; અને જો પગમાં બૂટ નહિ હોય અને પગ નસા પર મુકે—અને નહિ હલાવે તો પણ—તો કુતરાંએ નથી જોયો એમ ધારવું, સિવાય કે નકકી જાણે કે કુતરાંએ જોયો છે અથવા નહિ.

(૧૩) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે દુવારસ્રૂજિત નસ્કમાં જાહેર છે કે વરસમાં એક દીવસ પણ દેખાડયો છે: દાખલા તરીકે જે કોઇ ચૌદ વરસ અને ત્રણ મહિનાથી એક દિવસ વધારે હોય તેણે તરતજ કસ્તી બાંધવી; વધારે સારૂં એમ કે જ્યારે પંદર વરસની અંદર હોય, ત્યારે કસ્તી બાંધે; અને જે વધારે કાળજીવારૂં હોય તે એમ કરે કે જે નવ મહિના માનાં પેટમાં હોય તે ગણતીમાં લઇ લે. [જુઓ સુધારા, વધારામાં.]

(૧૪) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જ્યારે બાજ ધરે ત્યારે વા જે નીચેથી સરે અને વા જે મોંઢામાંથી આવે તે બન્ને એકજ ગણાય.

(૧૫) આ પણ જાહેર છે કે જ્યારે સ્ત્રી જનમ આપે ત્યારે દસ સ્ત્રી મદદ કરવાને માટે જોઇએ; પાંચ સ્ત્રી પારણાંને લગતું કામ સંભાળવા, એક સ્ત્રી ડાબાં ખભાંની સામે અને એક જમણાં ખભાંની સામે પકડવા, એક સ્ત્રી પેલીની ગરદનમાં હાથ નાખવા, અને એક સ્ત્રી પેલીની કમર પકડવા, અને એક સ્ત્રી જ્યારે છોકરૂં જનમે ત્યારે તેને ઉંચકી લેવા અને નાળ કાપવા. (૧૬) તેની આગળ આતશ સળગાવવો અને ત્રણ દીવસ અને ત્રણ રાત સુધી આતશ અને બાળકની વચ્ચેથી કોઇએ પસાર થવું નહિ; અને બાળક ગુનેહગાર મરદ અને સ્ત્રીને બતાવવું નહિ; જરા ગોકિર્ન (એટલે સફેદ હોમ, સોમનો પાલો,—અથવા ગોગિર્દ એટલે ગંધક?) છુંદવો અને દાડમની પાતરીના રસ સાથે બાળક ઉપર લગાડવો; પહેલા ખોરાક તરીકે પરાહોમ અને મીઠો રસ આપવો.

(૧૭) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જો કોઇ એક માણુસને વગર ગુનાહે મારે, તો જ્યાં સુધી દરદ નરમ પડે ત્યાં સુધી દરરોજ એક તનાપૂર ગુનાહ લાગે.

(૧૮) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે દેશમાં જ્યારે દગાબાજ ન્યાયાધીશ (જજ) નિમાય અને ભરોસાદાર ગણાય, ત્યારે જે વિશ્વાસભંગનો ગુનાહ તે ન્યાયાધીશ કરે તેથી તે દેશમાં વાદળાં ને વરસાદ કમ થાય, અને ગાય અને ગોરપંદના દૂધનો મીઠાસ, ચરબી અને તનદરૂસ્તી આપવાનો ગુણ ઓછાં થાય, અને માના પેટમાંના બચ્ચાં ઘણું હેરાન થાય.

(૧૯) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે મરદ જો સ્ત્રી નહિ કરે તો મરગરજન નહિ થાય, પણ સ્ત્રી જો વર નહિ કરે તો મરગરજન થાયજ; કેમકે સ્ત્રીને મરદો સાથે જોડાયા વગર બચ્ચાં નહિ થાય અને તેનાથી વંશ નહિ ચાલે; પણ મરદનો, સ્ત્રી વિના પણ, જો જેમ વંદીદાદમાં કહ્યું છે તેમ અવસ્તા ભણે તો, કયામતનો વંશ આગળ ચાલે.

(૨૦) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે દાંતની સળી છાલ સાફ કરીને ઘડવી; કેમકે દસ્તૂરોએ શરેહ કરી છે કે જો છાલ સાથેની દાંતની સળી મોંઢાંને લાગ્યા પછી નીચે પડે અને હમેલવાળી સ્ત્રી જો તે પર પગ મુકે તો મુએલું બચ્ચું હોવાની બીક રહે છે.

(૨૧) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે ચકર (એટલે નીચલા પ્રકારની) સ્ત્રીના બચ્ચાંને ફયુઝ રાખવામાં તપાસ કરવી; કેમકે હુરપારમ નસ્કના ચૌદમાં

ભાગમાં દસ્તૂરોએ શરેહ કરી. છે કે મારો દીકરો તારા પણ દીકરા તરીકે ચાલે, પણ મારી દીકરી તારી પણ દીકરી તરીકે નહિ ચાલે.

(૨૨) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે બચ્ચાં પેદા કરવામાં ઘણા મેહેનતું રહેવું—ફકત વધારે સવાબ હાંસલ કરવા માટે; કેમકે નિયાતોમ નસ્કમાં દસ્તૂરોએ શરેહ કરી છે કે જે કામ અને સવાબ દીકરો કરે તે બાપના એવાં બને જેવાં કે પોતાને હાથે કીધાં હોય; અને દામદાદ નસ્કમાં જાહેર છે કે માનો પણ સવાબ તેજ અંદાજએ કે જે બાપને માલિકી તરીકે મળે છે.

(૨૩) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જે ચીજ લાયકને અપાય તે બને ત્યાં સુધી ખોરાકના અંદાજમાં રાખવી; કેમકે નિયાતોમ નસ્કમાં દસ્તૂરોએ શરેહ કરી છે કે જો કોઇ એક ભૂખા મરદને નાન-રોટી આપે અને જો તે સારી રીતે પુરતી હોય, તો સઘળાં સવાબ જે તે કરે છે, તે તેનાં એવાં બને છે જેવાં કે તેણે પોતાને હાથે કીધાં હોય.

(૨૪) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જ્યારે સુએ ત્યારે સાફ મનથી અને ગુનાહ વગર સુવું—અને એક અપૅમ્ વૉહુ ભણવો; અને જ્યારે જાગ્યો હોય ત્યારે પણ એમજ—જો એમ કરે ત્યારે દર એક દમ ખેંચતાં ત્રણ સરોશ ચરનામ સવાબ, જે દસ દિરમ અને ચાર પુરા દાંગની કીમત બરાબર થાય.

(૨૫) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જ્યારે એક કામ અથવા એક વાત નીકળી આવે અને નહિ જાણે કે તે ગુનાહ અથવા સવાબ છે, ત્યારે જો તેનાથી બને તો તે છોડી દેવું,—નહિ કરવું,—જેમ સકાતોમ નસ્કમાં કહે છે કે સઘળી ચીજમાંથી દરેક ચીજ માટે નહિ, પણ આ કામ માટે જરથોસ્ત આગળ ત્રણ વખત લવાયું (એટલે કહેવાયું) છે, કે મોટી તપાસ સાથે તપાસવું અને જો નહિ જાણે કે ગુનાહ અથવા સવાબ, ત્યારે જતું કરવું,—એટલે કે નહિ કરવું.

(૨૫ક) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જ્યારે અવસ્તા અને જંદ ફરી ફરીથી ભણાતા-શીખાતા હોય ત્યારે તે નહિ બગડી જવા;—એટલે કે જ્યાં સુધી અવસ્તા અને જંદ મોંઢે કરતા હોય ત્યાં સુધી ભણવા અને બગડી નહિ જવા, કેમકે અહુનવરનો કલામ બગડી જવામાં ભારે ગુનાહ છે;

(૨૬) જેમ બધ નસ્કમાં કહે છે, કે જે કોઇ મારી દુનિયામાં, ઓ જરથોસ્ત, અહુનવરનો ભાગ ફરીફરી ભણે છે—એટલે કે મોંઢે કરે છે—અને

તેમ કરતાં કંધક છોડી મુકે છે—એટલે કે બગડી જાય છે—અરધા જેટલો અથવા ત્રીજે ભાગ અથવા ચોથો ભાગ અથવા પાંચમો ભાગ, તેના રવાનને હું, કે જે હોરમજદ છું, સઉથી સારી જીંદગીવાળાં બહેસ્તથી અટકાઉં છું—એટલે કે પાછો રાખું છું—એટલી ઉંડાઇએ કે જેટલી આ જમીનની પહોળાઇ છે.

(૨૭) [ખરી રીતે આ ભાગ ૨૯૬ અને ૨૫ ના ભાગમાંથી છુટો થઇ બન્યો છે તેથી તે ભાગ અસલ જગામાં મેં દાખલ કર્યો છે.]

(૨૮) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે કંઇ પણ ચીજ ભલા દીનદારો સાથે પુછપાછ કરી કરવી; અને ચિથ્રદાત નરકમાં તેની પણ ઉપમા જાહેર છે, કે સ્પન્દરમતે મનુશ-ચિહરને કહ્યું કે ઘણા તેજી ઘોડા માટે પણ ચાબુક જોઇએ, અને ઘણી તેજી પોલાદી છરી માટે પણ સરાણ જોઇએ, અને ઘણા દાના માણસ માટે પણ પુછપાછ (સલાહ) જોઇએ, (૨૯) કેમકે એકલા હોરમજદનીજ અકકલ બધું જાણનારી છે.

(૨૯ક) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે સખાવત કરવી એ એક મોટો સવાબ છે, પણ અવિચારી દાન કરવાથી ઘણા પહરેજ રહેવું; કેમકે રવુશ-તાઇનિ નરકમાં અવિચારી દાન કરનારાઓની મીનોઇ જહાનમાંની ભારી સજા પર ઘણી દુઃખદાયક ચીજો કહેવાઇ છે.

(૩૦) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે બેહદીનોમાંથી પણ દીનના ફરમાનથી અજાણ્યુ છેઃ દાખલા તરીકે જ્યારે મારા મરઘાની માફક અવાજ કરે છે (વાસે છે) ત્યારે તેઓ મરઘીને મારી નાખે છે; પણ ધર્મના વડાઓએ એમ કહ્યું છે કે તે ઘરમાં જાદુગરો તરફથી નાશનું કામ થાય છે અને મરઘો તેમને પાછા હઠાવવાને અશકિતવાન છે, અને મારા મરઘાની મદદ માટે પેલો અવાજ કરે છે (વાસે છે); અને તેથી જ્યારે પણ જરૂર હોય ત્યારે એક બીજો મરઘો તે ઘરમાં લાવવો.

(૩૧) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જ્યારે કોઇ શાઉડી જોય, ત્યારે તેને પાછી ખેતરમાં બીક વગરની જગામાં સંભાળીને મુકવી, કેમકે વંદીદાદમ દસ્તૂરોએ શરેહ કરી છે કે જો શાઉડી દરરોજ કીડીના દરમાં પીશાબ કરે તો એમ બને કે એક હજાર કીડી મરી જાય.

(૩૨) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે વંદીદાદમાં સાત જાતની ચીજ કહી છે, જો તે એક માણસના મરણનું બહાનું થાય, તો જ્યાં સુધી તે પછીની બીજી

ગેહ થાય ત્યાં સુધી નસુશ તેના પર ધસારો નહિ કરે; અને આ કારણને લીધે બેહદીનો માટે આ પણ નેક છે કે સધળા નસાને બીજી ગેહમાં કુતરૂ સારી રીતે પાછું દેખાડવું.

(૩૩) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જેઓ નસાને તેના પકાવનાર પાસેથી સંભાળી લે, તેઓએ તપાસ કરીને નસાને કુતરૂં દેખાડવું; કેમકે કુતરાંએ નહિ જોયલા નસાને જો હુન્નર માણસ પણ ઉંચકે તો સધળા રીમન થાય.

(૩૪) વળી એક નિયમ આ કે જો ગોશમાં જરા પણ ગંદકી અથવ કોહવાટ હોય, તો તેને નહિ ધજવું; જે દરાણુ અને ગોશુદો (એટલે ઘી) ચોરી અને લૂટમાંથી હોય તે પણ નહિ ધજવો.

(૩૫) સ્ત્રી સ્ત્રીઓના જોતી (એટલે ક્રિરિયા કરનાર મોબેદ) તરીકે ચાલે; અને જ્યારે તે દરાણુ ધજતી હોય અને બે 'અષેમ્ વૅહૂ ભણ્યા હોય, ત્યારે બરસમ પાછી બરસમ-દાન પર મુકે, તેને (તેની જગાએ) પાછી લાવે અને એક બીજો અષેમ્ વૉહૂ ભણે, અને તે સારૂં ('ખુબ') ગણાય; અને જો ચાશની કર્યા પહેલાં (બરસમને) જોયા વગર ભણે તો ચાલે.

(૩૬) બદનામ સ્ત્રીનો દરાણુ નહિ ધજવો; પણ તેણે તેનો ખરચ કરવો.

(૩૭) જો દેખાય તેમ એક ચીજ આતશની આગળ મુકે, અને તેથી ઝાળ (એટલે બળતા આતશ)નું અંગ નહિ જોય તો 'તવ આથ્રો' નહિ ભણવો.

(૩૮) રાતે જ્યારે સુએ ત્યારે હાથ ધોવા.

(૩૯) દસ્તાનવાળી સ્ત્રી તરફથી કંઈ માણસને અથવા ચીજને લાગે તો સધળું ગોમેજ અને પાણીથી ધોવું.

(૪૦) [આ ભાગ અસલ નથી, પણ હિંદુસ્તાનમાં કોઇએ મતલબને ખાતર બનાવટ કરી દાખલ કર્યો છે.]

વળી એક નિયમ આ કે આદરબાદ મારસ્પંદે કહ્યું છે કે જ્યારે કોઇ ગુજરી જાય, ત્યારે પદાન અને કપડાં પણ બેટમાંથી સારી રીતે કરવાં, જેથી કરી રવાન વધારે સુખ-ચેનવાળું થાય.

દુવા અને ખુશી સાથે પુરૂં કીધું.

સુધારા–વધારા

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પુસ્તક છપાતાં અથવા નજરચૂકથી જે કંઈ ભૂલ જોડણીમાં થઈ છે તે અત્રે સુધારી નથી. પણ ૧, ૨ અને ૩ માં આવતાં પહલવી નામો 'ઓવિસ્ત' અને 'ફર્નબંધ' વંચાવાં જોઈએ. વળી ૨, ૭—૮ માંની બાબત આપણા સામાન્ય આચાર-વિચારથી ઉલટી જણાય છે, તે માટે પ્રસ્તાવનામાં ઇસારો કર્યો છે; છતાં અત્રે ખાસ જણાવું છું કે ફકત અસલ લખાણનોજ આવો અર્થ થાય છે એટલુંજ નહિ પણ બીજાં જુદાં લખાણ પરથી પણ તેની ખાતરી કરી છે. જો એમાં ભૂલજ હોય તો તે ભૂલ ઘણી જુની હોવી જોઈએ. બીજા સુધારા નીચે મુજબ કરવાઃ—

૨, ૪૦ : 'ઝાળ' ને બદલે 'ગરમી' વાંચવું; જો કે મતલબ એકજ છે.

૨, ૩૮ : 'તોજ' ને બદલે 'તો પણ' વાંચવું; જો કે બન્ને અર્થ બરાબર છે.

૨, ૪૫ : અને જો બન્ને બાજુ (નહિ) આવે.—મારાં અંગ્રેજી પુસ્તકમાં જણાવેલો અર્થ અથવા મતલબ મેળવવા માટે 'નહિ' ઉમેરવો જોઈએ.

૨, ૪૬ : અસલ શબ્દો ફકત આ છેઃ આતશ બેહરામના ગુંબદની બાલી જગા રીમન નહિ થાય;—પણ કયારે તે કહ્યું નથી.

૨, ૬૬ :....બરસ્નૂમથી નહવડાવવો નહિ.—આથી મતલબ બરાબર સમજાશે કે તમામ નસાને ખસેડયા પછીજ નહવડાવવો.

૨, ૮૪ : અને કુતરૂં દેખાડવા.....—અહીં, કદાચ છેવટનો "નહિ" ભૂલથી પણ હોય; સરખાવો ૮૫.

૨, ૯૪ : નજરચૂકથી આનો તરજુમો અપાયો નથી, તે આ પ્રમાણે છે:—અને જો વરસાદ વરસતો હોય અને નસો પાણીમાં પડી રહ્યો હોય, તો તેને તે પાણીમાંથી લેવાની અને વરસાદમાં મુકવાની સત્તા નથી.

૩, ૧૪, ૧૬ : અહીં "સમાપ્તી" ને બદલે "દસ્તાનની નીશાની" નો અર્થ લેવો. તેમ કરતાં મતલબમાં ફેરફાર નથી થતો.

૩, ૨૧૬: "જ્યાં સુધી નહાય ત્યાં સુધી" ને બદલે "જ્યારે નહાય (અથવા ધોએ) ત્યારે" વાંચવું.

૯, ૫: "કેમકે ત્યારે ક્રિયાનો કોઇપણ સંબંધ રહેતો નથી—"... "આને બદલે અર્થ એમ પણ થાય કે "જે ક્રિયાનો સંબંધ હોતો નથી તે....."

૧૦, ૧૨: અહીં "કુતરાંએ નથી જોયો..." વગેરે ભાગ અધુરો અથવા ભૂલથી હોય યા ન હોય પણ તેની આગળ "તો રીમન થાય" એમ ઉમેરવું.

૧૦, ૧૩: અહીં કદાચ અથ એમ પણ હોય: "...જાહેર છે—જ્યાં વરસ અને દહાડા દેખાડયા છે—કે જે કોઇ..."

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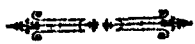
A COMPARATIVE STUDY

OF

PERSIAN AND ARABIC WORDS

IN EVERY-DAY USE BY THE PARSEES

دردانه‌های فارسی



مانک پور فریدون ملّا

MANEK FARDUNJI MULLA

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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By

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Author of

"A Guide to Persia," "My Travels in Seistan," and "A Guide to the Persian Language including a Concise English-Persian Dictionary."

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دردانه‌های فارسی

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الفاظ و لغات فارسی و عربی که در گفتگوی روزانهٔ پارسیان بکار برده می شود

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نویسندهٔ

"راهنمای ایران" - "شرح مسافرتهای سیستان" - "و راهنمای زبان فارسی"

بمبئی - ۱۹۳۶

حق طبع و تقلید محفوظ است

PREFACE.

About the end of the year 1929, when I visited Seistan, the birth-place of the heroes like Zal and Rustam, I had an opportunity to enjoy a long conversation with Colonel C. K. Daly C. I. E, I. A., the then H. B M's Consul for Seistan. In the course of the said conversation he made very sympathetic references to the Parsees of India, at the same time remarking that after settling down in India, they had forgotten their own Persian Language. I immediately drew his attention to the fact that even to-day the language spoken by the Parsees contains a large admixture of Persian and Gujarati words. It was as a result of this conversation that the idea occurred to me of collecting and publishing in the form of a book the Persian words still used by the Parsees.

The main object of the book is to give an idea to the Parsees themselves to the innumerable words of Persian and Arabic origin, which they have been using in their daily conversation without having even the remotest idea that they are doing so. Of course, in this book I have not given all such words, as their number would be too large, but have given a number of selected words only. I am sure the Parsees will be proud when they come to know that they are still using their mother tongue in their daily conversation, and that a realization of this fact will kindle a desire in their

minds to once again take up this study of their mother tongue, which they have been neglecting of late.

I have also collected in a separate chapter a number of words of European origin, which have been assimilated into the Persian Language. I don't believe all this has been attempted before.

I have also deliberately included in this compilation a selection of Persian Proper Names, with the object that the present day Parsees, who always entertain a vivid memory for their ancestors, may select these as their family names in preference to the various Gujarati and other foreign names, which they are now using.

As to the contents of this book, it is divided into five chapters. The first comprises the elements of Persian Grammar, the second contains a vocabulary of nearly 750 selected words of Persian and Arabic origin, which the Parsees are still unwittingly using in their daily conversation, the third deals with the words from the European Languages assimilated into the Persian Language, the fourth contains some Persian and Arabic words assimilated into the English Language and the fifth deals with Persian Proper Names.

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Bombay, 4th January 1936.

دیباچه

در سال ۱۹۲۹ موقع که در سیستان زایشگاه گردان و پهلوانان چون رستم و زال سیاحت می کردم بملاقات و مصاحبت کلنل سی - که - دلی قنسول وقت دولت بریتانیا سرافراز بودم - روزی در حین گفتگو اظهار داشت که پارسیان پس از اقامت در هند زبان مادری خویش فارسی را فراموش کرده اند بنده اظهار داشتم که پارسیان یک باره زبان اصلی خویش را فراموش نکرده وحتی امروز هم بسیاری از کلمات فارسی را در محاورهٔ روزانهٔ خویش بکار می برند - از نتیجهٔ این اشارات و اظهارات برخود فرض دیدم که کلمات فارسی که امروزه مورد استعمال پارسیان است جمع آوری نموده بصورت کتابی در آورم*

مقصود عمدهٔ این کتاب خاطرنشان کردن بسیاری از کلمات فارسی و عربی است که درمیان پارسیان استعمال می شود و از سر چشمهٔ آن آگاهی ندارند امید است اطلاع از استعمال این همه کلمات فارسی حس خوابیدهٔ پارسیان را به زبان اصلی مادری خود بیدار کرده و به بازیابی آن راغب خواهد گردانید - نیز اولین دفعه است که در این کتاب در فصل سوم کلمات اروپائی نه کم کم داخل زبان فارسی شده جمع آوری شده است*

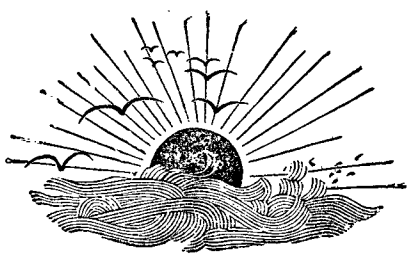
مخصوصاً در این مجموعه اسامی فارسی ایرانیان قدیم و اجداد نامدار ما ضبط و گردآوری شده تا به برگزیدن این اسمهای شیرین و با افتخار باستانی پارسیان هند آن اسلاف تاجدار و هنر ور خویش را همیشه در مد نظر داشته و مایهٔ نور امید و نجات جاودانی این قوم باشد - بعلاوه این اسامی وقتیکه با اسمهای خارجی مقابله گردد چندان شیرین تر و بهتر جلوه خواهند کرد که

هر پارسی با غیرتی بیشک آنها را بر مابقی ترجیح خواهد داد - امیدوارم توجه برادران فارسی بیش از پیش بر این نکته جلب شود *

این کتاب بر پنج فصل تقسیم شده - فصل اول شامل اصول دستور زبان فارسی فصل دوم مشتمل بر ۷۵۰ لغات و الفاظی که در گفتگوی پارسیان استعمال می شود فصل سوم کلمات اروپائی کرد در فارسی معمول و درجریان هستند فصل چهارم مشتمل بر کلمات فارسی و عربی که در زبان انگلیسی بکار برده می شود و فصل آخری از اسامی خاص فارسی گفتگو می نماید *

این کتاب از تجربیات شخصی بوده و امید است از عهدهٔ مقصد اصلی نویسنده برآمده وکمک مادی و معنوی بر خوانندگان و مسافرین در ایران و برادران فارسی این بنده خواهد بود *

مانک پور فریدون ملا
جهانگیر وادیا بلدینگ
نمره ۵۱ اسپلانید رود - فارت - بمبئی



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Chapter I.

The Persian Writing.

The Persian Language is written from right to left. The following are the letters of the Persian Alphabet with their pronunciations in English and Gujarati.

The Alphabet.

Letter.	Name of Letter		Pronunciation.		Letter.	Name of Letter.		Pronunciation.	
ا	Alef	અલેફ્	અ	a	ص	Sād	સાદ	સ	s
ب	Be	બે	બ	b	ض	Zād	ઝાદ	ઝ	z
پ	Pe	પે	પ	p	ط	Tāy	તાય	ત	t
ت	Te	તે	ત	t	ظ	Zāy	ઝાય	ઝ	z
ث	Se	સે	સ	s	ع	Ain	અઇન	અ	'a
ج	Jeem	જીમ	જ	j	غ	Ghain	ઘઇન	ઘ	ght
چ	Che	ચે	ચ	ch	ف	Fe	ફે	ફ	f
ح	He	હે	હ	h	ق	Qāf	કાફ્	ક	qt
خ	Khe	ખે	ખ	kh	ک	Kāf	કાફ્	ક	k
د	Dāl	દાલ	દ	d	گ	Gāf	ગાફ્	ગ	g
ذ	Zāl	ઝાલ	ઝ	z	ل	Lām	લામ	લ	l
ر	Re	રે	ર	r	م	Meem	મીમ	મ	m
ز	Ze	ઝે	ઝ	z	ن	Noon	નૂન	ન; મ	n
ژ	Zhe	ઝે	ઝ	zh*	و	Waw	વાવ	વ; ઊ	w; oo
س	Seen	સીન	સ	s	ه	He	હે	હ; એ	h; a
ش	Sheen	શીન	શ	sh	ی	Ye	યે	ય; ઈ	y; ee

* *zh* pronounced as *s* in *pleasure*.

† pronounced rather from the throat.

Pronunciation.

ن = *noon.*

ن (*noon*) has the sound of م (*meem*) when it precedes ب (*be*); e. g., پنبہ (*pamba* = પમ્બે) = cotton; and not (*panba* = પન્બે). انبار (*ambār* = અમ્બાર) = heap.

و = *wāw.*

و (*wāw*) when preceded by خ (*khe*) and followed by ا (*alef*) or ی (*ye*), is silent; e g., خواب (*khāb* = ખાબ) = sleep. خویش (*kheesh* = ખીશ) = himself.

ہ = *he.*

When ہ (*he*) comes at the end of a word and is preceded by a consonant, it has the sound of *a* in English and એ in Gujarati; e. g., خانہ (*khāna* = ખાને) = house; and not (*khānah* = ખાનેહ). میوہ (*meewa* = મીવે) = fruit. چشمہ (*chashma* = ચશ્મે) = fountain.

Combination of Letters.

In the formation of a word all letters, subject to what is stated below, are joined to the letters preceding or following them; e. g., بخشش (*bakhshesh* = બખ્શેશ) = gift. قلم (*qalam* = કલમ) = pen.

The letters ا د ذ ر ز ژ and و are joined to any of the other letters preceding them; e. g., بازار (*bāzār* = બાઝાર) = market; مار (*mār* = માર) = snake.

The letters ا د ذ ر ز ژ and و are never joined to any of the letters following them; e g., پروردگار (*parwardagār* = પરવરદગાર) = God. زورآور (*zor-āwar* = ઝોર આવર) = strong man.

The Consonants.

The letters of the Alphabet are all consonants. Only three of them ا (*alef*), و (*wāw*) and ی (*ye*) are

used as consonants as well as vowels. In the beginning of a word or a syllable ا (*alef*), و (*wāw*) and ی (*ye*) are consonants; e. g., اثر (*asar* = અસર) = consequence. وزیر (*wazeer* = વઝીર) = minister. یار (*yār* = યાર) = lover.

The Long Vowels.

As vowels ا (*alef*), و (*waw*) and ی (*ye*) are used in the middle or at the end of a syllable and then ا (*alef*) is pronounced as *ā* = આ, و (*wāw*) is pronounced as *oo* = ઊ, and ی (*ye*) is pronounced as *ee* = ઈ; e. g; چراغ (*cherāgh* = ચેરાધ) = lamp. کوشش (*kooshesh* = કૂશેશ) = effort. شیرین (*sheereen* = શીરીન) = sweet.

The Diphthongs.

و (*wāw*) when preceded by a letter with the short vowel ـَ (*zabar*), has the sound of *au* (diphthong) = ઔ; e. g; دولت (*daulat* = દૌલત) = wealth. فوج (*fauj* = ફૌજ) = army.

ی (ye) when preceded by a letter with the short vowel ـَ (*zabar*), has the sound of *ai* (diphthong) = ઐ; e. g; خیرات (*khairāt* = ખૈરાત) = charity. عیب (*'aib* = ઐબ) defect.

The Short Vowels.

ـَ (*zabar*), ـِ (*zeer*) and ـُ (*peesh*) are short vowels in Persian.

ـَ (*zabar*) is placed over a letter, which is then pronounced as if followed by short *a*, as in *German*; e. g., فلک (*falak* = ફલક) = sky. ملک (*malak* = મલક) = angel.

ـِ (*zeer*) is placed below a letter, which has then the sound of short *e* as in *bed*; e. g., پدر (*pedar* = પેદર) = father. ملک (*melk* = મેલ્ક) = property.

ـُ (*pesh*) is placed over a letter, which has then the sound of *o*, as in *go*; e. g., بلبل (*bolbol* = બોલબોલ) = nightingale. ملک (*molk* = મોલ્ક) = kingdom.

Orthographical Signs.

ـآ = *alef madd.*

The sign ـٓ (*madd*) is written over an ا (*alef*) at the beginning of a word to denote that the ا (*alef*) is sounded long. This sign is used to avoid the union of two *alefs* in the beginning of a word; e. g. آواز (*āwāz* = આવાઝ) = noise آسایش (*āsāyesh* = આસાયેશ) = rest. آلو (*āloo* = આલૂ) = plum.

ء = *hamzāh.*

This sign when placed over ه (*he*) final (inaspirate) has the sound of *ye*; e. g., خانهٔ من (*khāna-ye-man* = ખાને-યે-મન) = my house.

When in a word ی (*ye*) occurs twice side by side, the first ی (*ye*) is represented by ء (*hamzāh*). ئی (*hamzāh* and *ye*) has then the sound of *yee*; e. g., آئین (*āyeen* = આયન) = custom.

ـّ = *tashdeed.*

In Persian the same consonant is not written more than once side by side. If a consonant is to be pronounced twice, the sign ـّ (*tashdeed*) is placed over it; e. g., دلّاک (*dallāk* = દલ્લાક) = barber. ملّا (*mollā* = મોલ્લા) = learned man.

Pure Persian Letters.

The letters پ چ ژ and گ are peculiar to the Persian Alphabet, and therefore are not found in any Arabic words; e. g., پهلوان (*pahlawān* = પહલવાન) = *hero.* چشم (*chashm* = ચશ્મ) = eye. ژرفا (*zharfā* = ઝર્ફા) = depth. گرگ (*gorg* = ગોર્ગ) = wolf.

Pure Arabic Letters.

The letters ث ح ص ض ط ظ ع and ق are generally confined to the Arabic Alphabet, and are as a rule, found in pure Arabic words; e. g., ثمر (*samar* = સમર) = profit. حاكم (*hākem* = હાકેમ) = governor. صاحب (*sāheb* = સાહેબ) = title of courtesy. ضامن (*zāmen* = ઝામેન) = security. طاق (*tāq* = તાક) = arch. ظلم (*zolm* = ઝોલ્મ) = oppression عيب (*'aib* = અય્બ) = defect. قسمت (*qesmat* = કેસમત) = division.

The remaining 20 letters are common to Persian and Arabic.

Persian Vowels with their pronunciation in English and Gujarati.

VOWEL.	PRONUNCIATION.	
	English.	Gujarati.
ا *(alef)*	*a* (long) as in *far*	આ
و *(wāw)*	*oo* as in *food*	ઊ
ى *(ye)*	*ee* as in *feet*	ઈ
ـَ *(zabar)*	*a* (short) as in *German*	અ
ـِ *(zeer)*	*e* as in *pen*	એ
ـُ *(peesh)*	*o* as in *note*	ઓ
وَ *(zabar-wāw)*	*au* as in *Aurangzeb*	ઔ
ىَ *(zabar-ye)*	*ai* as in *rain*	ઐ

Chapter II.

Selection of Persian and Arabic Words, most commonly used by the Parsees in their conversation.

અ.

Gujarati Word.	Whether of Persian or Arabic Origin.	Persian Equivalent.	English Transliteration of Persian Equivalent.	English Equivalent
અકલ	A	عقل	*'aql*	Intellect
અગર	P	اگر	*agar*	If
અજબ	A	عجب	*'ajab*	Surprise
અજલ	A	اجل	*ajal*	Death
અઝદહા	P	اژدها	*azhdahā*	Dragon
અઝીઝ	A	عزیز	*azeez*	Dear
અઝીયત	A	اذیت	*azeeyat*	Harm
અનજામ	P	انجام	*anjām*	Conclusion
અન્જીર	P	انجیر	*anjeer*	Fig
અનજોમન	P	انجمن	*anjoman*	Assembly
અન્દર	P	اندر	*andar*	Within
અનદાઝે	P	اندازه	*andāza*	Proportion
અમ્બેહ	P	انبہ	*amba*	Mango
અફસોસ	P	افسوس	*afsos*	Sorrow
અમાનત	A	امانت	*amānat*	Security
અમીર	A	امیر	*ameer*	Chief
અરક	A	عرق	*'araq*	Spirituous liquor
અરમાન	P	ارمان	*armān*	Desire
અર્જ	A	عرض	*'arz*	Request
અલબતે	A	البتہ	*alba'ta*	By all means
અસબાબ	A	اسباب	*asbāb*	Materials
અહમક	P	احمق	*ahmaq*	Idiot
અહવાલ	A	احوال	*ahwāl*	Conditions
આખેર	A	آخر	*ākher*	Final

આજેઝ	A	عاجز	*'ājez*	Powerless
આઝમાયેશ	P	آزمایش	*āzmāyesh*	Experiment
આઝાદી	P	آزادی	*āzādee*	Liberty
આઝાર	P	آزار	*āzār*	Injury
આતેશ	P	آتش	*ātesh*	Fire
આતેશબાઝી	P	آتش بازی	*ātesh-bāzee*	Fire-works
આદત	A	عادت	*ādat*	Habit
આદેલ	A	عادل	*ādel*	Just
આફતાબ	P	آفتاب	*āftāb*	Sun
આફરીન	P	آفرین	*āfreen*	Bravo
આબાદી	P	آبادی	*ābādee*	Prosperity
આબો હવા	P	آب و هوا	*āb-o-hawā*	Climate
આમદની	P	آمدنی	*āmadanee*	Income
આયેને	P	آینہ	*āyena*	Looking-glass
આરઝુ	P	آرزو	*ārzoo*	Desire
આરામ	P	آرام	*ārām*	Rest
આરાસ્તે	P	آراستہ	*ārāsta*	Adorned
આલૂ	P	آلو	*āloo*	Plum
આવાઝ	P	آواز	*āwāz*	Noise
આસમાન	P	آسمان	*āsmān*	Sky
આસાન	P	آسان	*āsān*	Easy
આસાયેશ	P	آسایش	*āsāyesh*	Rest
આહેસ્તે	P	آهستہ	*āhesta*	Slowly
ઈલ્ચી	P	ایلچی	*eelchee*	Ambassador
એકરાર	A	اقرار	*eqrār*	Confession
એખતેરાય	A	اختراع	*ekhterā'*	Invention
એતેકાદ	A	اعتقاد	*e'teqād*	Faith
એતેબાર	A	اعتبار	*e'tebār*	Confidence
એત્ર	A	عطر	*'etr*	Perfume
એનકાર	A	انکار	*enkār*	Refusal
એનામ	A	انعام	*en'ām*	Prize
એનસાફ	A	انصاف	*ensāf*	Justice

Gujarati Word.	Whether of Persian or Arabic Origin.	Persian Equivalent.	English Translitération of Persian Equivalent.	English Equivalent
એબાદત ગાહ	A	عبادت گاہ	*'ebādat-gāh*	Place of worship
એબારત	A	عبارت	*'ebārat*	Wording
એમારત	A	عمارت	*'emārat*	Building
એરાદત	A	ارادت	*erādat*	Intention
એલ્તેમાસ	A	التماس	*eltemās*	Request
એલ્મ	A	علم	*'elm*	Knowledge
એશારત	A	اشارت	*eshārat*	Signal
એશ્ક	A	عشق	*'eshq*	Love
એશારે	A	اشارہ	*eshāra*	Suggestion
ઐબ	A	عیب	*'aib*	Defect
ઐયાશી	A	عیاشی	*aiyāshee*	Luxury
ઐવાન	P	ایوان	*aiwān*	Palace
ઓઝ્ર	A	عذر	*'ozr*	Excuse
ઓમ્ર	A	عمر	*'omr*	Life
ઓમીદ	P	امید	*omeed*	Hope
ઓસ્તોવાર	P	استوار	*ostowār*	Firm
ઓસ્તાદ	P	استاد	*ostād*	Master
ઔલાદ	A	اولاد	*aulād*	Generation

ક.

કઝીયે	A	قضیہ	*qazeeya*	Dispute
કત્લે આમ્મ	A	قتل عام	*qatl-e-'āmm*	Massacre
કદમ	A	قدم	*qadam*	Step
કદ્રદાની	A	قدردانی	*qadr-dānee*	Appreciation
કફ	P	کف	*kaf*	Foam
કબ્ઝે	A	قبضہ	*qabza*	Possession
કબ્ર	A	قبر	*qabr*	Tomb
કબાબ	A	کباب	*kabāb*	Roast meat
કબાલે	A	قبالہ	*qabāla*	Contract

કબીલે	A	قبیلہ	*qabeela*	Family
કબૂતર	P	کبوتر	*kabootar*	Pigeon
કબૂલ	A	قبول	*qabool*	Consent
કબૂલેયત	A	قبولیت	*qabooleyat*	Acceptance
કમ	P	کم	*kam*	Little
કમર	P	کمر	*kamar*	Waist
કમર બન્દ	P	کمر بند	*kamar-band*	Belt
કમાન	P	کمان	*kamān*	Bow
કમીને	P	کمینہ	*kameena*	Humble (female)
કમીસ	A	قمیص	*qamees*	Shirt
કર્ઝ	A	قرض	*qarz*	Debt
કરાર	A	قرار	*qarār*	Rest
કલમ	A	قلم	*qalam*	Pen
કલઇ	A	قلعی	*qal'ee*	Tin
કલે	A	قلعہ	*qal'a*	Castle
કસ્દ	A	قصد	*qasd*	Resolution
કસબે	A	قصبہ	*qasaba*	Town
કહવે	A	قہوہ	*qahwa*	Coffee
કહવે ખાને	A	قہوہ خانہ	*qahwa-khāna*	Coffee-house
કાઘઝ	P	کاغذ	*kāghaz*	Paper
કાઝી	A	قاضی	*qāzee*	Judge
કાન	P	کان	*kān*	Mine or quarry
કાનૂન	A	قانون	*qānoon*	Law
કાફેલે	A	قافلہ	*qāfela*	Caravan
કાબેલ્યત	A	قابلیت	*qābeleyat*	Ability
કારખાને	P	کارخانہ	*kār-khāna*	Workshop
કારગર	P	کارگر	*kār-gar*	Artisan
કાલી	A	قالی	*qālee*	Carpet
કાસે	P	کاسہ	*kāsa*	Bowl
કાસેદ	A	قاصد	*qāsed*	Messenger
કીને	P	کینہ	*keena*	Revenge
કીમત	A	قیمت	*qe.mat*	Price

Gujarati Word.	Whether of Persian or Arabic Origin.	Persian Equivalent.	English Transliteration of Persian Equivalent.	English Equivalent.
કીમે	A	قیمہ	*qeema*	Mince-meat
કીમેયાગાર	A	کیمیاگر	*keemeyāgar*	Alchemist
કીસે	P	کیسہ	*keesa*	Bag
કુઝે	P	کوزہ	*kooza*	Earthen pot
કૂશેશ	P	کوشش	*kooshesh*	Effort
કેતાબ	A	کتاب	*ketāb*	Book
કેતાબખાને	A	کتابخانہ	*ketāb-khāna*	Library
કેનારે	P	کنارہ	*kenāra*	Shore
કેર્મ	P	کرم	*kerm*	Worm
કેરમેઝ	A	قرمز	*kermez*	Crimson
કેશ્તી	P	کشتی	*keshtee*	Boat
કેશમેશ	P	کشمش	*keshmesh*	Raisins
કૈદ	A	قید	*qaid*	Imprisonment
કોરસી	A	کرسی	*korsee*	Chair
કોલાહ	P	کلاہ	*kolāh*	Cap
કોવ્વત	A	قوت	*qowwat*	Strength
કોસૂર	A	قصور	*qosoor*	Defect
કોશ્તી	P	کشتی	*koshtee*	Wrestling
કૌમ	A	قوم	*qaum*	Nation

ખ.

ખઝીને	A	خزینہ	*khazeena*	Treasure
ખબર	A	خبر	*khabar*	News
ખબરદાર	P	خبردار	*khabar-dār*	Careful
ખર્ચ	A	خرچ	*kharj*	Expense
ખરબૂઝે	P	خربوزہ	*kharbooza*	Melon
ખરાબી	A	خرابی	*kharābee*	Destruction
ખરીદાર	P	خریدار	*kharcedār*	Buyer
ખસલત	A	خصلت	*khaslat*	Disposition

ખાક	P	خاک	*khāk*	Dust
ખાન	P	خان	*khān*	Nobleman
ખાનદાન	P	خاندان	*khāndān*	Family
ખાબ	P	خواب	*khāb*	Sleep
ખાલી	A	خالی	*khālee*	Empty
ખાસ્સીયત	A	خاصیت	*khāsseeyat*	Quality
ખાહેશ	P	خواهش	*khāhesh*	Wish
ખૂન	P	خون	*khoon*	Blood
ખૂબસૂરત	A	خوبصورت	*khoob-soorat*	Beautiful
ખૂબી	P	خوبی	*khoobee*	Goodness
ખેતાબ	A	خطاب	*khetāb*	Title
ખેદમત	A	خدمت	*khedmat*	Service
ખેયાલ	A	خیال	*kheyāl*	Idea
ખૈરાત	A	خیرات	*khairāt*	Charities
ખોદા	P	خدا	*khodā*	God
ખોરશીદ	P	خورشید	*khorsheed*	Sun
ખોરાક	P	خوراک	*khorāk*	Food
ખોશી	P	خوشی	*khoshee*	Joy

ગ.

ગઝ	P	گز	*gaz*	Yard
ગઝર	P	گزر	*gazar*	Carrot
ગન્જ	P	گنج	*ganj*	Treasure
ગરદન	P	گردن	*gardan*	Neck
ગરદેશ	P	گردش	*gardesh*	Walk
ગરમી	P	گرمی	*garmee*	Warmth
ગલૂ	P	گلو	*galoo*	Throat
ગલૂબન્દ	P	گلوبند	*galoo-band*	Necklace
ગાવ	P	گاو	*gāv*	Cow
ગૂની	P	گونی	*goonee*	Sack
ગૂશ્ત	P	گوشت	*goosht*	Flesh
ગેરીબાન	P	گریبان	*gereebān*	Collar

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ગોનાહ	P	گناہ	*gonāh*	Sin
ગોમ	P	گم	*gom*	Missing
ગોમબઝ	P	گنبذ	*gombaz*	Dome
ગોમાન	P	گمان	*gomān*	Imagination
ગોમાશ્તે	P	گماشتہ	*gomāshta*	Agent
ગોર્ઝ	P	گرز	*gorz*	Mace
ગોરદે	P	گردہ	*gorda*	Kidney
ગોલ	P	گل	*gol*	Flower
ગોલાબ	P	گلاب	*golāb*	Rose-water
ગોસફન્દ	P	گوسفند	*gosfand*	Sheep

ઘ.

ઘઝલ	A	غزل	*ghazal*	Ode
ઘમ	A	غم	*gham*	Sorrow
ઘમગીન	P	غمگین	*gham geen*	Sad
ઘરક	A	غرق	*gharaq*	Drowned
ઘરઝ	A	غرض	*gharaz*	Motive
ઘલત	A	غلط	*ghalat*	Error
ઘાફેલ	A	غافل	*ghāfel*	Negligent
ઘાર	A	غار	*ghār*	Cave
ઘીબત	A	غیبت	*gheebat*	Backbiting
ઘૈબ	A	غیب	*ghaib*	Concealed
ઘોલામ	A	غلام	*gholām*	Slave

ચ.

ચકમાક	P	چقماق	*Chaqmāq*	Flint
ચત્ર	P	چتر	*chatr*	Umbrella
ચનગાલ	P	چنگال	*changāl*	Claws
ચમન	P	چمن	*chaman*	Field

ચરખે	P	چرخہ	*charkha*	Reel
ચરબી	P	چربی	*charbee*	Fat
ચશ્મ	P	چشم	*chashm*	Eye
ચશ્મે	P	چشمہ	*chashma*	Spring (water)
ચાકર	P	چاکر	*chākar*	Servant
ચાકુ	P	چاقو	*chāqoo*	Pen knife
ચાદર	P	چادر	*chādar*	Sheet
ચાપખાને	P	چاپخانہ	*chāp-khāna*	Printing-press
ચાપલુસી	P	چاپلوسی	*chāploosee*	Flattery
ચાબોક	P	چابک	*chābok*	Whip
ચાય	P	چای	*chāy*	Tea
ચારે	P	چارہ	*chāra*	Remedy
ચાલાક	P	چالاک	*chālāk*	Active
ચીઝ	P	چیز	*cheez*	Thing
ચેરાધ	P	چراغ	*cherāgh*	Lamp

જ.

જન્ગ	P	جنگ	*jang*	Fight
જનગલ	P	جنگل	*jangal*	Forest
જનગલી	P	جنگلی	*jangalee*	Wild
જનાઝે	P	جنازہ	*janāza*	Funeral
જબરી	A	جبری	*jabree*	Compulsory
જવ	P	جو	*jav*	Barley
જવાન	P	جوان	*jawān*	Youth
જવાબ	A	جواب	*jawāb*	Reply
જવાહેર	A	جواهر	*jawāher*	Jewels
જશ્ન	P	جشن	*jashn*	Solemn feast
જાદુ	P	جادو	*jādoo*	Magic
જાદુગર	P	جادوگر	*jādoogar*	Magician
જાન	P	جان	*jān*	Soul
જામ	P	جام	*jām*	Goblet
જામે	P	جامہ	*jāma*	Robe

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જારૂબ	P	جاروب	*jāroob*	Broom
જાસૂસ	P	جاسوس	*jāsoos*	Spy
જાહેલ	A	جاهل	*jāhel*	Ignorant
જેગર	P	جگر	*jegar*	Liver
જોદા	P	جدا	*jodā*	Separate
જોશ	P	جوش	*josh*	Agitation

ઝ.

ઝઈફ	A	ضعیف	*za'eef*	Weak
ઝખ્મ	P	زخم	*zakhm*	Wound
ઝનજીર	P	زنجیر	*zanjeer*	Chain
ઝબરદસ્તી	P	زبردستی	*zabar-dastee*	Violence
ઝબાન	P	زبان	*zabān*	Tongue
ઝમાન	A	زمان	*zamān*	Time
ઝમીન	P	زمین	*zameen*	Land
ઝમીનદાર	P	زمین دار	*zameen-dār*	Landlord
ઝર્બ	A	ضرب	*zarb*	Blow
ઝરૂર	A	ضرور	*zaroor*	Unavoidable
ઝરૂરત	A	ضرورت	*zaroorat*	Need
ઝહમત	A	زحمت	*zahmat*	Trouble
ઝહેર	P	زهر	*zahr*	Poison
ઝામેન	A	ضامن	*zāmen*	Security
ઝીન	P	زین	*zeen*	Saddle
ઝીરે	P	زیره	*zeera*	Cumin-seed
ઝૂર	P	زور	*zoor*	Strength
ઝૂર આવર	P	زورآور	*zoor-āwar*	Strong
ઝેન્દગી	P	زندکی	*zendagee*	Life
ઝેયાફત	A	ضیافت	*zeyāfat*	Feast
ઝોલ્મ	A	ظلم	*zolm*	Tyranny

ત.

તઅરીફ	A	تعريف	*ta'reef*	Praise
તઅલીમ	A	تعليم	*ta'leem*	Teaching
તકસીર	A	تقصير	*taqseer*	Fault
તજવીઝ	A	تجويز	*tajweez*	Inquiry
તન્ગ	P	تنگ	*tang*	Narrow
તન્ગી	P	تنگي	*tangee*	Difficulty
તનદોરોરસ્તી	P	تندرستى	*tandorostee*	Health
તપ	P	تب	*tab*	Fever
તબકે	A	طبقہ	*tabaqa*	Stage
તબ્લ	A	طبل	*tabl*	Drum
તબીબ	A	طبيب	*tabeeb*	Physician
તમામ	A	تمام	*tamām*	Full
તર	P	تر	*tar*	Wet
તરજોમે	A	ترجمہ	*tarjoma*	Translation
તરફ	A	طرف	*taraf*	Direction
તરબૂઝ	P	تربوز	*tarbooz*	Water-melan
તરબેયત	A	تربيت	*tarbeyat*	Education
તરાઝૂ	P	ترازو	*tarāzoo*	Scale
તરીકે	A	طريقہ	*tareeqa*	Manner
તવાનગર	P	توانگر	*tawāngar*	Rich
તસવીર	A	تصوير	*tasweer*	Picture
તહસીલદાર	A	تحصيلدار	*tahseel-dār*	Collector of revenue
તાકત	A	طاقت	*tāqat*	Strength
તાજ	P	تاج	*tāj*	Crown
તાઝે	P	تازہ	*tāza*	Fresh
તાબે	A	تابع	*tābe'*	Dependant
તાર	P	تار	*tār*	Wire
તારાજ	P	تاراج	*tārāj*	Plunder
તારીખ	A	تاريخ	*tāreekh*	History
તીર	P	تير	*teer*	Arrow

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તૂપ	P	توپ	*toop*	Cannon
તૂપચી	P	توپچی	*toop-chee*	Artillery man
તૂફાન	A	طوفان	*toofān*	Storm
તેઝી	P	تیزی	*tezee*	Sharpness
તૈયાર	P	تیار	*taiyār*	Ready
તોન્દી	P	تندی	*tondee*	Violence
તોહમત	A	تہمت	*tohmat*	Charge
			દ.	
દઅવત	A	دعوت	*da'wat*	Invitation
દઅવા	A	دعوا	*da'wā*	Claim
દખ્મે	P	دخمہ	*dakhma*	Tower of Silence
દખૂલ	A	دخول	*dakhool*	Entry
દફ્તર	A	دفتر	*daftar*	Copy-book
દફન	A	دفن	*dafn*	Burying
દમ	P	دم	*dam*	Breath
દરગાહ	P	درگاہ	*dargāh*	Mausoleum
દર્દ	P	درد	*dard*	Pain
દરબાર	P	دربار	*darbār*	Court
દરયા	P	دریا	*daryā*	Sea
દરયાફ્ત	P	دریافت	*daryāft*	Understanding
દરવાઝે	P	دروازہ	*darwāza*	Gate
દરવેશ	P	درویش	*darwesh*	Poor man
દલ્લાલ	A	دلال	*dallāl*	Broker
દલીલ	A	دلیل	*daleel*	Proof
દવા	A	دوا	*dawā*	Medicine
દસ્તખત	P	دستخط	*dast-khat*	Hand-writing
દહશત	A	دہشت	*dahshat*	Fear
દાઘ	P	داغ	*dāgh*	Mark

દાદ	P	داد	*dād*	Justice
દાદાર	P	دادار	*Dādār*	Creator
દાના	P	دانا	*dānā*	Wise
દાને	P	دانہ	*dāna*	Seed
દામાદ	P	داماد	*dāmād*	Son-in-law
દાયે	P	دایہ	*dāya*	Nurse
દાસતાન	P	داستان	*dāstān*	Story
દીન	A	دین	*deen*	Religion
દીબાચે	P	دیباچہ	*deebācha*	Preface
દીવાન	P	دیوان	*deewān*	Royal court
દીવાને	P	دیوانہ	*deewāna*	Mad
દીવાર	P	دیوار	*deewār*	Wall
દૂઝખ	P	دوزخ	*doozakh*	Hell
દૂર	P	دور	*door*	Far
દૂરબીન	P	دوربین	*doorbeen*	Telescope
દૂરોદરાઝ	P	دوردراز	*door-o-darāz*	Far and long
દેગ	P	دیگ	*deg*	Large kettle
દેયાનત	A	دیانت	*deyānat*	Honesty
દેલ	P	دل	*del*	Heart
દેલીર	P	دلیر	*deleer*	Brave
દેવ	P	دیو	*dev*	Devil
દોઆ	A	دعا	*do'ā*	Prayer
દોકાન	P	دکان	*dokān*	Shop
દોકાનદાર	P	دکان دار	*dokān-dār*	Shop-keeper
દોન્યા	A	دنیا	*donyā*	World
દોમ	P	دم	*dom*	Tail
દોમ્બાલ	P	دنبال	*dombāl*	Trace
દોસ્ત	P	دوست	*dost*	Friend
દોશમન	P	دشمن	*doshman*	Enemy
દૌલ	P	دول	*daul*	Bucket
દૌલત	A	دولت	*daulat*	Wealth

ન.

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નકદ	A	نقد	*naqd*	Cash
નકશો	A	نقشہ	*naqsha*	Map
નજીબ	A	نجیب	*najeeb*	Noble
નજેસ	A	نجس	*najes*	Dirty
નજદીક	P	نزدیک	*nazdeek*	Near
નજર	A	نظر	*nazar*	Sight
નતીજો	A	نتیجہ	*nateeja*	Result
નફ્અ	A	نفع	*naf'*	Profit
નમક	P	نمک	*namak*	Salt
નમૂનો	P	نمونہ	*namoona*	Sample
નવ	P	نو	*nau*	New
નવાઝેશ	P	نوازش	*nawāzesh*	Kindness
નસ્લ	A	نسل	*nasl*	Progeny
નસીબ	A	نصیب	*naseeb*	Fate
નહર	A	نہر	*nahr*	Canal
નાએમેદ	P	نا امید	*nā-omed*	Hopeless
નાખોદા	P	ناخدا	*nākhodā*	Captain (of a ship)
નાખોશી	P	ناخوشی	*nā-khoshee*	Illness
નાચાર	P	ناچار	*nāchār*	Helpless
નાઝોક	P	نازک	*nāzok*	Thin
નાદાન	P	نادان	*nādān*	Ignorant
નાદાર	P	نادار	*nādār*	Insolvent
નાન	P	نان	*nān*	Bread
નામ	P	نام	*nām*	Name
નામે	P	نامہ	*nāma*	Letter
નારન્જ	A	نارنج	*nāranj*	Orange
નાસૂર	A	ناصور	*nāsoor*	Ulcer
નાસ્તા	P	ناشتا	*nāshtā*	Breakfast

નીયત	A	نیت	*neeyat*	Intention
નેક બખ્ત	P	نیک بخت	*nek-bakht*	Fortunate
નેકાબ	A	نقاب	*neqāb*	Veil
નેગાહ	P	نگاہ	*negāh*	Glance
નેઝે	P	نیزہ	*neza*	Lance
નેયાઝ	P	نیاز	*neyāz*	Prayer
નેશાન	P	نشان	*neshān*	Mark
નોકસાન	A	نقصان	*noqsān*	Damage
નોજૂમી	A	نجومی	*nojoomee*	Astrologer
નોસ્ખે	A	نسخہ	*noskha*	Prescription
નૌકર	P	نوکر	*naukar*	Servant

૫.

પતન્ગ	P	پتنگ	*patang*	Paper-kite
પતૂ	P	پتو	*patoo*	Blanket
પનાહ	P	پناہ	*panāh*	Protection
પનીર	P	پنیر	*paneer*	Cheese
પરતાબ	P	پرتاب	*partab*	Shining
પરદે	P	پردہ	*parda*	Curtain
પરવા	P	پروا	*parwā*	Care; fear
પરવાને	P	پروانہ	*parwāna*	Mandate
પરસ્તેશ	P	پرستش	*parastesh*	Worship
પરહેઝગારી	P	پرہیزگاری	*parhez-gāree*	Chastity
પરી	P	پری	*paree*	Fairy
પરીશાન	P	پریشان	*pareeshān*	Disturbed
પસન્દ	P	پسند	*pasand*	Selected
પહનાઇ	P	پہنائی	*pahnāyee*	Breadth
પહલવાન	P	پہلوان	*pahlawān*	Hero
પા	P	پا	*pā*	Leg
પાઇતખ્ત	P	پایتخت	*pāee-takht*	Capital
પાક	P	پاک	*pāk*	Clean
પાદશાહ	P	پادشاہ	*pādshāh*	King

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પાસબાન	P	پاسبان	*pāsbān*	Patrol
પીર	P	پیر	*peer*	Old man
પીરાહન	P	پیراهن	*peerāhan*	Shirt
પીશાની	P	پیشانی	*peeshānee*	Forehead
પૂલાદ	P	پولاد	*poolād*	Steel
પેચ	P	پیچ	*pech*	Twisting
પેસતે	P	پستہ	*pesta*	Pistachio-nut
પેસતાન	P	پستان	*pestān*	Breast
પેયાલે	P	پیالہ	*peyāla*	Cup
પૈધામ	P	پیغام	*paighām*	Message
પોર	P	پر	*por*	Full
પોલ	P	پل	*pol*	Bridge
પોશાક	P	پوشاک	*poshāk*	Clothes

ફ.

ફકટ	A	فقط	*faqat*	Only
ફકીર	A	فقیر	*faqeer*	Beggar
ફતહ	A	فتح	*fath*	Victory
ફરઝન્દ	P	فرزند	*farzand*	Child
ફરબેહ	A	فربہ	*farbeh*	Fat
ફરમાન	P	فرمان	*farmān*	Mandate
ફરમાયેશ	P	فرمایش	*farmāyesh*	Order
ફરયાદ	P	فریاد	*faryād*	Complaint
ફરીબ	P	فریب	*fareeb*	Fraud
ફલાન	A	فلان	*falān*	Such and Such
ફસલ	A	فصل	*fasl*	Season
ફસાદ	A	فساد	*fasād*	Disturbance
ફાઝેલ	P	فاضل	*fāzel*	Learned
ફાનૂસ	A	فانوس	*fānoos*	Lantern

ફાયેદે	A	فايده	*fāyeda*	Profit
ફાલ	P	فال	*fāl*	Omen
ફીરૂઝે	A	فيروزه	*feerooza*	Turquoise
ફેક્ર	A	فكر	*fekr*	Anxiety
ફેતને	A	فتنه	*fetna*	Disturbance
ફૈલસૂફ	A	فيلسوف	*failsoof*	Philosopher
ફોરસત	A	فرصت	*forsat*	Leisure
ફૌજ	A	فوج	*fauj*	Brigade
ફૌવારે	A	فواره	*fauwāra*	Fountain

બ.

બખ્ત	P	بخت	*bakhat*	Luck
બખ્શીશ	P	بخشش	*bakhshesh*	Gift
બખીલ	A	بخيل	*bakheel*	Miser
બગલ	P	بغل	*baghal*	Arm-pit
બચ્ચે	P	بچہ	*bacha*	Child
બતક	P	بطک	*batak*	Duck
બદ	P	بد	*bad*	Bad
બદન	A	بدن	*badan*	Body
બદનામી	P	بدنامی	*bad-nāmee*	Disgrace
બદબખ્તી	P	بدبختی	*bad-bakhtee*	Misfortune
બદસૂરત	P	بدصورت	*bad-soorat*	Ugly
બદહઝમી	A	بد هضمی	*bad-hazamee*	Dyspepsia
બન્દ	P	باند	*band*	Bandage
બન્દર	P	بندر	*bandar*	Harbour
બન્દે	P	بنده	*banda*	Servant
બર્ફ	P	برف	*barf*	Snow
બયાન	A	بيان	*bayān*	Explanation
બરકત	A	برکت	*barakat*	Blessing
બલઘમ	A	بلغم	*balgham*	Phlegm
બલા	A	بلا	*balā*	Calamity
બસ	P	بس	*bas*	Enough

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બહાને	P	بہانہ	*bahāna*	Pretence
બહાર	P	بہار	*bahār*	Spring (season)
બાધ	P	باغ	*bāgh*	Garden
બાધબાન	P	باغبان	*bāghbān*	Gardener
બાઝી	P	بازی	*bāzee*	Game
બાજૂ	P	بازو	*bazoo*	Arm
બાન્ગ	P	بانگ	*bang*	Cry
બાનૂ	P	بانو	*bānoo*	Lady
બામદાદ	P	بامداد	*bāmdād*	Break of day
બીકરારી	P	بی قرار	*bee-qarār*	Uneasiness
બીદાદ	P	بی داد	*bee-dād*	Unjust
બીપરવા	P	بی پروا	*bee-parwā*	Reckless
બીમાર	P	بیمار	*beemār*	Sick
બીવફા	P	بی وفا	*bee-wafā*	Treacherous
બીવોકૂફ	P	بیوقوف	*beewokoof*	Inexperienced
બીશર્મ	P	بی شرم	*bee-sharm*	Shameless
બીહૂશી	P	بیہوشی	*bee-hooshee*	Fainting
બૂસે	P	بوسہ	*bosa*	Kiss
બેયાબાન	P	بیابان	*beyābān*	Desert
બેરાદર	P	برادر	*berādar*	Brother
બેસતર	P	بستر	*bestar*	Bed
બેહતર	P	بہتر	*behtar*	Better
બૈત	A	بیت	*bait*	Couplet
બોઝોર્ગ	P	بزرگ	*bozorg*	Great
બોતખાને	P	بتخانہ	*bot-khāna*	Idol-temple
બોનયાદ	P	بنیاد	*bonyād*	Origin
બોર્જ	A	برج	*borj*	Tower
બોલન્દ	P	بلند	*boland*	High

મ.

મઅલૂમ	A	معلوم	*ma'loom*	Known
મક્ર	A	مكر	*makr*	Fraud
મક્કાર	A	مكّار	*makkār*	Deceiver
મકસૂદ	A	مقصود	*maqsood*	Intention
મકાન	A	مكان	*makān*	Place
મધ્ઝ	P	مغز	*maghz*	Brain
મધ્રૂરી	P	مغروری	*maghrooree*	Pride
મજલેસ	A	مجلس	*majles*	Council
મતલબ	A	مطلب	*matlab*	Object
મદદ	P	مدد	*madad*	Assistance
મદરસે	A	مدرسہ	*madrasa*	College
મન	A	من	*man*	Maund (weight)
મનઅ	A	منع	*man'a*	Forbidding
મનઝલ	P	منزل	*manzal*	Lodging
મરઝ	A	مرض	*maraz*	Disease
મર્દ	P	مرد	*mard*	Man
મરહમ	P	مرهم	*marham*	Ointment
મરહૂમ	A	مرحوم	*marhoom*	Deceased
મલ્મલ	P	ململ	*malmal*	Muslin
મવાજેબ	A	مواجب	*mawājeb*	Pay
મસકે	P	مسکہ	*maska*	Butter
મસખરે	A	مسخرہ	*maskhara*	Buffoon
મસજેદ	A	مسجد	*masjed*	Mosque
મસાલેહ	A	مصالح	*masāleh*	Spicery
મશ્ક	P	مشک	*mashk*	Water-skin
મશઘૂલ	A	مشغول	*mashghool*	Busy
મશહૂર	A	مشہور	*mashhoor*	Famous
મહબ્બત	A	محبت	*mahabbat*	Affection
મહસૂલ	A	محصول	*mahsool*	Harvest
માલ	A	مال	*māl*	Goods

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માલેશ	P	مالش	*mālesh*	Shampooing
માહ	P	ماه	*māh*	Month
મીઝ	P	میز	*meez*	Table
મીઝબાન	P	میزبان	*meez-bān*	Host
મીલ	A	میل	*meel*	Mile
મીવે	P	میوه	*meewa*	Fruit
મૂબેદ	P	موبد	*moobed*	Man of great wisdom
મેખ	P	میخ	*mekh*	Nail
મેઝાજ	P	مزاج	*mezāj*	Temper
મેહમાન	P	مهمان	*mehmān*	Guest
મેહમાની	P	مهمانی	*mehmānee*	Entertainment
મેહરબાની	P	مهربانی	*mehrbānee*	Kindness
મૈદાન	P	میدان	*maidān*	Field
મૈદહ	P	میده	*maida*	Finest flour
મોઘોલ	P	مغول	*moghol*	Mogul
મોફ્લેસ	A	مفلس	*mofles*	Poor
મોબારકબાદી	P	مبارکبادی	*mobārak-bādee*	Congratulation
મોર્ઘ	P	مرغ	*moryh*	Bird
મોરબ્બા	P	مربا	*morabba*	Jam
મોરબ્બી	A	مربي	*morabbee*	Patron
મોરાદ	A	مراد	*morād*	Wish
મોલાકાત	A	ملاقات	*molāqāt*	Visit
મોસાફેર	A	مسافر	*mosāfer*	Traveller
મોસીબત	A	مصیبت	*moseebat*	Trouble
મોશકેલી	A	مشکلی	*moshkelee*	Difficulty
મોહકમ	A	محکم	*mohkam*	Firm
મોહર	P	مهر	*mohr*	Seal
મૌકે	A	موقع	*mauqe'*	Occasion
મૌજ	A	موج	*mauj*	Wave
મૌસેમ	A	موسم	*mausem*	Season

ય.

યકીન	A	يقين	*yaqeen*	Certainty
યા	P	يا	*yā*	Or
યાકૂટ	P	ياقوت	*yāqoot*	Ruby
યાદગારી	P	يادگاری	*yādgāree*	Remembrance
યાદદાસ્ત	P	يادداشت	*yād-dāsht*	Memorandum
યાર	P	يار	*yār*	Friend
યાલ	P	يال	*yāl*	Horse's mane

ર.

રઇયત	A	رعيت	*ra'eeyat*	People
રગ	P	رگ	*rag*	Vein
રત્લ	A	رطل	*ratl*	Pound (weight)
રદ્દ	A	رد	*radd*	Rejection
રન્ગ	P	رنگ	*rang*	Colour
રન્જ	P	رنج	*ranj*	Trouble
રફીક	A	رفيق	*rafeeq*	Companion
રસીદ	P	رسيد	*raseed*	Receipt
રહબર	P	رهبر	*rahbar*	Guide
રહમ	A	رحم	*rahm*	Mercy
રાઝી	A	راضی	*rāzee*	Contented
રાન	P	ران	*rān*	Thigh
રાસ્ત	P	راست	*rāst*	True
રાહ	P	راه	*rāh*	Road
રાહત	A	راحت	*rāhat*	Comfort
રૂઝ	P	روز	*rooz*	Day
રોખસત	A	رخصت	*rokhsat*	Leave
રોખસારે	P	رخساره	*rokhsāra*	Cheek
રોસવાઈ	P	رسوائی	*roswāyee*	Disgrace
રોશની	P	روشنی	*roshanee*	Light
રોઘન	P	روغن	*raughan*	Oil

લ.

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લઅનત	A	لعنت	*la'nat*	Curse
લઝઝત	A	لذ ت	*lazzat*	Delight
લન્ગ	P	لنگ	*lang*	Lame
લન્ગર	P	لنگر	*langar*	Anchor
લબ	P	لب	*lab*	Lip
લશ્કર	P	لشکر	*lashkar*	Army
લાફ	P	لاف	*lāf*	Boasting
લાયેક	A	لایق	*lāyek*	Suitable
લાશે	P	لاشہ	*lāsha*	Carcase
લીમૂ	P	لیمو	*leemoo*	Lemon
લેબાસ	A	لباس	*lebās*	Clothes
લેયાકત	A	لیاقت	*leyāqat*	Merit

વ.

વઅઝ	A	وعظ	*wa'z*	Preaching
વઅદે	A	وعدہ	*wa'da*	Promise
વકત	A	وقت	*waqt*	Time
વકીલ	A	وکیل	*wakeel*	Agent
વઝન	A	وزن	*wazn*	Weight
વઝીર	A	وزیر	*wazeer*	Minister
વફાદારી	P	وفاداری	*wafā-dāree*	Faithfulness
વસીયત	A	وصیت	*waseeyat*	Will
વાએઝ	A	واعظ	*wā'ez*	Preacher
વાહવાહ	P	واہ واہ	*wāh wāh*	Well-done

સ.

સખ્ત	P	سخت	*sakht*	Hard
સખાવત	A	سخاوت	*sakhāwat*	Charity
સઝા	P	سزا	*sazā*	Punishment

સઝાવાર	P	سزاوار	*sazāwār*	Deserving
સન્ગીન	P	سنگین	*sangeen*	Heavy
સનદ	P	سند	*sanad*	Document
સફર	A	سفر	*safar*	Voyage
સફહ	A	صفحہ	*safha*	Page
સફીદ	P	سفید	*safeed*	White
સબ્બક	A	سبق	*sabag*	Lesson
સબ્ઝી	P	سبزی	*sabzee*	Vegetable
સબ્ર	A	صبر	*sabr*	Patience
સબુર	A	صبور	*saboor*	Patient
સર	P	سر	*sar*	Head
સરઅફરાઝ	P	سرافراز	*sar-afrāz*	Glorious
સરકશી	P	سرکشی	*sar-kashee*	Disobedience
સરદાર	P	سردار	*sar-dār*	Commander
સરદી	P	سردی	*sardee*	Cold
સરનામે	P	سرنامہ	*sar-nāma*	Address
સરમા	P	سرما	*sarmā*	Chill
સરરાફ	A	صراف	*sarraf*	Money-Changer
સરાય	P	سرای	*sarāy*	Inn
સલામ	A	سلام	*salām*	Greeting
સલામત	A	سلامت	*salāmat*	Safety
સલૂક	A	سلوک	*salook*	Conduct
સવાર	P	سوار	*sawār*	Horseman
સવાલ	A	سوال	*sawāl*	Question
સાફ	A	صاف	*sāf*	Clear
સાબૂન	A	صابون	*sāboon*	Soap
સાબેત	A	ثابت	*sābet*	Firm
સામાન	P	سامان	*sāmān*	Baggage
સાયહ	P	سایہ	*sāya*	Shade
સાલ	P	سال	*sāl*	Year
સાલગીરી	P	سالگیری	*sāl-geeree*	Birth-day
સીને	P	سینہ	*seena*	Chest

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સૂરત	A	صورت	*soorat*	Face
સૂરાખ	P	سوراخ	*soorākh*	Hole
સૂસન	P	سوسن	*soosan*	Lily
સેક્કે	P	سکہ	*sekka*	Coin
સેતારે	P	ستارہ	*setāra*	Star
સેતારે શેનાસ	P	ستارہ شناس	*setāra-shenās*	Astronomer
સેતાયશ	P	ستایش	*setāyesh*	Worship
સેપાહી	P	سپاهی	*sepāhee*	Soldier
સેફારેશ	P	سفارش	*sefāresh*	Recommendation
સેરકે	P	سرکہ	*serka*	Vinegar
સેરીશ	P	سریش	*sereesh*	Glue
સેયાહ	P	سیاہ	*seyāh*	Black
સોમબોલ	A	سنبل	*sombol*	Hyacinth
સોરૂદ	P	سرود	*sorood*	Song
સોલ્હ	A	صلح	*solh*	Peace
સોસ્ત	P	سست	*sost*	Idle
સૌગન્દ	P	سوگند	*saugand*	Oath
સૌદાગર	P	سوداگر	*saudāgar*	Merchant

શ.

શક્ક	A	شک	*shakk*	Doubt
શકર	P	شکر	*shakar*	Sugar
શકલ	A	شکل	*shakl*	Image
શફતઆલૂ	P	شفتالو	*shaft-āloo*	Peach
શમશીર	P	شمشیر	*shamsheer*	Sword
શર્ત	A	شرط	*shart*	Condition
શરબત	P	شربت	*sharbat*	Syrup
શર્મ	P	شرم	*sharm*	Shame
શર્હ	A	شرح	*sharh*	Explanation

શરાબ	P	شراب	*sharāb*	Wine
શરીક	A	شريک	*shareek*	Partner
શલગમ	P	شلغم	*shalgham*	Turnip
શહર	P	شهر	*shahr*	City
શાહ	P	شاه	*shāh*	King
શાહેદ	A	شاهد	*shāhed*	Witness
શીરીન	P	شيرين	*sheereen*	Sweet
શીરે	P	شيره	*sheera*	Juice
શીશે	P	شيشه	*sheesha*	Bottle
શેકાર	P	شکار	*shekār*	Hunting
શેકારચી	P	شکارچی	*shekār-chee*	Hunter
શેતાબ	P	شتاب	*shetāb*	Quick
શેર	P	شير	*sher*	Lion
શોક	A	شکر	*shokr*	Thanks
શોખી	P	شوخی	*shokhee*	Joke
શોગૂન	P	شگون	*shogoon*	Omen
શોર શાર	P	شور شار	*shor-shār*	Disturbance
શોરૂ	A	شروع	*shoroo'*	Beginning

હ.

હક્ક	A	حق	*haqq*	Right
હકીકત	A	حقيقت	*haqeeqat*	Fact
હકીમ	A	حکيم	*hakeem*	Doctor
હકૂમત	A	حکومت	*hakoomat*	Government
હદ	A	حد	*had*	Limit
હફ્તે	P	هفتم	*hafta*	Week
હમલે	A	حملہ	*hamla*	Invasion
હમ્મામ	A	حمام	*hammam*	Bath
હમ્માલ	A	حمال	*hammāl*	Porter
હમીશે	P	همیشه	*hameesha*	Always
હરગેઝને	P	هرگز نه	*hargez na*	Never
હર્ફ	A	حرف	*harf*	Word

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હરરાજ	A	حراج	*harrāj*	Auction
હરીફ	A	حریف	*hareef*	Rival
હવા	A	هوا	*hawā*	Weather
હવાલે	A	حوالہ	*hawāla*	Custody
હસદ	A	حسد	*hasad*	Jealousy
હસદ	A	حسود	*hasood*	Jealous
હાકેમ	A	حاکم	*hākem*	Governor
હાઝેર	A	حاضر	*hāzer*	Ready
હાદેસે	A	حادثہ	*hādesa*	Accident
હાલત	A	حالت	*hālat*	Condition
હાસેલ	A	حاصل	*hāsel*	Harvest
હૂરા	P	هورا	*hoorā*	Hurrah
હૂશ્યાર	P	هوشیار	*hoosh-yār*	Intelligent
હેન્દવાને	P	هندوانہ	*hendwāna*	Water-melon
હેમાયત	A	حمایت	*hemāyat*	Protection
હેસ્સે	A	حصہ	*hessa*	Share
હેસાબ	A	حساب	*hesāb*	Account
હૈવાન	A	حیوان	*haiwān*	Animal
હોકમ	A	حکم	*hokm*	Order
હોનર	P	هنر	*honar*	Skill
હૌઝ	A	حوض	*hauz*	Pond

Chapter III.

European Words assimilated in the Persian Language.

Word in European Language.	Persian Equivalent.	English Transliteration of Persian Equivalent.	Gujarati Transliteration of Persian Equivalent.
Academy	آکادمی	*ākādemee*	આકાદેમી
Actor	آکتر	*āktor*	આકતોર
Address	آدرس	*ādres*	આદ્રેસ
Aeroplane	آئروپلان	*āroɔplān*	આરૅપ્લાન
Album	آلبم	*ālbom*	આલબોમ
Alcohol	الکل	*alkol*	અલકોલ
Antique	آنتیک	*ānteek*	આનતીક
Automobile	اتومبیل	*otomobeel*	ઓતોમોબીલ
Balloon	بالون	*bāloon*	બાલૂન
Bank	بانک	*bānk*	બાન્ક
Battery	باطری	*bataree*	બતરી
Benzine.	بنزین	*benzeen*	બેનઝીન
Billet	بلیط	*beleet*	બેલીત
Biscuit	بیسکوت	*beeskoot*	બીસકૂત
Bomb	بمب	*bomb*	બોમ્બ
Bombardment	بمباردمان	*bombārdmān*	બોમબાર્દમાન
Brandy	برندی	*brandee*	બ્રન્દી
Budget	بودجه	*boodja*	બૂદ્જે
Bus	اتوبس	*otobas*	ઓતોબસ
Cabinet	کابینه	*kābeena*	કાબીને
Café	کافه	*kāfe*	કાફે
Cake	کک	*kek*	કેક
Caricature	کاریکاتور	*kāreekātoor*	કારીકાતૂર
Cartoon	کارتن	*kārton*	કારતોન
Cheque	چک	*chek*	ચેક

Word in European Language.	Persian Equivalent.	English Transliteration of Persian Equivalent.	Gujarati Transliteration of Persian Equivalent.
Cigar	سیگار	*seegār*	સીગાર
Cigarette	سیگارت	*seegāret*	સીગારેત
Cinematograph	سینما	*seenamā*	સીનમા
Club	کلوب	*kloob*	ક્લૂબ
Coat	کت	*kot*	કોટ
College	کالج	*kālej*	કાલેજ
Colonel	کلنل	*kolonel*	કોલોનેલ
Commission	کمیسیون	*comeeseeyoon*	કોમીસીયૂન
Committee	کمیتہ	*komeeta*	કોમીતે
Concert	کنسرت	*konsort*	કોનસોર્ટ
Conference	کنفرانس	*konferāns*	કોન્ફેરાન્સ
Consul	قونسول	*qoonsool*	કૂનસૂલ
Consulate	قونسولخانہ	*qoonsool-khāna*	કૂનસૂલખાને
Dance	دانس	*dāns*	દાન્સ
Diploma	دیپلم	*deeplom*	દીપ્લોમ
Diplomacy	دیپلوماسی	*deeplomāsee*	દીપ્લોમાસી
Discipline	دیسیپلین	*deeseepleen*	દીસીપ્લીન
Doctor	دکتر	*doctor*	દોકટોર
Drama	دراما	*drām*	ડ્રામ
Dynamite	دینامیت	*deenāmeet*	દીનામીત
Electric	الکتریک	*elektreek*	એલેકટ્રીક
Envelope	پاکت	*pākat*	પાકત
Family	فامیل	*fāmeel*	ફામીલ
Fanatic	فاناتیک	*fānāteek*	ફાનાટીક
Flannel	فلانل	*flānel*	ફ્લાનેલ
Garage	گاراژ	*gārāzh*	ગારાઝ
General	ژنرال	*zhenerāl*	ઝેનેરાલ
Glass	گیلاس	*geelās*	ગીલાસ

Gymnastics	ژیمناستیک	*zheemnāsteek*	ઝીમનાસ્તીક
Injection (serum)	انجکسیون	*enjekseeyoon*	એનજેકસીયૂન
Intrigues	انتریک	*entereek*	એનતેરીક
Kettle	کتلی	*ketlee*	કેતલી
Locomotive	لوکوموتیو	*lokomoteev*	લોકોમોટીવ
Machine	ماشین	*māsheen*	માશીન
Macaroni (Italian food)	ماکارنی	*mākāronee*	માકારોની
Major	ماژر	*māzhor*	માઝોર
Manoeuvre	مانور	*mānowr*	માનોવ્ર
March of soldiers	مارش	*mārsh*	માર્શ
Maund	من	*man*	મન
Mechanic	مکانیکی	*mekāneek*	મેકાનીક
Medal	مدال	*medāl*	મેદ્દાલ
Mercy	مرثی	*mercee*	મેર્સી
Microbe	میکروب	*meekrob*	મીક્રોબ
Mile	میل	*meel*	મીલ
Model	مدل	*model*	મોડેલ
Motor	موتور	*motor*	મોટોર
Museum	موزہ	*mooza*	મૂઝે
Music	موسیقی	*mooseeqee*	મૂસીકી
Opera	اپرا	*operā*	ઓપેરા
Orchestra	ارکست	*orkest*	ઓરકેસ્ત
Park	پارک	*pārk*	પાર્ક
Parliament	پارلمان	*pārlemān*	પાર્લેમાન
Pension	پانسیون	*pānseeyon*	પાનસીયોન
Phonograph	فونگراف	*fonogrāf*	ફોનોગ્રાફ
Piano	پیانو	*peyānoo*	પેયાનૂ
Picnic	پیک نیک	*peek-neek*	પીકનીક
Political	پولتیکی	*polteekee*	પોલતીકી
Post	پست	*post*	પોસ્ત
Powder	پودر	*poodr*	પૂદ્ર
Programme	پروگرام	*progrām*	પ્રોગ્રામ

Word in European Language.	Persian Equivalent.	English Transliteration of Persian Equivalent.	Gujarati Transliteration of Persian Equivalent.
Proof (printing press)	پروف	*proof*	પ્રૂફ
Propaganda	پروپا گند	*propāgand*	પ્રોપાગન્દ
Quarantine	قرانطینہ	*qarānteena*	કરાનતીને
Receipt	رسید	*raseed*	રસીદ
Report	راپرت	*rāport*	રાપોર્ટ
Restaurant	رستوران	*restorān*	રેસતોરાન
Revolver	رولور	*rewolwar*	રેવોલ્વર
Salad	سالاد	*sālād*	સાલાદ
Saloon	سالون	*sālon*	સાલોન
Shrapnel	شرپنل	*shrepnel*	શ્રેપનેલ
Sport	اسپرت	*esport*	એસપોર્ત
Station	ایستا سیون	*estāseeyoon*	ઇસ્તાસ્યૂન
Syphilis	سفلیس	*seflees*	સેફ્લીસ
Tax	تاکس	*tāks*	તાકસ
Technic	تکنیک	*tekneek*	તેકનીક
Telegram	تلگراف	*telegrāf*	તેલેગ્રાફ
Telephon	تلفن	*telephon*	તેલેફોન
Theatre	تأتر	*teātr*	તેઆત્ર
Ticket	تیکت	*teeket*	ટીકેટ
Tobacco	تنبا کو	*tambākoo*	તમ્બાકૂ
Toilet	توالت	*towālet*	તોવાલેત
Train	ترن	*tren*	ત્રેન
Tram	ترام	*trām*	ત્રામ
Ultimatum	اولتیما توم	*olteemātoom*	ઓલટીમાતૂમ
Visiting Card	کارت	*kārt*	કાર્ત
Wagon	واگون	*wāgon*	વાગોન
Whisky	ویسکی	*weeskee*	વીસ્કી

Chapter IV.

Persian and Arabic Words adopted into English.

Persian or Arabic Word.		Transliteration in English characters of the Persian or Arabic Word.	Transliteration in Gujarati characters of the Persian or Arabic Word	English Equivalent of the Persian or Arabic Word.
امیر	A	*ameer*	અમીર	Amir
بازار	P	*bāzār*	બાઝાર	Bazaar
پای جامہ	P	*pāy-jāma*	પાયજામે	Pyjamas
جنگل	P	*jangal*	જનગલ	Jungle
خدمتگار	P	*khedmat-gār*	ખેદમતગાર	Khidmutgar
خاکی	P	*khākee*	ખાકી	Khaki
خان	P	*khān*	ખાન	Khan
دربار	P	*darbār*	દરબાર	Durbar
درویش	P	*darwesh*	દરવેશ	Dervish
زعفران	A	*za'farān*	ઝઅફરાન	Saffron
سلام	A	*salām*	સલામ	Salaam
سلطان	A	*soltān*	સોલતાન	Sultan
شال	P	*shāl*	શાલ	Shawl
شکاری	P	*shekāree*	શેકારી	Shikaree
شیطان	A	*shaitān*	શૈતાન	Satan
صاحب	A	*sāheb*	સાહેબ	Sahib
طوفان	A	*toofān*	તૂફાન	Typhoon
فقیر	A	*faqeer*	ફકીર	Fakir
کاروان	P	*kār-wān*	કારવાન	Caravan
کاروان سرای	P	*kārwān-sarāy*	કારવાનસરાય	Caravansera
موسم	A	*mausem*	મૌસેમ	Monsoon
وزیر	A	*vazeer*	વઝીર	Vizir

Chapter V.

Selected Persian Proper (personal) Names.

NAMES OF MALES.

Name in Persian.	Transliteration in English Characters.	Translitera-tion in Gujarati Characters.	Who's Who?
اردیشر	*Ardsher*	અર્દશેર	Sassanian King
آدر برزین	*Ādar-Barzeen*	આદરબરઝીન	Champion of Iran
ایرج	*Eerach*	ઇરચ	Son of Faridun
اسفندیار	*Esfandyār*	એસફન્દયાર	Son of Kai-Goshtasp
کیکاوس	*Kai-Kāwoos*	કય કાવૂસ	Kayanian King
کیقباد	*Kai-Qobād*	કય કોબાદ	Kayanian King
کیخسرو	*Kai-Khosrau*	કય ખોસરવ	Kayanian King
کیگشتاسپ	*Kai-Goshtāsp*	કય ગોશ્તાસ્પ	Kayanian King
کیپشین	*Kai-Posheen*	કય પોશીન	Son of Kai-Kobad
کیلهراسپ	*Kai Lohrāsp*	કય લોહરાસ્પ	Kayanian King
کریمان	*Kareemān*	કરીમાન	Son of Barzor
کاوه	*Kāwa*	કાવે*	Champion of Iran
کشواد	*Keshwād*	કેશ્વાદ	Champion of Iran
خراد	*Kharrād*	ખરરાદ	Champion of Iran
خسرو پرویز	*Khosrau Parveez*	ખોસરવ પરવીઝ	Sassanian King
گژدهم	*Gazhdaham*	ગઝદહમ	Champion of Iran
گودرز	*Goodarz*	ગૂદર્ઝ	Champion of Iran
گرشاسپ	*Gershāsp*	ગેરશાસ્પ	Veteran Champion of Iran
گرامی	*Gerāmee*	ગેરામી	Champion of Iran
گرازه	*Gorāza*	ગોરાઝે	Champion of Iran
گستهم	*Gostaham*	ગોસ્તહમ	Champion of Iran
گیو	*Gev*	ગેવ	Son-in-law of Rustam

*The famous smith of Isphan, who defeated the usurper Zahhak, and established Faridun on the throne of Persia.

جمشید	*Jamsheed*	જમશીદ	Peshdadian King
جہانگیر	*Jahān-geer*	જહાનગીર	Son of Rustam
جہان بخش	*Jahān-bakhsh*	જહાન બખ્શ	Son of Barzor
جہان سوز	*Jehān-sooz*	જહાનસૂઝ	Son of Barzor
جاماسپ	*Jāmāsp*	જમાસ્પ	Minister of Kai-Goshtasp
زریر	*Zareer*	ઝરીર	Brother of Kai-Goshtasp
زوارہ	*Zawāra*	ઝવારે	Brother of Rustam
زال	*Zāl*	ઝાલ	Father of Rustam
تہمتن	*Taham-tan*	તહમતન	Another name of Rustam
تہموراس	*Tahmooras*	તહમૂરસ	Peshdadian King
طوس	*Toos*	તૂસ	Son of Nauzar
داریوش	*Dāryoosh*	દારયૂશ	Achaemenian King
داراب	*Dārāb*	દારાબ	King of Iran
نریمان	*Nareemān*	નરીમાન	Grand-father of Zal
نوش آذر	*Nosh-āzar*	નોશ આઝર	Son of Asfandiar
نوش زاد	*Nosh-zād*	નોશ ઝાદ	Son of Noshirwan
نوشیروان	*Nosheerawān*	નોશીરવાન	Sassanian King
نوزر	*Nauzar*	નૌઝર	Peshdadian King
پشوتن	*Peshootan*	પેશ્તન	Son of Goshtasp
فرخزاد	*Farrokh-zād*	ફરરોખઝાદ	Champion of Iran
فرهاد	*Farhād*	ફરહાદ	Champion of Iran
فرامرز	*Farāmarz*	ફરામઝ	Son of Rustam
فریدون	*Fareedoon*	ફરીદૂન	Peshdadian King
فریبرز	*Fareeborz*	ફરીબોઝ	Son of Kai-Kavus
فیروز	*Feerooz*	ફીરૂઝ	Champion of Iran
برزور	*Barzor*	બરઝોર	Son of Sorab
بہمن	*Bahman*	બહમન	Son of Asfandiar
بہرام	*Bahrām*	બહરામ	Sassanian King
بیژن	*Beezhan*	બીઝન	Son of Gev
مہرنوش	*Mehr-noosh*	મેહરનૂશ	Son of Asfandiar
منوچہر	*Menoo-chehr*	મેનૂચેહર	Peshdadian King
روئین تن	*Royeen-tan*	રોઇન તન	Another name of Asfandiar

Name in Persian.	Transliteration in English Characters.	Transliteration in Gujarati Characters.	Who's Who?
رستم	*Rostam*	રોસ્તમ	Prince Champion of Seistan
رهام	*Rohām*	રોહામ	Son of Goodarz
سام	*Sām*	સામ	Father of Zal
ساسان	*Sāsān*	સાસાન	Father of Ardsher Babak
سیامک	*Seyāmak*	સેયામક	Peshdadian King
سیاوخش	*Seyāwakhsh*	સેયાવખ્શ	Son of Kai-Kavus
سیروس	*Sairoos*	સૈરૂસ	Achaemenian King
سهراب	*Sohrāb*	સોહરાબ	Son of Rustam
شاپور	*Shāpoor*	શાપૂર	King of Persia
هوشنگ	*Hooshang*	હૂશન્ગ	Peshdadian King
هرمزد	*Hormazd*	હોરમઝદ	Sassanian King

NAMES OF FEMALES.

Name in Persian.	Transliteration in English Characters.	Transliteration in Gujarati Characters.	Meaning of Persian Names.
ارنواز	*Arnawāz*	અરનવાઝ	Bringing comfort
آذرمیدخت	*Āzarmee-dokht*	આઝરમીદોખ્ત	(Sassanian Queen)
کتایون	*Ketāyoon*	કેતાયૂન	(Wife of Kai-Gushtasp)
خورشید بانو	*Khorsheed-bānoo*	ખોરશીદ બાનુ	Handsome girl
گرد آفرید	*Gord-āfreed*	ગોર્દ આફ્રીદ	Bold
گل چهر	*Gol-chehr*	ગોલચેહર	Rosy-faced
گلنار	*Golnār*	ગોલનાર	Rosy pink coloured
گل بانو	*Gol-bānoo*	ગોલ બાનુ	Rosy coloured lady
گل رخ	*Gol-rokh*	ગોલરોખ	Rosy faced
گلشن	*Golshan*	ગોલશન	Cheerful
بانوگشسپ	*Bānoo-Goshasp*	બાનુ ગોશરૂપ	Glorious lady
گوهر	*Gauhar, Gohar*	ગૌહર, ગોહર	Jewel
چهرزاد	*Chehr-zād*	ચેહરઝાદ	Handsome

جهان آرای	*Jehān-āray*	જેહાન આરાય	World adorning
زربانو	*Zar-bānoo*	ઝરબાનૂ	Rich lady
تهمینه	*Tahmeenah*	તહમીનહ	(Wife of Rustam)
دل آرا	*Del-ārā*	દેલઆરા	Beloved
دلنواز	*Del-nawāz*	દેલનવાઝ	Gracious
دلبر	*Del-bar*	દેલબર	Lovely
نرگس	*Narçes*	નરગેસ	Narcissus
نوازبانو	*Nawāz-bānoo*	નવાઝ બાનુ	Kind lady
نازبانو	*Nāz bānoo*	નાઝ બાનુ	Delicate lady
پوران دخت	*Poorān-dokht*	પૂરાનદોખ્ત	(Sassanian Queen)
پری	*Paree*	પરી	Fairy
پری چهر	*Paree-chehr*	પરીચેહર	Handsome
پری زاد	*Paree-zād*	પરીઝાદ	Fairy-born
فیروزه	*Feerooza*	ફીરૂઝે	Turquoise
بنفشه	*Banafsha*	બનફશે	Violet
بانو	*Bānoo*	બાનુ	Lady
منیژه	*Maneezha*	મનીઝેહ	(Wife of Bezhan)
مهرو	*Mah-roo*	મહરૂ	Moon-faced
ماه چهر	*Māh-chehr*	માહ ચેહર	Face bright as the moon
ماه تاب	*Māh-tāb*	માહ તાબ	Moon-light
ماه پیکر	*Māh-paikar*	માહ પયકર	Beautiful face as the moon
مهربانو	*Mehr-bānoo*	મેહર બાનુ	Beloved lady
ماه رخ	*Māh rokh*	માહ રોખ	Cheeks bright as the moon
رودابه	*Roodāba*	રૂદાબે	(Mother of Rustam)
روشن	*Raushan*	રૌશન	Bright
لولو	*Loo-loo*	લૂલૂ	Pearl
سرور	*Sarwar*	સરવર	Princess
سیمین دخت	*Seemeen-dokht*	સીમીન દોખ્ત	Fair girl
شهرناز	*Shahr-nāz*	શહર નાઝ	Agreeable girl
شهربانو	*Shahr-bānoo*	શહર બાનુ	Cultured lady
شیرین	*Sheereen*	શીરીન	Sweet
همای	*Homāy*	હોમાય	Auspicious

A GUIDE TO PERSIA

BY

MANEK FARDUNJI MULLA.

Opinion of the Persian Consul.

IMPERIAL CONSULATE OF PERSIA
BOMBAY.

Sea-Side, Middle Colaba,

Bombay, 14th Sept. 1928.

DEAR MR. MANECK MULLA,

In going through your "Guide to Persia" I understand you have done good service to your community and specially to the intending travellers to Persia.

I appreciate the difficulty you must have in collection of such interesting facts and more in presentation of a vivid and attractive description, and verily your effort in both directions fructified.

I admire your spirit that prompted you to be in midst of the Zoroastrian masses at Yezd.

Yours faithfully,

J. KAHYAN.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Bombay Chronical, June 17 1928.

"A Guide to Persia", edited and published by Mr. Maneck Fardoonji Mulla, can be had from the author, care of Messrs. Mulla and Mulla, Solicitors, Wadia Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay.

The author, Mr. Maneck F. Mulla, has been well-known in Bombay for his activities in matters Persian. He visited Persia (through Iraq) twice; first for four months from 21st August to 17th August, 1924, and again for 20 months, from 28th October 1925 to 27th June 1927. This volume, therefore, is the outcome of his peregrinations in Iraq and Persia, in cities as well as villages. The Hon. Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan in the Foreword pays a well-deserved compliment to the author for his labour of love and states: "Mr. Mulla has gathered much valuable information about the religious practices and social customs of the Zoroastrians of Persia, who, during centuries of foreign invasion and domination, have remained faithful to their ancient religion and customs." Mr. Mulla who has travelled nearly 27,600 miles all over India and Ceylon was very anxious to visit Persia, because, as he states in the Preface, he felt that without seeing the actual sites described in the "Shah Namah" of that great Persian epic poet Firdausi, for whom and his world-famed work the author has great fascination, he would be unable to enter into the real spirit of the great epic, as he encountered great difficulties, when lecturing on historical places in Persia and the inscriptions on its rocks with the aid of magic lantern slides. He, therefore availed himself of the opportunity of joining a party, and stayed for four months in Persia.

Chapter I of the volume deals with the important places worth visiting in Persia and Iraq. After his return to India, the author was approached by Mr. Dinshah J. Irani, President of the Iranian Zoroastrian Association, who suggested to him to go to Persia as a *honorary worker* for diffusing religious knowledge among Persian Zoroastrians living there; as most of them, who are from the point of view of population only a remnant compared with the

total population of about a lakh of Zoroastrians in India, had hardly any means of acquiring any religious knowledge there. The author agreed to take up this *missionary work*; and how well he has succeeded in it is a matter of common knowledge to Parsis who used to read the reports of his activities in the Gujarati papers from time to time during his labour of love of twenty months and which would be easily realised from even a cursory glance through Chapters two to eleven. Chapter II shows how the author from his headquarters at Yezd, moved about in surrounding villages, and brought to the Zoroastrians there the priceless knowledge of Zoroastrianism by religious discourses, Jashan and Navjot ceremonies.

It also gives the account of the unique event of performing the Jashan ceremony at Yezd, on 25th February, 1927, in the sacred memory of Firdausi Tusi. The Zoroastrians thus paid, in howsoever small a measure, through the instrumentality of Mr. Mulla, their debt of gratitude to that great Persian poet who immortalised the valorous deeds of their ancestors, the great Heroes and Kings of ancient Persia, 907 years after his death.

The chapter II also gives a description of the Yezd Medical Hall and Dispensary, and the founding by Mr. Mulla, of a Jashan Committee on the lines of the Bombay Committee. Chapter III deals with the places of pilgrimage ("ziaretgahs") where the Persian Zoroastrians go on certain days connected by traditions with these places. Chapter V, VI and VII narrate various religious ceremonies which are performed by Persian Zoroastrians on the occasions of Gahambar feasts, marriages and deaths. A useful addition in the volume is that given in Chapter IX—viz., a collection of colloquial sentences in Persian with their Gujarati transliteration, which would be of great importance to those Parsis who (though possibly knowing a couple or more of foreign languages) do not have any or very little knowledge of the tongue of their forefathers, and who intend to travel in that historic land. The get-up of the book, with its 306 pages of rich-quality paper and large types is excellent. 25 illustrations, including a map of Persia (with the

bordering countries of Iraq, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and Turkestan) and of Reza Shah Pehelvi, the Shah of Persia, of Firdausi Tusi etc., add to the importance of the volume.

Mr. Mulla, an humble worker of moderate means, has provided an object-lesson to those Parsi millionaries who scamper off to England, or other countries of Europe, on business or for "search of health," every few years, but (as was rightly lamented by non-Parsis like Aga Shah Behram, son of Arbab Kaikhashru, in a Jamshedi Nowroze gathering on 19th March, 1927), who do not care to pay even a flying visit to their ancient land, where better health and better business could be gained if they had only the will to do so. It is to be hoped Mr. Mulla's book will be an eye-opener to those Europe-mad Zoroastrians.

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Bulletin of the Iran League, July 1928.

Mr. Maneck Fardunji Mulla has at last published his *Guide to Persia.* Mr. Mulla has been twice in Persia and on the second occasion made a prolonged stay there investigating minutely the condition of the Zoroastrians in and about Yezd. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ali Akbarkhan of the Bombay High Court has written a foreword to the book. There are portraits of His Majesty Reza Shah, of the father of the author, a supposed likeness of Zoroaster, portraits of Firdousi, and pictures of various *Ziaratghas* or places of pilgrimage, witnessing to some of the peculiar Zoroastrian usages of the people in the country. The chief merit of Mr. Mulla's work resides in its carefully complied statistics and census of the inhabitants of thirty villages in the vicinity of Yezd.

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Young Men's Parsee Association Journal, March 1929.

Ever since the accession of H. I. M. Reza Shah Pahlavi to the throne of Persia and his kind words of welcome to the Persian Zoroastrian abroad, the Parsis in India have begun to take

an increasing and more abiding interest in their once forgotten Motherland. And, to-day, in the heart of every true Zoroastrian, young and old, there has bubbled up a yearning to set foot once again on the land of his ancestors, whose mighty deeds of valour will ever remain green through the immortal *Shahnamah* of the great poet Firdausi. In such times as these, therefore, Mr. Maneck Fardunji Mulla's book, "A Guide to Persia," is doubly welcome. Mr. Mulla's silent yet selfless and missionary work for the betterment and spiritual uplift of his co-religionists in Persia needs no recapitulation. His book, besides being a useful guide for those intending to visit Persia, contains interesting information regarding the habits, customs and religious ceremonies of our Zoroastrian brethern in Persia. The book is well got-up, beautifully illustrated and can be recommended as a good prize-book for schools.

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જામે જમશેદ તા૦ ૨ જી જુન ૧૯૨૮.

ઇરાન સર જમીનની પારસી મુસાફરીનું પેહેલું પુસ્તક આસરે અરધી સદીપર એક અભ્યાસી મુસાફર મી૦ કેઆસની કલમથી બાહેર પડયું હતું. ત્યાર પછી આ પ૦ વરસને ગાળે આ છેલ્લાં ચાર પાંચ વરસમાં ત્રણ ચાર પુસ્તકો પ્રગટ થયાં છે. આ ચપળતા દેખાડે છે કે ઇરાન તરફ પારસી પ્રજાનું હાલમાં વધારે ધ્યાન ખેંચાયું છે. આ મુસાફરીનું છેલ્લુ પુસ્તક, જે માટે અમો આજે બોલવા માંગ્યે છીએ તે મી૦ માણેક ફરદુનજી મુલ્લાંનું "ઇરાન ભુમીનો ભોમ્યો" નામનું છે, જે ભોમ્યાની ફાંકક ગરજ સારવા ઉપરાંત ઇરાનની કેાકક સામાન્ય વીગતો આપે છે અને કેટલીક ઇરાનની જરથોસ્તી માન્યતા અને રાહરસમનો ખ્યાલ આપે છે.

મેસર્સ કુક અને સન્સ કમ્પનીવાળાઓ દુન્યાના મોટા ભાગની મુસાફરી મુસાફરો માટે સવળ કરી આપે છે, પણ તેણે હજુપર ઇરાન ખાતેની મુસાફરોની રેઢબરી હાથ ધરી નથી. આજથી આસરે ૩૫ વરસનો વખત અમોને યાદ આવે છે કે જ્યારે આ કમ્પનીએ મીસર દેશની મુસાફરીની સવળતા આપી ઇરાન તરફ પોતાની નજર દોડાવી હતી. તેના એક આગેવાન ઇરાન થઇ મુબઈ આવ્યા હતા અને પોતાની મુસાફરીના અનુભવ ઉપરથી ત્યાં પોતાનો સાહાસ લંબાવવાને ના પાડયું હતું, એવું જણાવીને કે ત્યાં મુસાફરીની મુદલ સગવડો નથી, તેથી પોતાના ટુરીસ્ટોને થોડીક પણ સવળતા સાથે ત્યાં ફેરવી

લાવવાને તેઓ હીંમત કરતા નથી. હાલ મામલો ફેરવાયો છે અને ત્રણ ચાર વરસમાં આ સાહસીક કમ્પની ઈરાનની મુસાફરીની રેહબરી કબુલ રાખે એ તદન બનવાજોગ છે. ઈરાનની પડોશમાં ઈરાકમાં, ઈરાકની રાજધાની બગદાદ, જે પણ પુરાણા ઈરાનનો ભાગ ગણાય, ત્યાં તેઓ પોતાની ઓફીસ ઉઘાડી ચુકયા છે.

મી૦ મુલ્લાંનું આ નવું પુસ્તક એકથી વધુ સબબે આવકારદાયક છે. તે "ભોમીઆ" તરીકે અને તે ઉપરાંત કાંઇક વધુ જાણવાજોગ હકીકત આપે છે. આ પુસ્તકનો યજદ સંબંધી ભાગ વધારે અગતનો દીસે છે. યજદ અને તેની આજુબાજુનાં ગામો, તે "હાલનું જરથોસ્તી ઈરાન" છે. અસલી ઈરાની જરથોસ્તીઓના વંશજોની કોઇક બાપદાદેથી ઉતરી આવેલી રાહરસમો, તેમાં દાખલ થયલાં કોઇક અહીં તહીંનાં મીશ્રણ સાથે, તમારે જાણવાં હોય, તો તે યજદમાં કેટલીક હદે તમો જાણી શકો. યજદ ત્યારે મોટાં ઈરાનમાં "નાનું જરથોસ્તી ઈરાન" છે. ખુદ યજદ શેહેર કરતાં તેની આજુબાજુના આસરે દોઢ યા બે ડજન પારસી પરાંઓ પારસી રાહરસમોની નજરે અભ્યાસ કરવા જોગ ગામો છે. એ ગામોની મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ, તે તરફના પોતાના લાંબા વસવાટ બાદ, કાંઇક વાંચવા લાયક હકીકત આપી છે.

એવણનાં પુસ્તકનાં ૧૧ પ્રકરણોમાંથી અમોને ત્રણથી સાત સુધીના પાંચ પ્રકરણો, પુરાણી રાહરસમોના અભ્યાસની નજરે, વધારે અગતનાં લાગે છે. ત્રીજું પ્રકરણ ઈરાનની પારસી ઝીઆરતગાહોનું આપણને સારૂં જ્ઞાન આપે છે. આપણી પારસી રેવાયતોમાં યજદજરદની એકાદ છોકરીની ઝીઆરતગાહની કાંઇક હકીકત આપણે વાંચ્યે છીએ. હીંદુસ્તાન તરફથી જતાં બેહેદીન મુસાફરોને કોઇક ખાસ અગત્ય આપી આ બાનુની ઝીઆરતગાહે લઈ જવામાં આવતા. ઝીઆરતગાહોની વારતા મોટે ભાગે આ છે કે, કોઇ દીનચુસ્ત પતીવ્રતા બાનુ મુસીબતમાં આવે છે અને તેણી પોતાની હોરમત વીગેરે માટે દુઆ ગુજરે છે કે તુરત જ્યાં તેણી ઉભેલી હોય છે ત્યાંનો પહાડ ફાટે છે અને તેણી તેમાં ગરક જાય છે. મોટે ભાગે ઝીઆરતગાહોની વારતાઓમાં આપણે તજેટીએ આ કરામત જોઇએ છીએ. એમ પહાડ યા જમીન યા દીવાલ ફાટી મુશકેલી વખતે ગેબ થઇ જવાની વાત ઘણાક દેશોમાં સામાન્ય છે. ખ્રીસ્તી વારતાઓમાં કોનસ્ટાન્ટીનોપલની સેન્ટ સોફાયાની મસજીદનાં સંબંધમાં આપણે એ વાત સાંભળ્યે છીયે કે જ્યારે તુરકો દેશ અને શેહેર અને દેવળો જીતતા આ મસજીદ, જે એક વખતે ખ્રીસ્તી દેવળ હતું, ત્યાં આવી પહોંચ્યા ત્યારે એક પાદરી, જે છેલ્લી ઘડી સુધી ભણ્યા કરતો હતો અને બોધ દેતો હતો, તેની દુઆથી દેવળની દીવાલ ફાટી અને તેમાં તે ગેબ થઇ ગયો. આજે પણ કોઇક ધર્મચુસ્ત ખ્રીસ્તીઓ માને છે કે કોઇ દીવસ આવશે કે જ્યારે આ દીવાલ પાછી ફાટશે

અને તેમાંથી પેલો પાદરી પાછો બહાર આવી કોનસ્ટાન્ટીનોપલ, જે એક વખત આખાં ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મ મંડળનું મથક હતું, ત્યાં ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મ ફેલાવશે.

સારાં ભાગ્યે કે માઠાં ભાગ્યે હીંદુસ્તાનના પારસીઓ માટે કોઇ ઝીઆરતગાહ નથી. વરીઆવની પારસી કતલની વારતા કદાચ એ ગામ તરફ પારસી ઝીઆરતગાહ તરીકે આપણું ધ્યાન ખેંચે. પણ તે બનાવ વીસરાઇ ગયો છે, સબબ કે તે ગામ કોઈ એકાદ બહાદુર યા સાહસીક યા પતીવ્રતા બાનુની વાત સાથે જોડાયલું નથી પણ સંખ્યાબંધ જરથોસ્તી નર નારીઓ સાથે જોડાયું છે.

ઝીઆરતગાહોના સંબંધમાં એક બાબત આપણું ખાસ ધ્યાન ખેંચે છે. હીંદના આપણા કોઇ આતશબેહેરામનાં સ્થળોમાં પારસી ઉતારા માટે એકાદ બે સામાન્ય ધર્મશાળાઓ જોવાયે છીએ. પણ ઇરાનમાં એ ઝીઆરતગાહોની જગ્યાએ જુદાં જુદાં મોટાં જરથોસ્તી ગામવાળાઓએ પોતપોતાના જુદા જુદા ઉતારાનાં મકાનો કરેલાં હોય છે. કોઇ ગામવાળાઓ ત્યાં ઝીઆરતે જાય તો પોતાના ગામનાં ઉતારાના મકાનમાંજ ઉતરે. યજદના દખમાવાળી જગ્યાએ પણ આપણે એવુંજ કાંઇ જોવાયે છીએ. ત્યાં ગામેગામથી આવતાં રવાનોના સંબંધમાં રવાનો સાથે આવતા ખેશીઓ યા મોત્રેની આશાએસ માટે ગામેગામના જુદાં મકાનો બાંધેલાં હોય છે. આમ ઝીઆરતગાહ તરફનાં જુદાં મકાનોનો સબબ આ દીસે છે કે ત્યાં તફાવતો લાંબા અને રાહ મુશકેલ હોવાથી, "આવ્યા અને સેજદો કીધો અને ચાલતા થયા" તેમ નથી, પણ લાંબેથી આવ્યા તો બેચાર દહાડા રહી વધારે સારી રીતે ઝીઆરત કરવાનો ખ્યાલ ધરાવવામાં આવે છે.

અસલના વખતથી ઝીઆરત અને જાત્રા અને હજ ધાર્મીક વીચારો ઉપરાંત કાંઇક વધુ વીચારો ધરાવતાં. એવી ઝીઆરતો અને જાત્રા એક ગામ યા શેહેરથી બીજે ગામ યા શેહેરની મુસાફરી બરપા કરી જ્ઞાન અને અભ્યાસનાં સાધન થઇ પડતાં. વળી તેઓ સર્વને, ગરીબોને વટીક, આશાએસ અને રાહત માટે તેહેવારો પુરા પાડતા.

મી૦ મુલ્લાંના પુસ્તકના વધુ અગતના બાબો, જે લગન, મરણ અને ગાહમબારની ક્રીયાઓ અને રેવાજો બાબે છે તે અમોએ કાંઇક ખાસ કાળજીથી વાંચ્યા છે. આ બાબો દેખાડે છે કે આપણે તરીકતો અને ક્રીયાઓ માટે અવારનવાર કાંઇક ખાસ કાળજીથી બોલાયે છીયે, પણ તેમ કરતાં આપણે કાંઇક હદમાં રહેવું જોઇયે. એકજ દીન યા કોમની તરીકતો અને રાહરસમો જુદે જુદે સ્થળે અને કાળે અને સંજોગોએ બદલાય છે.

મરણ ક્રીયામાં ઝાદો–મરગની બાબતમાં તે મકાનના બે દરવાજાની બાબત આપણું ખાસ ધ્યાન ખેંચે છે. રવાનને તે મકાનમાં એક બારણે લઇ જવામાં

આવે છે અને બીજે બારણે કહાડવામાં આવે છે. ઘરના સામાન્ય ઉપયોગનાં બારણાંમાંથી રવાન નહી કહાડવું, એ વીચાર મધ્ય એશીઆની કોઇક પ્રજાઓમાં હજુર પણ ચાલુ છે. તે એક વખત આપણામાં અત્રે પણ હોય એમ શક જાય છે. આ દુન્યામાં જન્મવું (ઝાદ) અને મરણ (મરગ) સર્વ માટે સરજેલાં છે, તેના સંબંધમાં એક બારણે આવવું અને બીજે બારણે જવું એ ખ્યાલ બરપા થયો છે. કોઇક તાયફાવાળાઓ માટે તો કહે છે કે જો ઘરમાં એકજ બારણું હોય અને મરણ થયું હોય તો તે બારણે કદી લાશ નહીં કહાડે, પણ દીવાલ ભાંગી બાકોરૂં પાડી તેમાંથી લાશ બહાર કહાડે યા છાપરૂં ઉખેડી તેમાંથી બહાર કહાડે.

મી૦ મુલ્લાંને અમારી સુચના છે કે એવણ બીજી વખત ઇરાન જાય તો ત્યાં દરમેહેરમાં થતી (liturgical) ક્રીયાનો કોઇક અભ્યાસ કરી આપણને તેનું કાંઇક વધુ જ્ઞાન આપે. આફ્રીનગાન અને બાજ અને સતુમ અને ઇજશને અને વંદીદાદ વીગેરે કેમ કરવામાં આવે છે તે કોઇક બારીકીથી આપણને સમજાવે. તેવણ એક અથોરનાનજાદા છે. તેવણે પોતે નાવર થતાં આ ક્રીયાઓ કરી હશે. તે છતાં એ ક્રીયાઓનો અત્રે અભ્યાસ કરી ઇરાનની ક્રીયાઓ સાથે સરખામણી કરવાને આપણને તેવણ સાંધન આપશે.

મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાંનું આ પુસ્તક વાંચતાં આપણને તેવણ માટે કેટલાક રૂડા વીચારો આવે છે. કામ અને કામમાં ફેર છે. એક માણસ પોતાનો પગાર મેળવી યા પૈસા મેળવી ફરજીઆત કામ સર્વ પ્રમાણીકપણાં અને ઉદ્યોગ અને ખંત સાથે કરે, તે માટે જો કે તેને શાબાશી ઘટે છે, પણ જ્યારે એક કામ "મોજની મેહેનત" તરીકે થાય છે, ત્યારે તેમની કીમત વધે છે. મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ પોતાના કામમાં એમ મોજ લઇ પોતાના ઇરાનના હમદીનોની જે સેવા બજાવી છે તે એક પ્રકારે કોમની સેવા છે. તે માટે તેવણને અમો મુબારકબાદી આપ્યે છીએ અને ઇચ્છીએ છીએ કે પોતાના દેશ અને દીનને વધુ ઉપ્યોગી થવાના કામમાં ખુદા તેવણને મદદ થાય.

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કયસરે-હીંદ તા૦ ૩ જી જુન ૧૯૨૮.

મરહુમ શેઠ માણેકજી લીમજી હાંટરીયા પછી જે બીજા કોઇપણ જરથોસ્તીએ ઇરાનમાં વસતા આપણા હમદીનોની હાલત સુધારવા તથા તેઓમાં દીની જાગ્રતી લાવવા ખરાં "મીશનરી સ્પીરીટ"થી જેહમત ખેંચી હોય–તન, મન અને ધનનો ભોગ આપ્યો હોય–તો તે આ પુસ્તકના જવાન લેખક મી૦ માણેક ફરદુનજી મુલ્લાં છે. મી૦ મુલ્લાં બે મરતબે ઇરાનની મુલાકાતે

જઇ આવ્યા છે તેને લગતો હેવાલ પોતાના આ પુસ્તકમાં રજુ કરેલો છે. પહેલી મુલાકાત એક પાર્ટી સાથે જોડાઇને ૧૯૧૪ માં લેવામાં આવી હતી અને તે માત્ર છ મહીનાની હતી. બીજી મુલાકાત ઇરાની જરથોસ્તી અંજુમનના પ્રેસીડંટ મી૦ દીનશાહ જીજીભાઇ ઇરાની સોલીસીટરની સુચનાથી લેવામાં આવી હતી, અને ઇરાનમાં વસ્તાં જરથોસ્તી ભાઇ બેહનોમાં આપણા પવીત્ર મજહબને લગતું જ્ઞાન ફેલાવવા સારૂ એક "ઓનરરી વરકર" તરીકે મી૦ મુલ્લાં ત્યાં ગયા હતા. આ બીજી મુલાકાતમાં તેવણ લગભગ બે વરસ સુધી ત્યાં રહ્યા હતા અને ઇરાનનાં જરથોસ્તી વસ્તીવાળાં ગામોની મુલાકાત લઇ ત્યાં ધર્મજ્ઞાનનો ફેલાવો કરવા મહેનત લીધી હતી એટલુંજ નહીં પણ બીજી રીતે કેળવણીનો ફેલાવો કરવા અને હમદીનોની સ્થીતી સુધારવા ઘણી જેહમત ખેંચી હતી, જેને લગતો ખ્યાલ તેમના આ પુસ્તકમાં આપેલા હેવાલ ઉપરથી સારી રવેશે મલી શકે છે.

મી૦ મુલ્લાંની પહેલી મુસાફરીના હેવાલમાં ઇરાનનાં મુખ્ય શહેરોની નજરે જોયલી વીગત આપવામાં આવી છે. કેરમાનથી યઝદ, યઝદથી ઇસ્ફહાન, અને ઇસ્ફહાનથી શીરાઝ જતાં રસ્તામાં જેટલાં મથકો આવે છે તેઓ વચ્ચેનો છેટો ઇગ્લીશ માઇલોમાં આપ્યો છે, કે જેવી વીગત આજ સુધી બીજાં કોઇપણ પુસ્તકમાં આપવામાં આવી નથી, અને તે અત્રેથી જતા મુસાફરોને ઘણી ઉપયોગી થઇ પડવી જોઇએ. મુસાફરીમાં કેટલીક જોવા લાયક જગ્યાઓનાં તથા પ્રાચીન કોતરકામોના ઘણા ધ્યાન ખેંચનારા ફોટોગ્રાફો આર્ટ પેપર ઉપર છાપેલા આપવામાં આવ્યા છે.

મી૦ મુલ્લાંની ઇરાનની બીજી મુલાકાતના હેવાલમાં જે આપણું ખાસ ધ્યાન ખેંચે છે તે તેવણે ત્યાંનાં નાનાં નાનાં ગામોની મુલાકાત લઇ ત્યાંના જરથોસ્તીઓની ખરી હાલત જાણવા માટે ભારી રંજ ખેંચી હતી તે છે. યઝદ શહેર તથા તેની આજુબાજુનાં ૫૦ માઇલનાં ગામડાંઓની મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ જાતી મુલાકાત લીધી હતી, અને દરેક ગામોમાં દીની વાયજો, પોતાને ખર્ચે કરેલાં જશનો અને ધાર્મીક મેલાવડાઓથી ત્યાંના જરથોસ્તીઓમાં દીની જાગ્રતી લાવવાનો સ્તુતીપાત્ર પ્રયાસ કર્યો હતો. સખત ગરમીમાં તેમજ ભારે ઠંડીમાં ઘણી અગવડો અને મુશ્કેલીઓ વચ્ચે આ કામ બજાવવામાં આવ્યું હતું. આ મંજલો મોટે ભાગે પગે ચાલીને અથવા તો ગધેડાંની પીઠપર કરવામાં આવી હતી. જ્યાં જ્યાં મી૦ મુલ્લાં જતા ત્યાં તેઓ ધાર્મીક વાયજો કરતા, સુદરેહ કુસ્તી પેહરવાનો ઉપદેશ આપતા, અશો જરથોસ્ત પેગમ્બર સાહેબ, ફીરદોસી તુસી તથા માણેકજી હાંટરીયાના પોતાને ખરચે છપાવેલા ફોટોગ્રાફો વહેંચતા અને એ રીતે જરથોસ્તી મજહબ માટે સારો ઉત્સાહ પેદા કરી

દીનથી વેગળા જતા અજ્ઞાન હમદીનોને સારી રાહે દોરવ્યા હતા. વળી કેટલાંક ગામોમાં તેવણે જાણે સ્ત્રી કેળવણીનો પાયો નાંખ્યો હતો અને ખોરમશાહ ગામમાં પોતાની દેખરેખ હેઠળ છોકરીઓની સ્કુલ માટે નવું મકાન બંધાવ્યું હતું. એ ઉપરાંત કેટલેક ઠેકાણે જશનો અને નવજોતના મેળાવડાઓ પણ કીધા હતા, જેવા મેળાવડાઓ એ ગામોમાં પેહલીજ વખત થયા હતા અને તેમાં આજુબાજુનાં ગામોનાં સ્ત્રી–પુરૂષો ભેગાં મલવાથી તેઓને જાણે પહેલીજવાર એકબીજા સાથે મલવાની અને બહારની જગાઓ જોવાની તક મલી હતી. એવાં જશનો તથા ધાર્મીક મેલાવડાઓ ચાલુ થતા રહે એ મતલબથી મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ યઝદમાં એક જશન કમીટીની સ્થાપના કરી હતી અને તે મધે ત્યાંના આગેવાન ઇરાની જરથોસ્તીઓને મેમ્બરો તરીકે નેમ્યા હતા, જેમાં બાનુઓ પણ હતી. આ કમીટી હજી પોતાનું કામ નીયમીત કરતી રહી છે. તેની મતલબ એવી રાખવામાં આવી છે કે, મુંબઇની જશન કમીટીની માફક અનજુમનના હોલમાં લાયક પ્રસંગોએ જશનો કરવાં તથા જરથોસ્તીઓની પોતાના ધર્મ ઉપર આસ્થા વધે તે સારૂ વાએજો સંભળાવવી. મી૦ મુલ્લાંની આ હીલચાલોના હેવાલ ઉપરથી જણાય છે કે તેવણ જે કામને માટે "ઓનરરી વરકર" તરીકે ગયા હતા તે કામનેજ વળગી નહીં રહેતાં પોતાની ઉમંગી પવૃતીઓ બીજી દીશાએ પણ લંબાવી હતી, જેનાં રૂડાં પરીણામો ત્યાંના ગરીબ જરથોસ્તીઓમાં ઢીની તથા દુન્યવી કેળવણીનો વધારો કરવામાં આવ્યાં હતાં, એટલુંજ નહીં પણ તેથી બહાઇ અને ખ્રીસ્તી મીશનરીઓની ચળવળનો અટકાવ થયો હતો.

મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ પોતે જે સઘળાં ગામોની મુલાકાત લીધી હતી તેનું દરેકનું બ્યાન તેના નકશા સાથે આ પુસ્તકમાં આવ્યું છે. ઇ. સ. ૧૮૫૪ માં મરહુમ શેઠ માનેકજી હાંટરવાએ છપાવેલાં પુસ્તકમાં યઝદ શહેર તથા તેની આસપાસના ૪૦ માઇલ સુધીના જીલ્લામાં જરથોસ્તીઓની વસ્તીનો કોઠો છપાવ્યો હતો. એવોજ કોઠો મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ હાલનાં પોતાનાં પુસ્તકમાં આપ્યો છે, જેમાં ૧૮૮૬–૨૭ માં ઇરાનમાં યઝદ શહેર તથા તેની આજુબાજુના ૫૦ માઇલના ગામડાંઓમાંની જરથોસ્તી વસ્તીની ગણત્રીનો કોઠો, તેઓની કેળવણી વગેરેની હકીકત સાથે આપ્યો છે. આ કોઠો ઘણો અગત્યનો છે, અને બંને કોઠાઓનો એક બીજા સાથે મુકાબલો કરવાથી ૬૩ વરસના અરસામાં જરથોસ્તી વસ્તી તથા તેઓની હાલતમાં શું ફેરફાર થયો છે તે જાણવાનું બની શકે છે. આ કોઠામાં આપેલી હકીકત ઉપરથી જણાય છે કે કોઇ કોઇ ગામોમાં જરથોસ્તીઓ બહાઇઝમ તરફ ઢલેલા છે, અને કેટલાંક ગામોમાં છોકરીઓ માટેની સ્કુલની ખાસ જરૂર છે.

પુસ્તકના ત્રીજા પ્રકરણમાં યઝદ શહેરની આજુબાજુ આવેલી જુદી જુદી ઝીયારતગાહો (જાત્રાનાં મથકો)નું રસીલું બ્યાન આપ્યું છે. ચોથા પ્રકરણમાં ઇરાન દેશનાં તાલીમખાનાં અને કસરતનાં બીજા સાધનોની વીગત આપી છે. ત્યાર પછી ઇરાની જરથોસ્તીઓના લગન–મરણના રીતરીવાજો તથા ઇરાન દેશની ખેતીવાડી અને વેપાર વણજની ટુંકમાં હકીકત આપી છે. પુસ્તકને છેવટે ઇરાનની મુલાકાત લેનારાઓને ઉપયોગી થઇ પડે તેવા ફારસી વાતચીતના વાકયો આપવામાં આવ્યા છે. આ પુસ્તકનો દીબાચો અંગ્રેજીમાં અત્રેની હાઈ કોર્ટના જજજ ઓનરેબલ મી૦ જસ્ટીસ મીરઝાંઅલી અકબરખાને લખ્યો છે. શરૂઆતમાં ઇરાન, અફઘાનીસ્તાન અને બલુચીસ્તાનનો એક ખાસ તૈયાર કરાવેલો નકશો આપવામાં આવ્યો છે. ટુંકમાં આ પુસ્તક ઇરાનની મુલાકાત લેનાર માટે એક કીમતી ભોમીયા સમાન થઇ પડે એવું બનાવવામાં કર્તાએ ખાસ મેહનત લીધી છે, જે માટે તેવણુને ધન્યવાદ ઘટે છે. ઇરાનને લગતી હીલચાલમાં રસ લેતા અને ઇરાન વતન માટે દાઝ ધરાવતા દરેક જરથોસ્તીને મી૦ મુલ્લાંનું આ પુસ્તક વાંચવાની બલકે પોતાની લાયબ્રેરીમાં સંગરવાની ખાસ ભલામણ કરીએ છીએ. મી૦ મુલ્લાં જ્યારે ઇરાનમાં હતા ત્યારે તેઓ ત્યાંથી અમારા ખાસ ખબરપત્રી તરીકે પોતાની હીલચાલો તથા મુસાફરીના હેવાલો લખી મોકલતા હતા, જે "કમસરે–હોંદ"નાં વાંચકોમાં ઉલટથી વંચાતા હતા. મી૦ મુલ્લાંનું આ પુસ્તક પણ તેટલુંજ ઉલટથી વંચાશે એમાં અમોને શક નથી.

મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાંએ ઇરાનમાંના પોતાના બે વરસના વસવાટ દરમીયાન ધાંધલધરપચ વગર, ચુપચુપ જે બીનસ્વાર્થી ને કીમતી સેવા બજાવી છે તેની લાગતાવળગતાઓ તરફથી યોગ્ય કદરસનાશી કરવામાં આવે એવું જોઇને અમો ખુશી થઇશું. મી૦ મુલ્લાં એક નાની રકમના "ઓનરેરીયમ" સાથે ઇરાન ગયા હતા. આ નાની રકમમાંથી તેવણુ પોતે પોતાનો બધો ખરચ ભોગવતા હતા, તે ઉપરાંત બાકીની હીલચાલો માટેનો સર્વે ખરચ પોતાની ગીરોથી કાઘો હતો "મીશનરી સ્પીરીટ"થી દોરવાઇને કરેલી તેવણુની બીનસ્વાર્થી સેવાઓ ખાસ પ્રસંશાપાત્ર છે. ઇરાનના જરથોસ્તીઓમાં તેવણુ કેટલા લોકપ્રીય થઇ પડયા હતા તે ત્યાંથી તેવણુની વીદાયગીરી વેળાએ ત્યાંની જરથોસ્તી અંજુમનોએ તેવણુને એનાયત કરેલાં માનપત્રો ઉપરથી માલમ પડે છે, જેમાં તેવણુને વાસ્તે ઘણા લાગણી ભરેલા ઇસારાઓ કરવામાં આવ્યા છે. એક દાખલો તેવણુની પરમાર્થી સેવાનો આપીશું કે એક વખત યઝદથી આશરે ૪૦ માઇલ દુર મઝરેહ કલાન્તર નામે ગામમાં વસતા જરથોસ્તીઓ દુકાળ જેવી રથીતીને લીધે લગભગ ભુખમરો સેહવતાં

હતાં. આ ખબર મલતાં મી૦ મુલ્લાં ઘઉંનો એક મોટો જથ્થો ખરીદી ખચ્ચરની પીઠપર લાદી સખત કકડતી ઠંડી હોવા છતાં તે જગાએ ગયા હતા, અને ત્યાંના હાજતમંદ જરથોસ્તીઓને અનાજ વહેંચી આપવા ઉપરાંત પોતાની ગીરોથી ૧૦૦ તુમાન તેઓ વચ્ચે વહેંચી આપ્યા હતા. આવી બીનસ્વાર્થી સેવાઓથી મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ વાજબી રીતે ત્યાંના લોકોમાં "બીજા હાતરીયા"નું નામ મેલવ્યું હતું.

ઇરાનના જરથોસ્તીઓની હાલની મુખ્ય જરૂર કેળવણીની છે. તેઓમાંના ઘણાએ પોતાના ધર્મનાં ફરમાનોથી બીનવાકેફ છે, કેળવણીમાં પછાત છે, અને બહાઇ તથા ક્રીસ્તી મીશનરીઓની ચલવલને લીધે યા તો બહાઇઝમ ઉપર એતેકાદ ધરાવે છે યા તો ક્રીસ્તી ધર્મમાં દાખલ થવાને લલચાય છે. આવો મામલો અટકાવવા માટે મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ ત્યાંના જરથોસ્તીઓમાં દીની જાગ્રતી લાવવા જે રૂડી કોશેશો શરૂ કીધી તે હવે ચાલુજ રેહવાની ખાસ જરૂર છે. ઇરાનથી પાછા ફરવા બાદ મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ અત્રે એક ભાષણ કીધું હતું તે વેળાએ પ્રમુખપદેથી ડો૦ જીવનજી જમશેદજી મોદીએ એવી સુચના કીધી હતી કે આ કામ માટે દોઢ લાયક પુરૂષને સારો મુસારો આપીને ઇરાન મોકલવા જોઇએ, પણ તે શખ્સ ત્યાં પોતાના પેશા તરીકે નહીં પણ મોહબ્બતથી જાય તે વધારે ઇચ્છવાજોગ છે. ડો૦ મોદીએ વધુમાં જણાવ્યું કે તેવણના વીચાર પ્રમાણે મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાં કરતાં વધારે બીજો કોઇ પણ લાયક નથી. અમે ડો૦ મોદીના મત સાથે મલતા છીએ, અને ઉમેદ રાખીશું કે ઇરાની જરથોસ્તી અંજુમન મી૦ મુલ્લાં જેવા ઉત્સાહી અને ઉમંગી જવાનની સેવાઓનો લાભ ભવીશમાં ફરી લેવાને ચુકશે નહીં. ઇરાનમાં જરથોસ્તી ધર્મજ્ઞાનનો ફેલાવો કરવાની મતલબથી ઇરાની અંજુમને આગાપુરે દાઉદ જેવા સ્કોલરને સારી જેવી રકમ આપી પવીત્ર ગાથાનો ફારસી તરજુમો કરાવ્યો છે અને તેની નકલો ઇરાનમાં વહેંચાવી છે. પણ એટલેથીજ કોઇ દીની જાગ્રતીનું કામ સફળ થતું નથી મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ એક "લે-મીશનરી" તરીકે જે ઉમદા કામ ત્યાં બજાવ્યું છે તે ચાલુ રહેવાની જરૂર છે, અને જો ઇરાની અંજુમન ઉપરાંત આપણી પારસી પંચાયત અને ઇરાનની બહેતરી માટે કામ કરતાં બીજાં મંડળો પણ ઘટતી જોગવાઇ કરી આપે તો ડો૦ મોદીની સુચના ઉપર અમલ કરવાનું આસાનીથી બની શકશે.

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સાંજ વર્તમાન તા૦ ૧૬ મી મે ૧૯૨૮.

મી૦ માણેક ફરદુનજી મુલ્લાં એક શાંત પકૃતીના છતાં બાહોશ અને ઉત્સાહી ધર્મી તથા કોમહીતકારી જરથોરતી જવાન છે. નામદાર વાઇસરોયની કારોબારી કાઉનસીલના નવા સભ્ય અને મુંબઇની હાઇ કોર્ટના બારના એક પ્રસીધ્ધ તથા બાહોશ ધારાશાસ્ત્રી તેમજ માજી જજ ઓ. મી૦ દીનશાહ ફરદુનજી મુલ્લાં સી. આઇ. ઇ. ના એવણ ભાઇ થાય છે, અને પારસી કોમહીત તથા જરથોરતી ધર્મહીતનો ચચોટ જુસ્સો આ જવાન પોતાનાં કુટુંબી ખમીરને આધારે ઘણો ઉત્તમ પ્રકારનો ધરાવે છે. આજથી લગભગ એક દાહેકા થયો પારસી કોમનું ધ્યાન પોતાના માદરવતન ઇરાન તરફ વધુ પ્રેરાયું છે અને તે વતન માટે શ્રમ ખેંચી તેની ઉનંતી કરવાને જે થોડાક ભલા જરથોરતીઓ મથેલા છે તેમાં આ જવાન મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાં પણ એક છે.

તા૦ ૨૧-૪-૨૪ થી તા૦ ૧૭-૮-૨૪ સુધી અને તા૦ ૨૮-૧૦-૨૫ થી તા૦ ૨૭-૬-૨૭ સુધી આ જવાન ભાઇએ ઇરાન અને ઇરાકના મશહુર મુલકોમાં કેટલીક મુસાફરી કરી હતી જેની તુલોતુવીલ નોંધનું "ઇરાન ભુમીનો ભોમ્યો" નામનું ૩૦૬ પાનાનું એક ઘણું દળદાર વાંચવાજોગ અને ખેંચાણુકારક તેમજ સુંદર છપાઇ અને મજબુત બાઇન્ડીંગનું પુસ્તક હાલમાં એ ભાઇએ લખી તેમજ પ્રગટ કરી ઇરાન તેમજ હીંદના જરથોસ્તીઓની સારી સેવા બજાવી છે એમ એ પુસ્તકનાં વાંચન ઉપરથી આસાનીથી કહી શકાય એમ છે.

પારસી કોમને ઘણી અગત્યનું આ પુસ્તક તેના કરતા મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાંએ પોતાનાં વહાલાં માતપીતાને અર્પણ કર્યું છે. અને તેનો 'ફોરવર્ડ' મુંબઇની હાઇ કોર્ટના હાલના પ્રસીધ્ધ ન્યાયમુરતી ધી ઓનરેબલ મી૦ જસ્ટીસ મીરઝાંઅલી અકબરખાન બારીસ્ટરે લખ્યો છે. ઇરાન અને જરથોસ્તી કોમના એક જાણીતા ખેરખાહ ઓ. મી૦ જસ્ટીસ મીરઝાંએ આ ફોરવર્ડમાં પારસી કોમની ભારે પ્રસંશા કરી તેની એક કોમ તરીકેની હીંદી કારકારદીની જાજબ વખાણ કરી છે. આ "ફોરવર્ડ" એક વાંચવાજોગ, ખેંચાણુકારક અને ફાંકડો છે તેમાં કાંઇજ શક નથી.

વળી આ પુસ્તકમાં તેની શરૂઆતમાં ઇરાન અફઘાનીસ્તાન અને બલુચીસ્તાનના મુસાફરોને રાહબરી મલે એવો એક સુંદર નકશો આપવામાં આવ્યો છે, જે પછી પારસીઓના મહાન પયેગમ્બર વખશુરે વખશુરાન નેકઝાદ અશો જરથુસ્ત્રની ઘણી સુંદર છબી આપવામાં આવી છે, જે છબી પણ દર્શન કરી તે મહાન ગુરૂની ભલી યાદ દરેક જરથોસ્તી જીગરમાં ઉત્પન કરવા લાયક છે. આ પછી ઇરાનના નામદાર શાહ રેઝાશાહ પેહલવી અને કરતાના પીતા મરહુમ

મી૦ ફરદુનજી મુલ્લાંની તેમજ આગાપુરે દાઉદ, પીરદોસી તુસી, મરહુમ શેઠ માણેકજી હાતરીઆ તથા કરતાની પોતાની સુંદર છબીઓ અને ઇરાન દેશને લગતા અનેક દેખાવો, ખંડીએરો, પારસી નામનાની પુરાણી ઇમારતો, સીક્કાઓ વગેરે વગેરે અનેક બાબદોને લગતાં સંખ્યાબંધ ચીત્રો જે ખરેજ જોઇ મનન કરવા જોગ છે તે પ્રગટ કર્યા છે.

આ વાંચવા જોગ પુસ્તકને બધાં મળીને અગ્યાર પ્રકરણોમાં વહેંચી નાંખવામાં આવ્યું છે જેમાં ઇરાનના રસ્તાઓ, દેશની સામાન્ય સ્થીતી, જુદાં જુદાં ખંડીયેરો અને સ્થળોની મુલાકાત, મુંબઇથી બુશાયર, શીરાઝથી યઝદ, ઝયારતગાહો, તાલીમ બાનાંઓ, જરથોસ્તી લગનના રીતરીવાજો, મરણ ક્રીયાઓ, ગાહામબારો, ખેતીવાડી, વેપાર રોજગાર, ફારશી જબાન, ઇરાનનો અનુભવ, માનપત્રો, અભીપ્રાયો, વગેરે વગેરે સંખ્યાબંધ બાબદો આ પ્રકરણોમાં કરતાએ ઘણી વીગતવાર અને એક નાના બાળકને પણ સહેલાઇથી સમજ પડે એવી સાદી સુંદર ભાષા અને હરેક સમજણો સાથે આપી છે.

વળી ઇરાન દેશને લગતી ઘણી ખરી સર્વે હકીકતો જેમાં રસ્તાઓ, મકાનો, ખોરાક, વજન, માપ, પોસ્ટ અને તાર ઓફીસો, બેંક કરંસી રાજ કારોબાર, કીલ્લેબંધી, ઇરાનની મુસાફરી માટે જોઇતો સામાન, પાણી, જોવા લાયક જગાઓ, આતશ કદેહો, આગલી ઇરાની શહેનશાહતના મહેલો, સ્થંભો, કીલ્લાઓ વગેરેનાં ખંડીએરો, અસ્તોદાન, આવણ જવણના સાંધનો, જરથોસ્તીઓ ઉપરનો જઝીઆ, ક્રીયાકામો, રકુલો, વગેરે વગેરે અનેક બાબદોથી આ પુસ્તકને મઢવામાં આવ્યું છે.

સામટી રીતે મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાંએ આ પુસ્તક લખવામાં સારી બાહોશી અને ભેજું વાપર્યું છે એમ માલમ પડે છે. આ પુસ્તકનું નામ જેવું "ઇરાન ભુમીનો ભોમ્યો" છે તેવીજ રીતે તે ઇરાન જનારાઓને એક ભોમીઆ મીસાલ ઉપ્યોગી થઇ પડે એમ છે. ઇરાન દેશને લગતાં અને ત્યાંનાં જરથોસ્તીઓનાં સંબંધમાં અત્યાર અગાઉ એકથી વધુ પુસ્તકો લખાયાં છે પરંતુ મી૦ મુલ્લાંનું આ પુસ્તક આજ સુધીના ઇરાનની છેલ્લામાં છેલ્લી સ્થીતી સમજાવનારૂં હોવાથી તેમજ કરતાની જાતી મુલાકાતો અને મુસાફરી તથા અંગત અનુભવોનો જમેલો તેમાં ઉત્તમ રીતે રજુ થયલો હોવાથી તે વધુ ઉપ્યોગી થઇ પડે એવું છે. આશા છે કે દરેક પારસી કુટુંબ આ અગત્યનું પુસ્તક પોતા પાસે રાખી પોતાનાં બાપીકાં વતન બાબેની માહીતી મેલવી તેની તરફ પોતાની વફાદારી વધુ ઉંચ આકારમાં ખીલવી શકશે.

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હીંદી ગ્રાફીક જુલાઇ ૧૯૨૮.

ત્રણસોથી વધુ પાનાનું સુંદર બાઇન્ડીંગનું આ પુસ્તક મધે તેના કર્તા મી૦ માણેક ફરદુનજી મુલ્લાએ છેલ્લા સવા ત્રણ વરસ દરમ્યાન ઇરાન મધેની પોતાની બબે વેળાની મુસાફરીનો અનુભવ ઘણી અચ્છી રીતે રજુ કીધો છે. એ મુદત મધેથી તેવણે બે વરસ તો ઇરાન માદર વતનના જુદા જુદા ભાગોમાં ફરી ત્યાંના જરતોસ્તીઓની હાલતનું બારીક અવલોકન કરી તેમની બહેતરી માટે શું શું ઉપાયો લેવા તે બાબે ભારે શ્રમ ઉઠાવી હતી.

આ પુસ્તકની સેપ્રારશ ઇરાનના મુંબઇ ખાતેના માજી કોનસલ અને પાછળથી નેમાયલા હાઇ કોર્ટના જજ એાન. મી૦ જસ્ટીસ મીરઝાંએ ઘણા સુંદર શબ્દોમાં કીધી છે. તેવણ જણાવે છે કે પારસીઓ પોતાનું વતન વિસર્યા નથી, તે હાલ તેમનામાં જબરી હોંસ બરપા થઇ છે. પોતાના અસલ વતન ઇરાન દેશ તરફ જઇ હાલના ઇરાનનો જાતે અનુભવ મેલવી બને તેટલો તેના સાથનો સંબંધ પાછો ચાલુ રાખવો, એટલા માટે હાલના વખતમાં આવાં પુસ્તકો ત્યાં મુસાફરી કરવા જનારાઓને એક ખરા ભોમ્યા તરીકે ઉપયોગી થવા વિના રહેવાં ન જોઇએ.

આ કેતાબમાં કર્તાએ એટલા બધા વિષયોનો સમાવેશ કીધો છે કે તેમના સંબંધી ટુકમાં ટુક ઇશારો કરવાને પણ અત્રે જગા ફાજલ પાડી શકાતી નથી. ઇરાન મધે મુસાફરી કરવાના જુદા જુદા રસ્તાઓ, ત્યાંના મુખ્ય જોવા લાયક પ્રખ્યાત મથકો તથા ખંડીયરો, ત્યાંની ઝીયારતગાહો, ત્યાંના તાલીમખાંનાં તથા કસરતના સાંધનો, ત્યાંના લગન, મરણ, ગાહામ્બાર તથા રીત રેવાજો, ત્યાંની ખેતીવાડી, વેપાર વણજ અને શેવટે ત્યાંની હાલની જરતોસ્તી વસ્તીની માહા મહેનત લઇ જાતે તૈયાર કીધેલા ઉપયોગી કોઠાઓ વિ. વિ. જે અત્રે જોવામાં આવે છે તેનો જાતે અભ્યાસ કીધાથીજ તે પાછળ કેટલો ભોગ આપવો પડયો છે તેનો ખરો ખ્યાલ મલી શકે.

જસ્ટીસ મીરઝાં કહે છે તેમ મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાંએ યઝદ તેમજ તેની આસપાસનાં હમદીનોનાં ભલાં કાજે એક મીશનરીના જેવી પોતાના દિલમાં દાઝ રાખી કામ કીધું હતું. તેવણે ઇરાનના જુદા જુદા શહેરો જ્યાં જરતોસ્તી વસ્તી છે ત્યાંના હમદીનોની ચાલુ ધાર્મીક રાહરસમોનો અભ્યાસ કરી તેને લગતી ઘણી અગત્યની વિગતો આ તેમના "ભોમિયા" મધે સમાવી છે જે માટે તેમને વાજબી રીતે મુબારકબાદી ઘટે છે.

આ કીમતી કેતાબ ઉપરથી આપણને હાલના ઇરાનના જુદા જુદા પ્રકરણમાં ખરી હાલત જાણવાને બની આવે છે. ખાસ કરીને ત્યાંના જરતોરતીઓને લગતું વિવેચન અત્તી ઉપયોગી માલમ પડે છે. હવે ઇરાનમાં મુસાફરી માટે ઘણી સવલતા થતી જાય છે જેથી આગલી હાડમારીનું કશુ નામ નથી, એટલા માટે જેમ આપણા શ્રીમંત જરતોરતીઓ દર સાલ એક કે તેથી વધુ વખત યુરપ તરફ મોજશોખ માટે ઉતરી પડે છે તેમ જો કોઇ કોઇ વખત તેઓ પોતાના અસલી બાપીકાં વતન ઇરાન તરફ જઇ આવે તો તેથી ઇરાનના લોકોને હિંદના પારસીઓના ગુણોનો ખ્યાલ મળે અને તેજ વેળા એ શોકીન સહેલાણીઓને પોતાને ઇરાન માટે ઘણું જોવાનું અને શીખવાનું મળે. તેથી વળી કોઇ કોઇની આંખ ઉઘાડી તેઓ ઇરાન સાથ વેપાર કરવાને તથા ત્યાંના ઉદ્યોગોને ખીલવવાને સારૂં સાહાસ ઉઠાવવાને પણ મન કરે. હાલ 'ઇરાન લીગ'ની બરકતથી આપણા હિંદમાં વસતા જરતોરતીઓની નજર ઇરાન દેશ તરફ વધારે ખોલાવા લાગી છે અને તે સાથ તેમનો ચાહ પણ પોતાના માદર વતન તરફ વધતો જાય છે જે ઘણાં આશાવંત ચિન્હો લેખી શકાશે અને તેમાં વળી હાલ નામદાર રેઝાશાહ પહેલવી જેવા જરતોરતીઓ તરફ ખુશી થવા જોગ ચાહ ધરાવનારનો અમલ હોવાથી હિન્દના પારસીઓને ઇરાન શાહની પોતાની અસલ મોહબતને વધારવાને વધુ કારણો મલી આવે છે.

મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાં જેવા ઉમંગી, ઉલટમંદ, સ્વદેશ પ્રેમ ધરાવનાર વીરલાએ ઇરાનમાં એક 'વરકર' તરીકે ઘણું ભલુ કીધું છે અને હું ખરા દિલથી ઇચ્છુછું કે આપણા શહેર મધેથી ઇરાન તરફ જે એજંટ ત્યાંના જરતોરતીઓના લાભ સાચવવા મોકલવામાં આવે છે તે ઓધ્યો તક મલતાં સ્વીકારવાને એમને સમજાવવામાં આવશે. જ્યાં એક 'માણેક' વીરલો (હાતર્યા) ભારે નામ કાઢી આવ્યો છે ત્યાં આ આપણું બીજું 'માણેક' તેવુંજ કરી બજાવવાને ચુકશે નહીં એવી મારી ખાતરી છે. આજે જેટલું ઉત્સાહની ગરમીથી થાય છે તે માત્ર સુકાં જ્ઞાનના ઠંડાપણાથી બની શકતું નથી.

હવે મી૦ મુલ્લાંના હાલના પુસ્તક ઉપર ફરી આવતાં મને વિચાર સુજે છે કે એવણે પોતે તો કોમ અને વતન તરફની ફરજ ઘણી સુંદર રીતે બજાવી છે અને તેવીજ કદર તેમની તરફ કોમના વાંચકવર્ગ એ પુસ્તક ખરીદી ઉત્તેજન આપવા સારૂં બતાવશે કે? ખચીત, કોમની એ બજાવેલી ફરજ સમજાવવાની ખાસ જરૂર નથી.

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MY TRAVELS IN SEISTAN

BY

MANEK FARDUNJI MULLA.

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Opinions of the Press.

The Bombay Chronical, March 22, 1931.

Mr. Manek Mulla is not unknown to "Chronicle" readers. He is the author of "A Guide to Persia" and "A Guide to the Persian Language" which have been reviewed in these columns, and which have proved that he is one of those few Zoroastrians who with labour of love as their guiding motto, work unostentatiously in order to awaken interest in that great historical land, Persia now fortunately, coming into its own after centuries of stupor, under the distinguished regime of Reza Shah Pahalvi. His third work just published ought to prove equally useful, if not more.

After visiting Persia twice, the author was naturally attracted to Seistan, a small country immortalised in old Persian history by the most heroic deeds of its native heroes, Rustam, Zal and Framroz, to mention only a few, and by being the very cradle of Zoroastrianism, for many of the places associated with Zoroastrianism were situated in Seistan, which lies on the east of Persia and south-east of Afghanistan. It is also known as "Nimroz" and "Zabulistan". The almost unbelievable thrilling adventures and Samsonian deeds of Rustam which have been immortalised by that great Persian poet, Firdausi, have been known throughout the civilised world, as they have been translated in many languages. The land that gave birth to such a hero ought to earn an undying fame, for Rustam, in the words of Lord Curzon, fought with demons and "Jins" as well as with the pagan hordes of Turani Afrasiab. In the words of Sir John Malcolm they (Rustam and his family) were the hereditary chiefs or Princes of Seistan, they were connected with the royal family

of Kabul as well as that of Persia, and they never assumed the title of Kings, and had always kept a pageant of the royal blood upon the throne they had been acknowledged and obeyed as rulers of a great province and as the leaders of the armies of Persia."

No wonder the author was induced to visit this ancient land. His itinerary there lasted for over two months when he returned to Bombay on 1-12-1929. The account of his journey and interesting experiences is given in details, and in plain language. *Therein he shows the innumerable hardships he had to undergo in undertaking a hazardous journey, through a country where means of transport are extremely limited, and which has not been visited by any member of his community, with so much patience and perseverance displayed by the author and rarely, if ever by Western travellers.*

As Shams-ul-Olma, Sir J. J. Modi, so aptly points out in his long preface, Mr. Mulla had "one great advantage over other travellers of Persia, and that was that he knows Persian very well, and so he hears a good deal of talk folk-lore and tradition direct from the lips of the people." This has enabled him to acquire a good knowledge of old and present-day Seistan and its history. The 15 chapters into which the book is divided are chokeful of interesting information. Chapter 11 deals with the state of Seistan during the Achaeminian and Sassanian periods. The next one gives an account of the fresh rise of the Iranian dynasties in Persia shortly after the Arab conquest. Chapter 14th gives a very vivid account of the illustrious Kaiani dynasty which ruled the province for many centuries. After the defeat of Yezdezard, the last king of the Sassanian dynasty in A.D. 642, in the battle of Nehavand, some brave warriors went to Seistan there founded a dynasty and began to rule it, which was known as the Kaianian. With the exception of a brief period in which no mention of these Kaianian rulers is traced as yet (which does not necessarilly warrant the presumption that Kaianians were not ruling Seistan then), it is believed it was ruled by the Kaianian right upto A.D. 1831, when Seistan was conquered by various bands and eventually divided among four bands.

The book contains 145 pages and 18 illustrations, also a map of Seistan. Mr. Mulla, who is greatly encouraged in his missionary work by his able brother Rt. Hon. Sir Dinsha F. Mulla, P. C., has well deserved the praise he has received by his undertaking the visits and the publications.

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The Iran League Quarterly, April 1931.

The whole community owes a great debt of gratitude to the efforts of Mr Maneck F. Mulla in putting before the public his book named "Seistan". It is a well got-up volume with a scholarly foreword by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi. There is a map of Seistan in the front and there are a few printed pictures of the solemn Persian ruins in their present decayed state. Each chapter ends with a picture from the old bas-reliefs, showing the glory of ancient Persian sculpture.

The book gives first-hand information as regards the province of Seistan. Knowing the Persian language fully well and inspired with a zeal and fervour to serve the community, Mr. Mulla has done full justice to the subject. The book is replete with first-class information, vivid description and thorough scholarship which makes it interesting reading. At present when the efforts are being made to re-enkindle the extinguished spark of the love of our ancient mother-land, the attempt of Mr. Mulla is a welcome move in this direction and hence its value. Gone are the days of glory fame and chivalry of Persia but attempts of this type may go a long way to revive that illustrious past--the splendour that was Iran.

In the beginning the author deals with the different interpretations of the word "Seistan" and its historical derivation. Then we get the geographical and climatic conditions of the province, with some ideas about the trade and commerce, its industry and the occupation of the people. A most welcome suggestion is made therein to found a Parsi Colony in Seistan, "the very cradle of Zoroastrianism."

Later on the author gives a graphic description of his travels and his visits of the ancient relics and historical places. We

find the author dealing with the history of Seistan in the subsequent chapters: how Seistan first an independent country under Sam, Zal, Rustam, passes under the sway of the Achæmenians and Sassanians and becomes after the Arab conquest and the Tartar invasion a prey to the warring tribes mainly of the old Zoroastrian stock. The power oscillates from one soldier of fortune to the other and therein comes the downfall of Seistan.

The whole atmosphere breathes of a serene solemnity for here we tread upon a holy ground—the ground where once Rustam trod.

Two things come before the mind's eye—(1) the ruins, and (2) the Zoroastrian population and their present state in Persia.

Taking the first, we can humbly suggest that an influential committee of scholars and archæologists well-versed in Persian subjects should be formed and a systematic and scientific excavation, we are sure, will be able to put before the public an ample store of valuable information regarding the greatness and glory of ancient Persia.

As regards the second and the more vital point, can we not take it as the most deplorable fact that the Parsis, with their usual lethargy, were absolutely unconcerned as regards the state of their brethren in Iran? Was it not due to our sheer criminal neglect, that the Zoroastrian population, once ten lakhs, has dwindled down to ten thousand? We would have been surely spared of this grim tragedy, as regards the question of the existence of our community in the onward tide of political progress, which is staring fully in our face in all its stern reality, if we had troubled our heads in the past regarding the state of our brethern in Iran. But it is never too late to mend and we do see hopeful signs of the time.

Lastly, names like Zal, Rustam, Kaikhosru, Ardeshir Babegan, Helmand and Hamun or Yezdegard, Kadesia and Nihavand conjure up memories, sweet and sad, for they remind us of an empire at once great and glorious—the Empire of the Iranians—the like of which the world has not yet seen.

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જાએ જમશેદ તા૦ ૨૪ મી ફેબ્રુઆરી ૧૯૩૧.

ઉપલું 'સીસ્તાન' નામનું પુસ્તક જે હાલ બાહેર પડયું છે તેના કરતા મી૦ માણેક ફરદુનજી મુલ્લાં, સર જમશેદજી જીજીભાઇ રકુલના મરહુમ જાણીતા લોકપ્રીય હેડ માસ્તર મી૦ ફરદુનજી કાવસજી મુલ્લાંના એક બેટા થાય છે અને સર દીનશાહ એફ. મુલ્લાં પી. સી., સી. આઇ. ઇ. ના એક નાના ભાઇ થાય છે. મરહુમ મી૦ ફરદુનજી મુલ્લાંના બેટાઓ ફારસી ભાષા માટે ભારે શોખ ધરાવે છે અને તેવોજ ખ્યાલ તેમને માદરવતન ઇરાન માટ છે. સર દીનશાહે પોતે આજ ઘણુંક વેર ઇરાન મધે આપણા ધાર્મીક સાહીત્યનો પ્રચાર કરવાને નાણાંની કીમતી મદદ કરી છે ત્યારે આ તેમના અતી ઉલટમંદ ભાઇ એક બીજી દીશામાં ઇરાની હમદીનોની સેવા બજાવવાને તત્પર છે. આ પુસ્તકના ઉમંગી કરતા મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાંને પોતાના માદરવતન ઇરાન તથા તેની આસપાસની જગ્યાઓમાં પોતાને ખરચે બબે વાર મુસાફરી કરી જાતે અનુભવ મેલવવા પછી બે વરસ ઉપર અસલ ઇરાનના એક ભાગ તરીકે તવારીખમાં પંકાયલાં સીસ્તાન મુલકની મુસાફરી કરી હતી જેનું આવકારદાયક પરીણામ હાલના તેના પુસ્તકમાં જોવામાં આવે છે. મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ ઇરાનમાં મુસાફરી કરવાને આપણી તરફના પારસીઓને ફાવે એવા હેતુથી અગાઉ ઇરાનનો ભોમ્યો ("A Guide to Persia") અને ફારસી ભાષાનો ભોમ્યો (A Guide to the Persian Language) નામની કેતાબો રચી કીમતી કોમ-સેવા બજાવી છે.

આ સીસ્તાન મુલક કદીમ ઇરાની જહાન-પહેલવાનો ઝાલ, રૂસ્તમ, ફરામરોઝ અને તેમના વંશજોની જન્મ ભુમીનો મુલક છે જેને નામાંકીત ફીરદોસીએ પોતાના અમર શાહનામાનો એક મોટો ભાગ રોકી જગ-આશકાર કીધા છે. ત્યાંજ પાછળથી શાહ ગુસ્તાસપના શાહજાદા અસપંદીયારે રૂસ્તમની સામે લડાઇ પણ કીધી હતી. વળી આ પુસ્તક મધે અવસ્તા અને ફારસી કેતાબોને આધારે રૂસ્તમ પહેલવાનની જન્મભુમીની કદીમ ઝમાનાની તવારીખ શાહનામાની દીલપઝીર ફારસી બેતો સાથે આપી મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ પોતાનું પુસ્તક રસીલું બનાવ્યું છે. અસલ સીસ્તાન (સગેસ્તાન) હાલના સીસ્તાન કરતાં બહુ મોટો વીસ્તાર ધરાવતું હતું અને ખોરાસાનના મુલકમાં આવ્યું હતું. અસલ કાબુલ પણ સીસ્તાનનું એક શહેર હતું.

દોઢસોથી વધુ પાનાના આ પુસ્તકને ૧૫ પ્રકરણોમાં વહેંચી નાખી સીસ્તાનની આગળી તવારીખ, તેના પાયતખ્ત નસીરાબાદ, પહેલવાન રૂસ્તમની યાદગારી જાળવતી જગાઓ, સીસ્તાનના આગળા પાયતખ્તો, ખંડીયરો, ત્યાંનું

પુરાતન આતશકદેહ, તેના ઉપર થયલા અફઘાનોના હુમલાઓનું બ્યાન કરવા સાથ કૈરમાનના બહાદુર જરથોસ્તી લડવૈયાઓ, તેમજ ઇરાનના અભણ અંજાણ ભાગોમાં કહેવાતી જરથોસ્તી વસ્તી, ત્યાંના નામીચા કયાની વંશને લગતો જાણવાજોગ હેવાલ વીગેરેનો સમાવેશ કરી એ તરફની મુસાફરી કેવી રીતે સગવડથી થઇ શકે તેની સમજ આપી, એ મુલક તરફ આપણા જરથોસ્તીઓને ઉતરી પડવાને કેટલીક કીમતી સુચના કરી છે. ટુંકમાં, સીસ્તાનની મુસાફરી માટે ભુગોળ અને તવારીખનો એક કીમતી ભેાખ્યો આ પુસ્તકમાં આપણને મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ પુરો પાડયો છે.

વળી ૧૯ અગત્યના ચીત્રો આપી અત્રે કરતાએ આ કીમતી પુસ્તકના ઉપયોગીપણામાં વધારો કીધો છે તે મધે સીસ્તાનનો નકશો, તેની પ્રખ્યાત નદી દેલમંદ, તેનો હામુન સરોવર, પ્રખ્યાત પરસીપોલીસના અસલ મહેલનું ચીત્ર, તેના અસ્તોદ્યાન ઉપરના ચીતારો, સીસ્તાનના ખંડીયરો, તે બાજુની ટોળીઓ વીગેરે અત્રે જોવામાં આવે છે.

ડા૦ સર જીવણજી મોદી જેમ હંમેશ ઉધરતા ગ્રંથકારોને ઉતેજન આપે છે તેમ તેવણે મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાંની આ કેતાબનો પણ એક કીમતી દીબાચો ઇંગ્રેજીમાં લખી તેમને સારી ઉલટ આપી છે.

મી૦ મુલ્લાં સીસ્તાનની તવારીખમાં કયાની ટોળા વીશે કાંઇ નવુંજ અજવાળું નાખે છે. શાહનામાના સંબંધમાં ખાસ કરીને યાકુબ લયસનું નામ જાણીતું છે, કારણકે તેણેજ પહેલવહેલો બારતાન-નામાનો ફારસીમાં તરજુમો કરાવ્યો હતો. મી૦ મુલ્લાં જણાવે છે કે આ યાકુબ લયસ કયાની ટોળાનો હતો અને તે માત્ર ૨૦૦ વરસ ઉપર ઇરાનના છેલ્લા શાહનશાહ યઝદગરદ શહેરયારથી ઉતરી આવેલો હતો. ઇરાનનું રાજ્ય આરબોને હાથ ગયા પછી શાહ યઝદગરદનો એક અતલગનો ખેશી નામે કયખોશરૂએ પોતાના કુટુંબ-કબીલા સાથે સીસ્તાન આવી ત્યાં રાજ્ય ચલાવ્યું હતું. આ શાહજાદાના વંશજો ત્યાર પછી તે હાલવેર કયાનીને નામે ઓળખાય છે. એ કયાની ટોળાએ ઇ. સ. ૧૮૦૬ વેર પુર સત્તાથી સીસ્તાન ઉપર રાજ્ય ચલાવ્યું હતું પણ ત્યાર પછી તેઓની સત્તા પારકા મુલકોમાંથી ત્યાં આવી વસેલા ટોળાઓના વડવાઓના હાથમાં વહેંચાઇ ગઇ. આ ટોળાએ પોતાનું પવીત્ર લોહી સાચવી રાખ્યું હતું અને હાલમાં પણ પોતાની તરેહવાર મુસીબતો હોવા છતાં તે કયાની ટોળાના જુજ બાકી રહેલાઓ એટલા તો કાળજીમંદ છે કે પોતાની વહાલી બેટીઓને ગમે એવા મોટા દરજ્જાવાળા બીજા કોઇ સાથ લગનમાં આપવા તેઓ સાફ ના પાડે છે, અને જો તેવો કોઇ સંજોગ ફરજ્યાત આવી

પડે છે, તો તેઓ ભારી નાસીપાસ થઈ જાય છે. મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ હાલમાં જુજ બાકી રહેલા આ ગરીબ કયાની ટોળાને મદદ કરવા પારસીઓને અપીલ કીધી છે.

આ અગાઉ આ રૂસ્તમ પહેલવાનના મુલકમાં મુસાફરી કરી બીજા કેટલાકો તેનો હેવાલ લખી ગયા છે, પણ અત્રે તો એક પારસી જરથોસ્તી જેણે ફારસી ભાષા લખી બોલી જાણે છે તેણે પોતે આ અસલ પારસી નામાંકીત પહેલવાનોના મુલકમાં વસી ત્યાંના લોકો વચ્ચે ફરી હરી વાતચીત કરી તેમનીજ ભાષામાં તેમને મહોડેથી સાંભળેલી દંતકથા સાંભળી ત્યાંની રાહરીતીથી જાતે વાકેફ થઇ આવી પોતાના અનુભવનો લાભ અત્રે બેઠેલા પોતાના ભાઇબંધોને આ ગ્રંથ મારફતે આપે છે. એવાં એક વહેવારૂ ઉપયોગી પુસ્તક કે જે ઝાલ અને રૂસ્તમના મુલકના બહોલાં, હાલના બચી રહેલા ભાગને લગતી અનેક હકીકતો આપે છે તેને ડા૦ સર જીવણજી મોદી જે વાજબી રીતે ઉમેદ બતાવે છે તેમ તેને ખરીદી ઘટતું ઉતેજન આપવું જોઇએ છે. જેઓ આજે માદરવતનની વાતો ખુબ રસથી કરે છે તેમની હાલ ફરજ છે કે આ તેની અસલી તવારીખ તથા હાલની હાલતનું બ્યાન કરનારી કેતાબને ખરીદી ઉતેજન આપે.

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કયસરે-હીંદ તા૦ ૧ લી ફેબરવારી, ૧૯૩૧.

આ પુસ્તકના કર્તા અત્યાર આગમચ પારસી કોમની અંદર જાણીતા થયા છે. એક જરથોસ્તી જો ચાહે તો તે પોતીકા માદર વતન ઇરાનની કેવી રીતે સેવા બજાવી શકે તેનો ઉમદા દાખલો મી૦ માણેક મુલ્લાંએ પુરો પાડયો છે. બેવાર ઇરાનની મુસાફરીઓ કરી, ત્યાંના ધર્મ, આચાર વીચારનો અભ્યાસ કરી, ઇરાની જરથોસ્તીઓને જે પોતાના ધર્મના જ્ઞાનનો લાહવો ચખાડવા મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ બહુજ જેહમત ખેચી છે. વળી તે ઉપરાંત અત્રેના જરથોસ્તીઓ પોતાનાં ઇરાની ભાઇબંધોનાં કાર્યોથી, ત્યાંની સ્થીતીથી વાકેફ થાય એટલા માટે પુસ્તકો પણ રચી અત્યાર આગમચ પ્રગટ કર્યાં છે, જેઓમાં અમારી તપાસ હેઠળનું આ પુસ્તક ખાસ આવકારદાયક અમો લેખ્યે છીયે.

કદીમ ઇરાની પહેલવાનો જેઓ ઇરાન સરજમીનની અંદર પોતાની નામનાનો ડંકો વગાડી ગયા, તેઓમાંનાં પહેલવાનો ઝાલ, ફરામરોઝ, રૂસ્તમ વીગેરેની જન્મભુમીનો મુલક આ સીરતાંન ગણાય છે. આ મુલકની અંદર આ પુસ્તકનાં કર્તા જાતે ફરી આવ્યા, અનેક હાડમારીઓ ભોગવી, અને જે

જગ્યાએ આપણા પહેલવાનો નામના ઉઠાવી ગયા તેનું જાતે અવલોકન કરી, અને પોતાના તે જાતી અવલોકનનાં આધારે, ઇરાન સરજમીનની તવારીખ, શાએરાન શાએર ફીરદોસી તુસીની જગઆશકરા બેતો સાથે આ પુસ્તકમાં આપણને સમજાવી છે.

કર્તાએ આ પુસ્તકને લગભગ ૬૫ પ્રકરણોમાં વહેંચી નાખ્યું છે, અને આશરે દોઢસો પાનાના આ પુસ્તકની અંદર સીસ્તાંનની આગલા તવારીખ, અને તે દેશમાં કર્તાએ કરેલી મુસાફરી, અને વેઠેલી હાડમારીઓનું રસીલું બ્યાન કર્યું છેઃ સીસ્તાંનનાં આગલાં પાયતખ્તો, કુહેબાજાંનો પવીત્ર ડુંગર, જેહાં પહેલવાન રૂસ્તમ, સોહરાબ વીગેરેનાં રસીલાં બ્યાનો કરી, હખામની, અશ્કાની, તથા સાસાની ઝમાનામાં સીસ્તાંનની સ્થીતી સમજાવી છે; અને છેવટનાં પ્રકરણમાં સીસ્તાંનનાં નામીચા કયાની વંશની આખેરી કેમ આવી, અને તે વંશ તરફની આપણી ફરજો કેવી છે તેનું વીગતવારે વર્ણન કર્યું છે. વધુમાં આ પુસ્તકની અંદર સીસ્તાંનનો નકશો, તેમજ લગભગ બાજાં વીસ ચીત્રો આપી આ પુસ્તકની અગત્યતામાં કર્તાએ વધારો કર્યો છેં; જેમાં શાએરાન શાએર ફીરદોસી તુસી, પરસી પોલીસનાં બંડબરો વીગેરેનાં ચીત્રો આપણું બાસ ધ્યાન બેચે છે.

આ કીતાબ પ્રગટ કરી મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ પારસી કોમની બહુ મોટી સેવા બજાવી છે, બાસ કરીને કયાંની ટોળા ઉપર મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ નવું અજવાળું ફેંકયું છે, જે માટે અમો તેમને બાસ ધન્યવાદ આપ્યે છીયે. મી૦ મુલ્લાંનું ફારસી ભાષાનું જ્ઞાન, જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ તરફ અને ઇરાન વતન તરફનો તેમનો ચાહ તેમને આ કાર્યમાં ગોથા રગડોળી નાંખે છે, જે આ પુસ્તક ઉપરથી સાફ માલમ પડી આવે છે. મી૦ મુલ્લાં આ પુસ્તકમાં જણાવે છે તેમ ઇરાનનાં છેલ્લા પાદશાહ યઝદેગર્દ શેહેયારની હાર પછી, અને ઇરાનનું રાજ્ય આરબોને હાથ ગયા પછી શાહ યઝદેગર્દનો એક બેશી કયબોશરૂ પોતાના કુટુંબ સાથે સીસ્તાંન ગયો હતો, અને ત્યાં રાજગાદી ભોગવી હતી, અને તે શાહજાદા વંશજો કયાનીને નામે ઓળખાવા લાગ્યા હતા. જેઓએ છેક ઇ. સ. ૧૮૦૬ ના સાલ સુધી રાજગાદી ભોગવી હતી, જે બાદ તેઓની સત્તા પારકા હાથમાં ગઇ હતી. આ ટોળાએ પોતાનું લોહી હજીબી સાચવી રાખ્યું છે અને જેઓ હજી ત્યાં થોડીક સંખ્યામાં રહ્યા છે તેઓને મદદ કરવા મી૦ મુલ્લાં પારસી કોમને અરજ કરે છે.

આ પુસ્તકનો દીબાચો ડો૦ સર જીવણજી જમશેદજી મોદીએ લખી આ પુસ્તકની બહુ તારીફ કરી છે.

પારસી કોમ આજે માદર વતનના બહુ મોટા પોકારો કરે છે, અને તેની વાતો બહુ ઉલટ અને ઉમગથી સાંભળે છે. તો અમારી આશા છે કે અસલી તવારીખ સમજાવતાં આ રસીલાં પુસ્તકને ઘટતું ઉત્તેજન મળશે, જેથી મી૦ મુલ્લાં જેવા એક શોખીન મુસાફરનાં કાર્યની પ્રસંશા કરેલી લેખાશે. દરેક ઘરમાં આવાં પુસ્તકો ઉલટથી વંચાવાં જોઇએ છે.

———— :o: ————

"ધી યંગ ઝૉરૅાએસ્ત્રીઅન" કરાંચી, એપ્રોલ ૧૯૩૨.

ફારસી ભાષા ઉપર સારો કાબુ ધરાવનાર અને ઇરાન દેશની બે ત્રણ વાર મુલાકાત લેનાર આપણા આ ઉમંગી જરથોસ્તી અભ્યાસી મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ પોતાનુ આ નવું પુસ્તક "સીસ્તાન" પ્રગટ કરી કોમની સેવા બજાવેલી કહેવાય. એમણે અત્યાર આગમજ બીજી બે કેતાબો "ઇરાન ભૂમિનો ભોમ્યો" અને "A Guide to the Persian language" ખાસ કરીને પારસી વિદ્યાર્થી વર્ગને ઘણી ઉપ્યોગી થઇ પડે તેવા ઇરાદાથી પ્રગટ કરી છે. અને આશા છે જે કોમ તરફથી મી૦ મુલ્લાંને જરૂરજ ઉત્તેજન મળશે.

આ પુસ્તકમાં ડો૦ સર જીવનજી મોદીએ એક અચ્છો પ્રસ્તાવના લખી એના ઉપ્યોગીપણામાં ઉમેરો કર્યો છે. હાલના અફગાનીસ્તાન અને આપણાં અસલી સીસ્તાનને ઘણો અતલગનો સંબંધ છે. આપણા અસલી ઇરાની વીરો, રૂસ્તમ વગેરેના, જીવન ચરિત્ર સાથે એ દેશને કેટલું લાગતુંવળગતું છે. કેઆની, હખામની, અશ્કાની અને સાસાની ઝમાનામાં એની શું હાલત હતી, સીસ્તાનનાં આગલાં પાયતખ્તો, ખંડીઓરો, વગેરેનું રસીલું બ્યાન આ કેતાબમાં આપવામાં આવ્યું છે. અસલી ફારસી ભાષાની ઢબછબ મી૦ મુલ્લાંના ગુજરાતી લખાણમાં જોઇ આપણને જ્ઞાન સાથે મોજ મળે તેમ છે. આસરે દોઢ દઝન સારાં ચિત્રો અને એક સારો સીસ્તાનનો નકશો પણ આપવામાં મી૦ મુલ્લાંએ સારૂં ડહાપણ વાપર્યું છે.

પારસી સાહિત્યની કેતાબી વિષે "The Young Zoroastrian" ચોપાન્યાએ પારસી કોમનું ધ્યાન ખેંચ્યું છે અને જ્યારે આવાં સારાં પુસ્તકો ખાનગીમાં પ્રગટ કરાવાની મી૦ મુલ્લાં જેવા અભ્યાસીઓ હિંમત કરે છે ત્યારે તેઓને તેનાં પ્રમાણમાં દરેક પારસી ખાતાં તરફથી તેમજ પારસી માબાપો યા વાલીઓ તરફથી ઉત્તેજન મળવુંજ જોઇએ.

THE FUTURE OF ZOROASTRIANISM

پیرمغان حکایت معقول می کند

"The Magian Sage propounds doctrines that are eminently reasonable"

(Hafiz)

SIR J. C. COYAJEE.

THE FUTURE OF ZOROASTRIANISM

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JEEJEEBHOY TRANSLATION FUND.

پیرمغان حکایت معقول می کند

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THE FUTURE OF ZOROASTRIANISM.

The inquiry that we are going to prosecute is whether the system of religion as envisaged by Zarathushtra has within it the potentialities required for guiding the spiritual destiny of nations in our own as well as in succeeding ages, and whether it can give the proper breadth and depth to the conception of religious life. At a time when the hold of even the more successful religions, which have been unquestioningly followed for centuries, is being shaken, when systems of theology and philosophy are crashing around us, can the system taught by the Prophet of Iran be brought forward to save the situation? Does that system possess the spiritual vitality required to check this spiritual rot—this general de-spiritualisation of the world? Can Zoroastrianism supply a more acceptable conception of things Divine and a truly acceptable code of spiritual and moral values? Above all—and this is the question of questions—can it stand the rationalistic criticism which is successfully assailing other faiths from so many directions?

A study of the past achievements of the religious genius of Iran might strengthen in considerable measure our confidence regarding its future potentialities. That Iranian genius gave to the world a system of which the characteristics are "reforming, prophetic and redemptive" (Ladd, *Philosophy of Religion*, L 198). The same authority on religious history observes of the sage of Iran "as a seeker for light, and a teacher of

truth, he deserves to rank beside Buddha, Confucius and Socrates." It was only "geographical and ethnological conditions which prevented the spread of the religion of Zarathushtra"—conditions which have long since passed away. But the religious genius of Iran was far from having been exhausted by the construction of Zoroastrianism. It overflowed into other lands mainly in the way of at least two great syncretisms which could justly claim the title of world-religions. Though these were inferior to the system of Zarathushtra himself they possessed excellent religious features and characteristics. In any case they satisfied the spiritual needs and longings of ages not unlike ours, when pagan faiths were exhausted. Philosophy was at a low ebb, and even the mighty religion that Christ had preached seemed to be losing itself in a network of multitudinous heresies. One great Iranian religious syncretism was Mithraism which for a long time disputed with Christianity the homage of Europe, and which could challenge comparison with any other religion as regards the aspects of ethical ideals, and hopes of a glorious immortality. The other Iranian religion—Manichæism—developed the ethical dualism of Zarathushtra into a vast cosmogony going back far into the past. It borrowed—but it also exaggerated and distorted—the conception of dualism from the Zarathushtrian system. For a great deal of its angelology, too, it is indebted to the older Iranian religion.

The Idea and Scope of Religion.

We now come to examine the various lines of criticism which have been advanced against religion in our days.

One important criticism, which must be considered at the start, relates to the scope and proper ends of Religion. A great danger in this direction is that of a narrow and egoistic individualism content too easily with personal salvation. Another line of criticism is directed against the practice of emphasising dogma rather than good life. There is a great deal of truth in both these lines of criticism. As Fichte has put it, "the self-seeking religion is superstition, profanation and irreligion." In the same spirit Dr. Paterson has argued, in his Gifford Lectures of 1924-25, that "the quest of salvation has often been on precisely the same level of ethical dignity as the measures taken by men in the mundane sphere to protect and advance their interests" (p. 223). Then, again, we have to consider the rival claims and controversies of redemption by faith, by works, by knowledge and by ecstatic union with the Divinity. In the midst of these rival theories, with alternating dangers of exaggeration, Zarathushtra has given us an excellent guide and unfailing test in the idea of a great cosmogonic struggle between Good and Evil, in view of which the duty of man is to co-operate with God in the extinction of Evil. Divinity, as has been well expressed "needs the help of men to make the world advance, and to ensure His final victory. The duty of man, and the content of religion, is that we should exercise all our faculties—and not any one of them—for the advancement of all His beneficent purposes. The Iranian sage emphasised all the values with which Religion is concerned—physical, social, emotional and spiritual. Evil is to be pressed back all along the line and not in a few particular

directions. The creation is to reach its great goal of Renovation (Ys. 43[5]; Ys. 34[15]) or *Fraš ō Kereti* and we have all to hasten the great event. The idea of religious duty is accordingly very wide indeed.

A fine commentary is furnished by the Din Yasht on the true scope of religion. Then the truly religious man is contemplated as paying regard not only to his own salvation and moral conduct, but to the spread of peace and general welfare throughout the world and to the development of his own mental and physical powers. In a word the truly religious person has to perform his duties not only towards God but towards his own self as well as towards the community and the world. Tho most exacting critic of our day ought to be satisfied with such a comprehensive notion at once of duty and of religion.

The Idea of God.

Here again the modern spirit is busy with the criticism of the notion of God implicit in many religions. It will not be satisfied with an exaggerated anthropomorphic and personal conception of God, on the one hand, nor with a view which reduces Him to a mere abstraction or impersonal process as the Absolute. It is certainly true, as Dr. Ladd and others have argued that conceptions of the Divine Being must be anthropomorphic to a certain extent, and that "all science is itself but a process of anthropomorphizing." And yet the anthropomorphic element had best be reduced to a minimum; and as man advances he is sure to demand a truer notion of "the real Being of the World" having a suitable place in "the scheme of

Reality." We must have proper regard to the "development of the conception of personality or self-hood." There is another danger which religions have to run in trying to furnish an adequate conception of the Divine Being—that of continuing to preach a rigid and "monarchical" Monotheism, on the one hand, or a reckless Pluralism on the other. The conception of Zarathushtra which regards the Divine Being as creative wisdom "wholly spiritual and surrounded by spirits" escapes the dangers of these antithetic lines of criticism (Moulton, "Early Zoroastrianism" pp 290–292). The idea of co-operation between God and the human race also contributes to strengthen this balanced position. As the same commentator on Early Zoroastrianism observes "the Ahuras are not really separate from Mazdah or subordinate to him; they seem to be essentially part of his own being, attributes of the Divine endowed with a vague measure of separate extistence" (*ib.* 97). From the Zoroastrian point of view the co-operation of all these powers is necessary for the inauguration of the Kingdom of God. Bishop Gore has summarised the balanced and eminently rational conception of God in the Gathas by observing that He is at once an "utterly transcendent being" and yet is "imminent in mankind." He is in conflict now with a kingdom of evil, and yet He is ultimately omnipotent" (Gore, *The Philosophy of Good Life*, pp 42–44).

On the subject of Creation, too, religion often tends to be too dogmatic, stereotyped and positive ignoring the fact that science is particularly sensitive on this

side. There is warrant in the Gathas for the idea of continuous creation. Then again it is very significant that the idea of Asha represents not only "Mazdah's action, creation and law" but " the 'Thought' that inspires it" (Moulton *Op Cit.* p.111). As the likeliest representative of the Logos we have in the Gathas Asha, thus showing the significance of the idea of law not only in moral or spiritual world but in the sphere of creation. This emphasis on the nature and action of law and of the development of the world according to law would appeal particularly to the scientific mind and is much preferable to the traditional theological ideas about creation. If, on the other hand, we envisage the "Thought" aspect of Asha as the Logos then we approach the philosophical idea of the world evolving like the process of thought in the Divine Mind. For the world will be unanimously accepting the idea of Creative Reason as guiding force in the evolution of the world—an idea which lay behind the conception of Vohu Manah and Asha—"Good Mind" and "Law or Cosmic Order." An eminent philosopher and divine like Dr. Ladd assures us that in our days "the doctrine of the ancient religious cosmogonies, which regarded the Deity as an artificer or worker-over of ready-made material is no longer tenable... The world is a ceaseless Becoming and a continuous process of change in time... The world is not a mere Becoming; it is an evolution" (Ladd, *Op. cit.* Vol. II pp 330–331).

Next, as to angelology, much current theology has been justly criticised as representing angels either as mere occasional messengers or as almost independent

deities. It is from the Gathas that we obtain the rational scheme of angelology based on the scientific idea of *function*. Each of the archangels has functions to discharge alike on the spiritual, moral and physical plane. The notion at the same time emphasises the unity and parallelism of the spiritual moral and physical aspects of the universe. At the same time the Amesha Spentas which represent the Divine attributes are reminiscent of the ideas and patterns on which, as Plato has taught, we have to frame our character. Without such main ideas and patterns of virtue we would possess only "a swarm of virtues" without knowing what is the essence of virtue itself. (cf. Robin, *Greek Thought*, pp 185–192). He who would understand thoroughly the notions of "the Idea of the Good," of the "Logoi" and the "Demiurge" in Greek Philosophy should carefully study the Gathas. It is not then a matter of surprise that distinguished scholars have pronounced the Amesha Spentas to be "the most distinctive creation of Zarathushtra's thought" even though they might have been "too esoteric to be popular till adopted by the Magi."

Eschatology.

Coming to the field of Eschatology, the critics of religious doctrines have been able to point to the inconsistency and incongruity of the elements—spiritual, ethical and material—and in general to an imperfect spiritualisation of the treatment and a repitition of ancient myths. On this subject it is easy to point out that Zarathushtra led the way in a spiritual and rational conception of Heaven and Hell designating

the former as "the House or Kingdom of Good Thought" (Ys 30. 10 and 33. 5 and 53. 4). To Dr. Moulton "it seems fair to claim that Zarathushtra anticipated Marlowe and Milton in the great doctrine that

> The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

There are many kinds of heaven—as imagined by man—but among them Zarathushtra has envisaged the Philosopher's heaven where the delights consist in the contemplation of lofty thoughts and noble ideas. There is surely no better description of the way to Heaven in all religious literature than "the road of Good Thought built by Right, on which the Selves of the Future Deliverers shall go to their reward." Another merit of the Zarathushtrian scheme of Eschatology is the thoroughness with which the early Indo-Iranian legends about "the last things" were ethicised and brought "under the hall-mark of Zarathushtra's own thought." I should hold rather emphatically that the Judgment is Zarathushtra's own addition to the eschatological picture" (Moulton *op. cit.* p 170). Throughout, the ancient "imagery is only meant to impress ideas that are wholly of the mind". It must also be the great merits of the Zoroastrian system of Eschatology which have caused its features to be so widely adapted by other faiths. It was the poetic imagery, which was adopted and imitated for a long time—what Frederick Harrison has called "the gorgeous but somewhat material fancies of the poet of the Apocalypse" (F. Harrison, *Positive Evolution of Religion*, p. 26). It was only a century ago that Zarathushtra's task of

spiritualising both Heaven and Hell was taken up by the leading religion of the day which receives the homage of the most advanced and civilised portions of the world. Thus after about three thousand years the concepts of Heaven and Hell as envisaged by Zarathushtra are being generally adopted. To use the language of Frederick Harrison, at last Heaven has been idealised and it has become "the Heaven of a good conscience, joy over the triumph of good, of spiritual fellowship with noble souls."

Religion and Science.

The special claims of the Zorcastrian system are most obvious in its relations to science; for it is generally known that the relations of science to religion form, for the most part, a record of hostility. There are several special features of the religion of Zarathushtra which have appealed particularly to the scientist as such. We might proceed to note the reasons of this feeling of sympathy between the Zoroastrian system and the scientific mind. For one thing, Zarathushtra has given us as the central idea of his system, a great conflict on the ethical and spiritual plane, a gradual evolution and the ultimate survival of the fittest. This idea is supplemented by his notion of the parallelism between spiritual, ethical and physical phenomena—a parallelism particularly prominent in the description of those main Divine attributes—the Amesha Spentas. These ideas of the spiritual and ethical struggle for existence and survival of the fittest as well as their parallels on the physical plane, are very congenial to the scientific mind. For the scientist,

too, has learned to see a similar struggle in Nature. This attitude of the scientist has been described for us by F. Harrison: "If there be a God of creation, there is another God of destruction. The universe seems to be an infinite war of infinite angelic or divine and demoniac or satanic forces. A kind of Dualism..... seems the more logical issue of contemplating the world" (*Op. cit.* pp. 219–220).

Besides this central idea of moral and physical dualism, Zoroastrianism makes another appeal to the scientific mind in its all-pervasive idea of the rule of Law (Asha). The notion of the parallelism of moral and physical order and improvement is also there. In the Yashtas and elsewhere the blessings of spiritual and physical health are closely connected. In particular the law or principle of Polarity is made all-pervasive on the spiritual, moral or physical plane. As Samuel Laing has put it, the dogmas of Zoroastrianism "are comprised in the statement that there is one supreme unknown, First Cause, who manifests himself in the universe under fixed laws which involve the principle of polarity. This is hardly so much a dogma as a statement of fact, or, of the ultimate and absolute truth at which it is possible for human faculty to arrive. No progress of science or philosophy conflicts with it, but rather they confirm it by showing more and more clearly with every discovery that this is in very fact and deed the literal truth" (Laing, *A Modern Zoroastrian*, p. 204). The application of this all-pervading principle in religion, ethics and physical science is obvious, as also in the realm of Art. In fact

the law of Polarity "develops the ever-increasing complexities and contrasts of the inorganic and organic worlds, of moralities, philosophies, religions and human societies" (*ib.* p. 208). A votary of Science like Frances Power Cobbe may well rejoice in the spirit of Zoroastrian prayer: "Not amiss, I think, was their ritual devised to make the first thought of each opening day one of moral encouragement, and of hope assured in the final victory of Light over Darkness, Virtue over Vice, and Joy over Sorrow and Pain." (*Hopes of the Human Race*, p. 143). The psychological secret of Coué and the Nancy School was well known to Zarathushtra and to the Magi many centuries ago.

Let us consider further the expectations of the scientific mind from religion, and how far Zoroastrianism fulfils them. As Dr. Andrew D. White, President of Cornell University, has stated, Science expects from religion "a revelation not of the fall of Man but of the Ascent of Man—an exposition not of temporary dogmas but of the Eternal Law of Righteousness—the one upward path for individuals and nations" (White *History of Warfare between Science and Theology*, Vol. II, p. 395). Then, again, Science expects that man with his fore spiritual life will share with the Creator responsibility for progress (*cf.* Newman Smith, *Through Science to Faith*, p. 200). In these expectations the scientist is not disappointed when he comes to study the system of Zarathushtra. There he will find realised the idea of the ascent of man. There is no doubt as to the capacity and destiny of the human race for regeneration, since Ahura assures us of this

fact through His dominion (Ys, 34. 15) and His wisdom has ordained that creation must reach its goal (the *Frashokerati*, Ys. 43[5]). No effort of "the false teacher" will ever avail to destroy progress (Ys 45. 1); for even among the nomadic races which are hostile to human progress "the Right ariseth" (Ys. 46. 12). As regards the higher status of man which science expects as the co-operator with God in the work of Progress, there, too, we have satisfactory dicta in the Gathas. For it is man who fulfills the best work of the most holy spirit by leading the Good Life (Ys 47. 2). This task of co-operation with God is open to anyone—low or high —"whether one is lord of little or of much" (Ys. 47. 4) By piety or practice of good life it is possible for man "to benefit the Right" (Ys. 51. 21). Thus the dignity of man and his progress in this world are assured in the Gathas.

Religious Symbolism.

The magnificent symbolism of the faith of Zarathushtra is a feature which has impressed and will continue to impress most favourably every student of that system. Thus fire, light and the sun were regarded as emblems of Ahura Mazda though not as deities by themselves. This chastened and purified symbolism of the Aryan race as found in our faith has made a great appeal to humanity in every age, from the time of Heredotus to our own times, in which *post-war Europe is again discovering the virtues of fire as a symbol of life and sanctity.* Thus Prof. George Rawlinson (Five Great Monarchies vol. III, p. 134) justifies the honour paid by the Iranians to fire

"as the most subtle and ethereal principle and again as the most powerful agent." Dean Prideaux (*Connection of the Old and New Testament*, vol. I, p. 253) asserts that "Light was the truest symbol of the Good God; and therefore they (the Parsees) always worshipped Him before Fire, as being the cause of Light, and especially before the Sun, as being in their opinion the perfectest Fire and causing the perfectest Light." A learned Roman Catholic Archbishop waxed eloquent on the same topic: "I am unable to express in words the deep and vehement feelings which move my heart, when I kneel in the sanctuary of my Chapel and think of the Parsee Fire Temple a few yards off, in which a fire is ever burning like the flame in our Sanctuary Lamp." (*cf. Zoroaster and Christ*, by the Most Reverend Dr. Leo Meurin, S. J.)

It may be that "it is a dry, austere, abstract teaching that we find in the Gathas. There is little of the fascinating metaphor and splendid rhetoric which we find in the Hebrew prophets, no story-telling, no ritual to attract and to attach the people" (Gore, *op cit.* p. 51). But that glorious symbolism which we can trace in the Gathas and which is developed in the Yashtas, as well as the stores of poetry in which the Yashtas abound, can surely be relied upon to satisfy the poetic demands of the most exacting human mind for religious imagery. They certainly satisfied the cravings of one of the most poetically minded and romantic races of the world for untold ages. That symbolism which is based at once on poetic contemplation of Nature, and a loving meditation on

Nature's laws as manifested by science, can best appeal to the spirit of the modern age with its scientific leanings. Worthily and well has Hegel summed up Zoroastrian symbolism in his *Philosophy of History*: "Light is the body of Ormazd; thence the worship of fire, because Ormazd is present in all Light; but he is not the Sun or Moon itself. In these the Persians venerate only the Light which is Ormazd."

Let me now sum up our argument. We have indicated the main lines of criticism that have been advanced by the representatives of modern thought against religion and we have seen that the religious system of Zarathushtra has been so constructed that the criticism cannot prevail against it. In particular we have seen that the system gives its due to the claims of science, satisfies the expectations of the scientists from religion and was the first to recognise the prevalance of the idea of law in the spiritual, ethical and physical world. In all these ways it meets the demands of modern thought and therefore its future is assured. After Zoroastrianism suffered twelve centuries of undeserved eclipse the world's leading experts in religion, ethics and psychology are once more proclaiming its merits; while further and deeper investigations into religious history and psychology might be expected to lead to a wider recognition of its excellence. Our sincere thanks as Zoroastrians are due to the workers in these fields who have done so much for our ancient religion. Perhaps however our special gratitude is due to eminent christian devines like Bishops Gore, Casartelli and Meurin, Dr. Moulton and

Prof. Ladd who have so generously recognised the distinguished merits of the Prophet of Iran. Obviously those who are accustomed to breathe the pure air on the mount—where the famous sermon was preached—are best qualified to appreciate the spiritual and moral atmosphere of the Gathas.

The world of philosophy and religion is coming back gradually to the main and characteristic teachings of Zarathushtra. The labels are not the same but there can be no mistaking the problems facing us and the lines of possible approach and solution. That Dualism which, as the practical genius of Iran saw was at the heart of the problem of ethics, and which Zarathushtra by a mighty effort reconciled with Monotheism has been emphasised in our times by several great thinkers. The problem of the cosmogonic struggle and of the imperfections in Nature was so deeply felt by J. S. Mill that the only possible way in which, in his judgment the belief in God can be reconciled with our exprience of the actual world is by assuming that the Deity is good but not all powerful. (Hoffding, *op. cit.* II p. 429) William James in his "Will to believe" (p. 61) has emphasised the reality of this idea of this life being a real moral struggle and has offered as a solution the idea of "melioristic theism". Emerson thought it also necessary to emphasise that "an inevitable dualism bests nature." Even a great Christain divine like Dean Rashdall supports the idea "that the existence of evil in any form is a proof that God cannot be supposed to be both perfectly good and

omnipotent". His contention is that this world is the scene of "a real warfare with a real evil"—"One in which the victory cannot be won without our help, a real struggle in which we are called upon to be literally fellow-workers with God". The Third lecture of Dean Rashdall's "*Philosopy and Religion*" is in fact an excellent commentary on Yasna 30 and on the notion of *frādat-gaēthā*. Those who are inclined to object to the very minimum of philosophical Dualism which is to be found in the Gathas might be invited to consider not only Dean Rashdall's views on Dualism in his *Theory of Good and Evil* Vol. II p. 341, but also to the theory of Pluralism developed in our days by a great philosopher like Dr. McTaggart. His idea of God is that of an Absolute "who is not a spiritual Being but a Society"—a Society in which "consciousness exits only in the separate selves, not in the whole". There are also Pluralistic theories of pre-existent souls or spirits with a personal God. In a word, the whole approach to the problems of Ethics and Religion is at present on the lines of Zarathushtra (cf. Yasna 30); and the solution is most likely to be on his line. The idea of the co-operation of God and Man was laid down as the leading idea of Religion in remote antiquity by Zarathushtra (Ys. 51, 21; 47, 2) and in our days by J S. Mill and many other great philosophers. For the characteristic of the religion of the future will be "the inspiring feeling of being a fellow-worker with God" (Hofiding, *op cit.* II 4-30). Finally, on the ground of that great law of polarity which prevails at once in the spiritual, moral and physical spheres, and which Zoroastrianism has treated fully,

the claims of Religion and Service can be harmonized. The student ot the Religious Philosophy of the day can say in all sincerity "Oh Zarathustra, thou art mighty yet; thy spirit walks abroad".

The Heritage of the Zoroastrian.

Such being the characteristic features, the historic past, and the probable future of the Zoroastrian religion what a great responsibility is entailed on those who happen to be in its fold at present! Most fortunately for us, a great part of the task of expounding our faith has been taken over by the savants of the West. Our ancestors too have carried out their part of the task by so living their lives and guiding their conduct as to justify the claim that they verily belonged to a "religion worthy of world-wide admiration and one of which the purity is immaculate". Thus the voice of history and tradition and the expectations of the world alike call on us to be worthy representatives of the religion of Zoroaster in our own generation.

Our duties on the religions side of the matter are manifold. We have to trace the earlier form and to seize the spirit of the doctrine of the mighty teacher of Iran, to carry out his subtle and ethereal principles. Amidst the changing philosophies and fashions of the world we have to demonstrate the intrinsic worthiness of the Zoroastrian faith. We have to convince the world that the faith can be so preached and interpreted as to furnish remedies and tonics for the ailments of present-day civilization. But to do all this we have not only to carry on scholarly research and theological exposition but *to live* the pure religious life required

by our faith and to be the true disciples of Zarathusthtra, imitating him and incorporating his teaching in our lives and actions. We, who venerate fire as the emblem of Ahura Mazdah the Holy Spirit (and is not Europe learning the merit of fire as the symbol of immortality in our own days?), should have the fire of spirituality in our hearts. Again the purest religion requires the help of some ceremony—of some symbolism. The Sudra and the Kushti are the venerable symbols, not only prescribed by the authotity of religious texts, but sanctified by the usage of hoary antiquity. Historically its vogue can be traced back to the age of Vendidad; and, as it is mentioned in that ancient work as the main symbol and outward mark of the Zoroastrian faith, its use must have preceded that age by centuries.

On the moral side, we have to observe that purity which is required of us by our faith, both in its legal and even more in its moral aspects. As we have seen, the Ethics of Zoroastrianism is most comprehensive in its character being "co-extensive with the whole sphere of human activity". Even when in old Iran the Zoroastrian was under the frown of power, his moral rectitude and honesty and industry were borne witness to by his bitterest opponents. "By their fruits ye shall know them". So it is for us to keep true to the old faith which while, it shows lofty sperculative aspects on the one hand, was extremely practical on the other. We have indeed to imitate the general benevolence and catholic charity which has kept the Parsi name to the fore, in spite of the almost negligible size of the community. But the ways and means of that charity

have to be found in hard work, steady industry and thrift. Let us be worthy of our ancestors in these respects as well as in their industrial enterprise which made them the pioneers of Indian industry, commerce and education. Let us serve the country, in which we are, by holding aloft the banner not only of social purity and public spirit but industrial progress and hard work. For were not the very Saoshyants spoken of in our faith, men equally pious and industrious? Does not the Zamyad Yasht (verse 72) characterise the eminent princes of the Kayani line as eminently skilful and *industrious* workers? Zoroastrianism is no religion for the idle, the reckless or the profligate. It is a severe task-master in assigning duties and exacting discipline. We want a reversion to the older type of Parsi character which was framed on the teaching of our religion—a teaching on which our ancestors kept an unrelaxing grip. Whatever might be the new problems before us—and in a dynamic world like ours, such new problems are bound to arise around us—let us go back for inspiration to the texts, and still better, to the spirit of our religion. Thus, after having given India a lead in the matter of the pioneering of industries and commerce, of the professions and political life, we feel today called upon to act as the guides of India in improving her agriculture. It would be strange indeed if the Parsis did not reckon that achievement amongst their own. For all our ideals—and those the earliest—point that way. Thus in the Vendidad we read: "What is the food that fills the Religion of Mazda?", and the answer of Ahura Mazda is: "It is sowing corn again and again. He

who sows corn sows righteousness: he makes the Religion of Mazda walk, he suckles the religion of Mazda". That is the spirit in which we should take up the tasks of Indian agriculture, and let us add to that spirit the newest technical equipment and organization.

There is another task which awaits the true Parsi —that of bringing about peace in this country which is torn by the bitterness of Communalism. Our position, our environment, our traditions call on us to undertake this great task. There, again, our religious spirit should inspire us and nerve us for our task. In the Din Yasht and elsewhere the duty of seeking and promoting peace in our surroundings has been laid on us.

It is by performing such deeds that we shall approve ourselves "true Parsis and sons of Parsis" (to use an expression of Darius the Great) and we shall thus continue our task of repaying our debt to India over and over again. Nay, we shall spare some of our energies for also serving that ancient land of our ancestors which now calls on us from afar, that land of which the chief historical achievements, the chief title-deed to gratitude of the world is that it produced Zarathushtra and his noble religion.

I can not conclude better than by quoting some sentences from Darmesteter: "The poorest, the meanest Zoroastrian in the world knows that he is a born soldier of Saoshyant, and that Ormazd will

conquer through him. No creed could give greater dignity to life, imbue him deeper with a sense that 'life is earnest' and worth living. He who is sure that he will win if he tries, will win, and that is why, after so many storms and through so many catastrophes, you are here, ahead of India, ahead in the race of progress, with the face, as of yore, still turned to the light..... It is a great title of nobility to you to be the heirs and representatives of the religion that first, in the Aryan world, promulgated the victory of God and gave a meaning and an object to human life."

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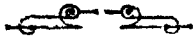

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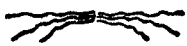

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COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHIES.

I

Heaven and Hell and Their Location—in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas.

The comparative study of religions and philosophies is necessary for the correct understanding of a religion, especially so in the case of a very old religion like the Zoroastrian, and one which has supplied subsequent religions with some of its own fundamental ideas. In an article in Dr. Sir J. J. Modi Commemorative Volume, published in 1930, entitled "The Spenta Mainyu in the Gathas, the source of Fravashis in the Avesta and of the Logos in Christianity", the usefulness of comparative studies has been amply illustrated. As another example of a similar nature I may mention my attempt to trace "The Gathic Doctrine of Dualism in Aristotle" from the Metaphysics of Aristotle, Ch. VI, Book VI, and published in the "Indo-Iranian Studies" brought out in 1925 in honour of the late Dastur Darab P. Sanjana. The Dialogues of Plato again give abundant evidence for comparison with certain doctrines of Zoroastrianism. For instance, in the Phaedo, we come across ideas about heaven and hell, which vividly remind us of similar ideas in the Zoroastrian literature. In fact, so vivid is the comparison, that Jowett in his Introduction to the Phaedo states that Plato describes the soul and her attendant genius in the language of the mysteries or of a disciple of Zoroaster.

My object in the present paper is to institute a com-

parison on the ideas of heaven and hell in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas.

I must at once state that for the references to the Vedas in this paper I am wholly indebted to that masterly work, "The Arctic Home in the Vedas", by the late eminent and learned scholar, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. It was of course not the intention of that scholar in that work to start comparisons on the subject of heaven and hell. His object was to locate the original home of the Aryans somewhere in the Arctic regions near the North Pole.

Ideas About Heaven and Hell—in the Zoroastrian Gathas.

Ideas on abstract and metaphysical subjects, such as life after death; the state in which and the place where the souls of the dead remain after death; the question whether there is progress for the soul in the other state or states of existence, or whether it remains for ever in the same state of bliss or misery, as the result of its actions while on this earth; such and similar ideas depend, mostly, upon and are reflected by the state of civilization at a particular period of human evolution.

The Zoroastrian Gathas speak more of the present than of what happens to men after death. Zarathushtra lays down rules for the conduct of men, explains what men should do for the furtherance and renovation of life, and bring about the Farshogard, the Frashem Kerenaun Ahum, both in their individual and joint capacity, thus making life or existence (ahum) more and more fresh (frashem) every moment of their conscious lives. The existing Gathas do not speak at any length, do not enter into any theological discussions about the life hereafter, but simply lay down the eternal truth, that

as men sow, so shall they reap, saying Akem Akai Vanghuhim Ashim Vanghaove, that is, evil retribution to the evil, and good retribution to the holy (Yasna 43, 5). As if in explanation of the above the prophet declares, for instance in Yasna 30, 11, for all men to hear, the following fundamental truth:—"When these doctrines ye learn, which *Ahura gave*, O ye mortals, for our welfare and in grace, when *long* is the wound for the wicked and blessings the lot of the pure, upon this shall there be salvation." (Translation by Mills).

No Eternal Punishment in the Gathas.

In connection with the important question as to whether, according to the Gathas or the Avesta, there is eternal punishment for an unfortunate soul in a supposed eternal hell, we must note that in the Gathas according to the fundamental truths laid down in the above quoted paragraph, there can be no eternal punishment for the wicked; the punishment is for a time only, longer or shorter in duration, in proportion to their misdeeds on earth. It must be taken for granted that after we have gone through the necessary tribulation both in this world as well as in the other life, another vista will reveal itself to the soul for further progress in this as well as in the future state or states of existence. And if we believe that the act of Farshogard begins on this earth from the time a man is conscious and is able to think about himself, we can well understand that the reward for his good or evil actions cannot be postponed till after his death, but that, as stated in Yasna 30, 10, it is being realized by the man in some way or the other every moment of his conscious life on earth. "Then shall the blow of destruction fall upon the Demon of Falsehood (Druj), but swiftest in the happy

abode of the Good Mind and of Ahura the righteous saints shall gather, they who proceed in their walk in good repute." (Mills.) There is nothing in this paragraph to preclude the idea of our being able to enter the happy abode of Vohuman and of Ahura while in this life. So also from Yasna 44, 19, we gather that a wicked person realizes the iniquity of his wicked thoughts, words and actions both in this life as well as in the other. "……what shall be his sentence at the first (paoruye) knowing well his doom at the last (apema)"? (Mills.)

Gathic Rewards and Punishments—Subjective in Their Nature.

The Gathas allude to 'Vahishtem-ahum' and 'Achishtem-ahum', meaning the best state of existence and the worst state of existence. They also allude to realms of righteousness and of good mind for the holy and the good, and of realms of 'akem-mano' and of 'druj', that is of evil mind and of the lie, for the wicked and the unholy. We find in Gathic Yasna 32, 15 mention made of the "home of Vohu-mano" or of good mind. In 33, 5 we find allusion to "straight paths wherein Ahura Mazda dwells". Yasna 45, 8 talks of 'garo-demana', 'Garothman', of the highest state of bliss, and which is Ahura Mazda's own "abode". In Yasna 50, 2 we are told that those who have lived in righteousness and those who have been enlightened by spiritual knowledge go to the "many splendours of the Sun",—identified by later writers as the 'Khorshed-pâyâ Behesht', and which is the third of the four realms of happiness after death. In Yasna 50, 4 we find that the righteous soul desires to "hear in the Home of Song ('Garodemana', 'Garothman') the praises of the offering saints who see Thy face." (Mills.)

As against these realms of happiness, the Gathas also allude to realms of misery. In Yasna 31, 20 it is said:—" long life shall be the lot of the wicked in darkness ; foul shall be his food ; his speech shall be of the lowest". According to 46, 11 when the wicked Karapans and Kavis " approach there where the Judge's Bridge, the Chinvat Bridge, (extends, unlike the believing ones of God, who go so firmly forth....., these shall miss their path and fall), and in the Lie's abode ('drujodemana') for ever shall their habitation be". (Mills.)

Meaning of 'Yavoi-Vispai' or 'Vispai-Yave', that is, For Ever.

In the above mentioned paragraph 11 of Yasna 46 we come across the words Yavoi-vispai, which are ordinarily translated to mean for ever, that is, for all time. This would mean eternal hell or everlasting punishment. We have however already stated that the Gathic philosophy precludes the idea of eternal punishment. Then how should we interpret the words 'Yavoi-vispai', when they occur in the Gathas in more places than one. I approach this subject with diffidence, as I am not a student of the language of the Gathas. I would however draw attention to Yasna 53, 1 wherein we are told that Ahura Mazda heard or answered Zarathushtra's best prayer when He granted him two boons, namely, 'Yavoi-vispai ā-hvanghevim,' that is, good life ('huanghu') for all time while on this earth, and secondly that those who used to give him trouble, subsequently desired to know words of the good religion and actions ordained therein. The meaning seems to be that during his own life-time Zarathushtra had the happiness of seeing his one-time enemies becoming his own disciples. Similarly in Yasna 53, 4 we find the words 'Yavoi-vispai' used in connection with Paoruchisti, the daughter of

Zarathsuhtra ('dughedram', Persian 'dukhtar', daughter) and of her husband Jamaspa. Taking paragraphs 3 and 4 together the meaning would seem to be that because of the good qualities as of a loving wife, the life of Paoruchisti on this earth will be one of complete felicity. So much for the words 'Yavoi-vispai' occurring in the Gathas.

And now we again revert to the same paragraph 11 of Y. 46, from which we were drawn aside by the words 'Yavoi-vispai' mentioned therein. In this paragraph as well as elsewhere in the Gathas, we come across mention made of an immaterial and merely allegorical bridge, the Chinvat Bridge, as the bridge where the selection of the righteous from the wicked souls is made, and from where the righteous go to the best life of heaven, but the wicked fall into the abode of the 'druj'—the lie. We shall see later on the supposed location of the Chinvat Bridge. In Yasna 49, 11 we are again reminded of evil-food (akaish kharethem) for the wicked and their dwelling in "Drujo-demana', the abode of the lie. In Yasna 51, 13 we are told that the soul of the wicked tries to cross the Chinvat Bridge over to Asha's paths ('ashahiya patho') but is unable to do so, and deeply laments its fate.

The above are some of the references in the Gathas to the state of bliss or of woe. These represent the inner experiences, the psychological changes, so to say, in the soul itself—for good or evil—in this life or in the life after death, or in both. If these experiences of the soul refer to the present life on earth, then it stands to reason that the realms of righteousness and of good mind and the realms of akem-mano and of druj (of evil mind and of the lie) mean abstract ideas about subjective rewards and punishments while in this life. If it is so, then, we can conclude that such is the case in the other life also.

No Personal Creator of Evil.

In connection with the state of the soul of a wicked person, it is important to note that that state is spoken of as one of 'akem-mano' or of the 'druj', that is, of an evil mind or of the Lie, meaning that that state is induced by one's own mental thinking processes. That state is not brought about by any outside agency of a supposed personal Angra-Mainyu or Ahriman. The Gathas do not believe in the existence of any personal Evil Being, as the author or creator of evil.

But if heaven and hell are immaterial and abstract in their nature, then how are we to understand the words " homes " and " abodes " mentioned in the Gathas for the righteous and wicked souls ?

Garo-demana and Drujo-demana.

We refer to the words 'Garo-demâna' and 'Drujo-demâna'. 'Demana' means house or abode. The House of Song, 'Garo-demana', is the house in which Ahura Mazda first entered (Yasna 51, 15) and represents the " paths in which He dwells ". Now we cannot consider God as " dwelling " in a limited or restricted place like a house or abode, however large. To do so would be to bring an absolutely limitless and unconditioned Being from his high estate down to the level of a limited and conditioned being. We cannot offer our prayers and our worship to such a conditioned and limited being as we would to an Almighty Being like Ahura Mazda. If this is so, we cannot consider 'Garo-demana' in any material sense. And similarly we cannot take 'Drujo-demana', the house of the 'Druj' or the lie, in any material sense as well. In this connection we must bear in mind that the 'druj' has not been personified in the Gathas, and is not conceived of as a being, and as in

any sense the opponent of Spenta-Mainyu, mentioned, by that name in the Gathas as the Holy Spirit of Ahura Mazda Himself.

A further difficulty in the way of the conception of Gathic hell as purely immaterial and subjective—and its solution.

The Gathas speak in two places at least, namely, in Yasnas 31, 20, and 49, 11 of foul food ('dush-kharethem' and 'aka-kharethem') for the wicked souls in the drujo-demana, in the house of the lie. This kharethem cannot mean food in the ordinary sense of the word. 'For, the disembodied souls, i.e. souls who have left off this mortal coil at death, do not require the kind of food that was necessary, when they were in human bodies. It has been said in the Avesta that the Gathas are food for the souls. The Gathas can thus only be spiritual food for the souls. It seems that we must understand the word *kharetha*, food, in the sense in which the word is used in Farvardin Yasht ch. 13, where the Fravashis desire *khairyan kharethem a-jiyamnem*, that is delicious and *imperishable* food. We thus conclude that the Gathas do not speak of any material food for the wicked souls. We have finished with the Gathas, for the time being.

We have spoken at some length from the Gathas about immaterial realms of righteousness and of druj or the lie, that is, about an immaterial heaven and hell as well as of rewards and punishments, which are subjective in their nature. We now come to the ideas about

Heaven and Hell in later Zoroastrian writings.

And we find that the same sublime and abstract Gathic ideas about subjective rewards and punishments and of an immaterial heaven and hell have been mostly preserved in the subsequent *Avestan* writings. In later

religious writings, however, we come across ideas of material heaven and hell and of rewards and punishments of an objective nature. It would seem that the Gathic references in Yasna 31, 20 to blackness (temangho) and evil food (dush-kharethem) and evil speech (avaetas vacho) in the case of wicked souls have been taken in a literal sense and have given rise to ideas about material heaven and hell. And it may also be that this material idea has gathered strength from a supposed and false implication from the Gathas that the realms of the druj or the Lie lie below the earth, and that these realms are separated from the realms of righteousness, which lie above the earth. For, in Yasna 46, 10 Zarathushtra says that he will incite the righteous man or woman to the homage of such as You and enable him or her to cross the Chinvat Bridge (Chinvato fra fra peretum). And in the next Strophe 46, 11 it is said that the Karapans and Kavis approach there where the Chinvat Bridge is, but their habitation shall for ever (yavoi vispai) be in the Lie's abode (drujo demanai). Now the supposed and false implication from the above two strophes is this that the Chinvat Bridge which is merely an allegorical bridge actually exists and extends on this earth, and that from this bridge, after death, the souls of the righteous cross over into Heaven, and that the souls of the wicked do not succeed in thus crossing over but fall below the earth in the abode of the Lie.

Daevaishcha Mashyaishcha.

It would seem that another expression in the Gathas has helped in the formation of material ideas about heaven and hell in course of time. I refer to the expression Daevaishcha Mashyaishcha, ordinarily supposed to mean Daevas, or Devils, and wicked men. This Gathic expression has perhaps helped to fill up hell with the

supposed Ahriman and his brood, the devils, as their special abode, and in which abode they are said to torment souls of the unfortunates with eternal punishments, some of which are so grossly material that they cannot be mentioned here. I have referred to them in my paper on "Ardae-Viraf and His Trance" in the Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume, published in 1918.

We have so far seen that the ideas about heaven and hell are subjective in their nature both according to the Gathas and the Avesta and that this subjective state of heaven and hell *i.e.* of bliss or woe is being felt and experienced both in this life and in the life after death; and also that the heaven and hell in the subsequent religious writings are grossly material in their nature, and refer *only* to the life hereafter. We shall later on refer to their supposed location in the Universe, and we now go to the ideas about Heaven and Hell in the Vedas.

Heaven and Hell—in the Vedas.

Ideas about material heaven and hell are very ancient. We come across them in the oldest Veda—the Rig Veda, as we shall presently see. The Rig Veda is supposed to be as old as, if not older than, the Gathas. We have reason to believe that Zarathushtra has ethereal ised and spiritualised those old material or objective ideas into abstract and subjective ideas about rewards and punishments. But it is also true that the former material ideas have once again crept in in some of the very late Zoroastrian writings.

For references to the ideas of heaven and hell in the Vedas, as I have already said, I am wholly indebted to "The Arctic Home in the Vedas" by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. It is a work which should be carefully studied by all those who would speak with some authority about Zoro-

astrian writings. In Chapter IX styled The Captive Waters, Tilak states that the Vedic bards knew of celestial as well as terrestrial, *i.e.* heavenly and earthly, waters. In Rig Veda VII, 49, 2, it is expressly stated that there are waters which are celestial (divyah apah), and also those that flow in earthly channels (Khanitrimah). In passages which speak of the Creation of the world (X 82, 6; 129, 3) the world is said to have once consisted of nothing but undifferentiated waters. The Rig Veda, Shaptatha Brahmana (XI 1, 6, 1), the Aitaraya Upanishad (I, 1) and Manu I, 9, all say that the world was created from watery vapours (purisham); and the Vedic bards considered the space or the region above, below and around both the celestial waters and the watery vapours to be full of these *celestial* vapours, which are said to be co-eval with the world in X 30, 10.

The Upper and the Lower Celestial Hemispheres.

Tilak says that the Vedic bards also knew of two rajas—the upper and the lower celestial hemispheres. In VI 9, 1 we read: "The bright day and the dark day both roll the two rajas by the well-known paths". In VII 80, 1 we have the dawn "unrolling the two regions (rajasi) which border on each other (samante), revealing all things". In V 81, 4 we have "O Savitri! Thou goest round (pariyase) the night on both sides". The above passages remind us, in a way, of the two spheres spoken of in the Avesta as the realms of righteousness and the realms of the *druj* or the lie, one upper and the other lower, bordering on one another as we shall presently see, and only divided by an imaginary line—the allegorical Chakat-Daitik mountain which runs east to west through the middle of the earth, according to the Bundahishn. And like the Vedic realms (rajasi) these

Avestic celestial regions also lie *outside* of this world. We shall also see that these celestial regions, the upper and the lower, are not located in any one part or parts of Akasha or space, but that they are meant to represent the whole space in the heavens above, below and round about the sphere of our earth, thus dividing space into equal halves. This can be imagined by the same dividing line, the Chakat-Daitik mountain which runs east to west through the middle of the earth, being indefinitely extended into space both ways, east and west. We thus get two equal halves of the terrestrial earth and also two equal halves of the celestial heaven.

Bright and Dark Celestial Hemispheres.

In the Rig Veda, the upper half of the celestial hemisphere, is called bright and the lower dark. Tilak tries to prove this statement from references in the Veda to Polar and Circum-polar characteristics in the heavens as they appear to an observer at the North Pole and from the Circum-polar regions. For this we refer the reader to Chapter VII styled " The Arctic Regions " and subsequent chapters. Some of the later Zoroastrian writings also consider the lower half of the celestial hemisphere as dark and as representing the place into which the wicked souls " fall " after death. And we shall presently see the reason for the same.

Threefold division of the upper and lower Celestial Hemispheres in the Vedas.

In the Vedas the sun is said to ascend the sky passing in the night through the dark or the distant (parāvat) region *i.e.* through the lower and dark celestial region. In this lower region the Sun is described as sleeping in the " lap of *nir-riti* " and as dwelling in darkness (see I, 117, 5). The return journey of the sun back into nir-

riti after having travelled the interior of heaven or the upper half of the celestial hemisphere during day time is described in I, 164, 32, 33. In X 161, 2 the lap of nir-riti is identified with the region of death, and is said to be bottomless in VII 58, 1. The nir-ritis are said to be three in number and according to Tilak, they must be understood to mean the three regions of the nether world below the earth, as against the threefold division of the upper celestial heaven. The Vedas specifically speak of six celestial regions (rajasi) in Rig Ved I, 164, 6.

ZOROASTRIAN WRITINGS ALSO SPEAK OF SIX CELESTIAL REGIONS.

The Zoroastrian writings talk of a threefold division of heaven or of the upper and bright celestial hemisphere, namely, Humata or Satar (stars) paya, Hukhta or Mah (Moon) paya and the highest Hvarshta or Khurshed (Sun) paya behesht. For instance, Yasna 19, 6 talks of a threefold upper celestial region, when it talks of behesht, best ashoi and best lights, according to Kanga's translation; or of Heaven, Righteousness the Best, and the lights of heaven, according to Mills' translation. Above these three is mentioned the Garo-demana or Asar Roshni, endless lights, where Ahura Mazda and the bright Celestials dwell. As against the three parts of the upper celestial heaven we have the threefold dark and nether or lower celestial regions, namely, dushmata, duzukhta and duzvershta hells, and below them as the fourth and worst hell, the drujo-demana or Asare Tariki, endless darkness, where Anghra Mainyu or Ahriman and his brood are supposed to dwell.

THE RIG VEDA AGAIN TALKS OF A THREEFOLD DIVISION OF THE UPPER HALF AND THE LOWER HALF OF THE TERRESTRIAL EARTH.

Rig Veda I 34, 8 speaks of the 'tisra prithvi upari' or

the threefold upper half of the earth, and R.V. VII 104, 11 speaks of the 'tisra prithvi adhah' or the threefold lower half of the earth. It would thus be seen that just as the celestial sphere is six-fold, so also is our earth said to be six-fold in the Vedas.

The Location of Vedic Hell.

The Vedic Hell is supposed to be situated below this threefold lower half of the earth. In R.V. VII 104, 11 the bard exclaims "Let him (the enemy) go down below the three earths (tisra prithvi adhah)." In X 152, 5 we read:—"One who injures us, let him be sent to the nether darkness (adharam tamah)" In III, 53, 21 we have :—"Let him who hates us, fall downwards (adharah)"; and in II, 12, 4 the brood of Dasyu whom Indra killed is said to be "sent to the unknown nether world (adharam-guhakah)."

Seven-fold division of the earth—in Avesta.

We have pointed out that the Vedas speak of a six-fold division of the earth. As against this the Gathas talk of a seven-fold division of the earth, 'bumiyao haptaithe', in Yasna 32, 3. The Pazand part of the Staoma prayer (Satumno-Kardo) as well as Bundahishn, Chapter 12, give the names of the seven Keshvars or parts of the earth with Khanirath in the centre.

Three-fold division of the Earth—in Vedas.

Besides speaking of a six-fold division, the Vedas also speak of a threefold division of the earth in R.V. I 102, 8; IV 53,5 and VII 87, 5.

Three-fold division of the Earth—in Avesta.

Similarly, the Avesta also speaks of a three-fold division of the Earth. Paragraph 2 of the first chapter of Farvardin Yasht speaks of "This 'asman' (asmana, in

the text), which shines *from above*, is brilliant and has spread *round about* this earth". We must note that the 'asman, or the celestial sphere winds itself round about the whole sphere or globe of the earth; and that the upper half of it which lies above our horizon is said to be shining and brilliant. Can we take it that the author of the Yasht considered the lower half of the 'asman' as dark? It cannot be so. Because in the very next paragraph 3, this 'asman', meaning the whole of it, is said to possess a " body of shining ore" and which body "Ahura Mazda clothes with a star-sown garment, one made in heavenly guise". It thus appears that the author of Farvardin Yasht considers the whole celestial sphere as bright and in the same light as modern science does. The Rig Veda, on the contrary, considers the lower half of the celestial sphere as dark.

Paragraph 3 of Farvardin Yasht further goes on to state that this 'asman' shines on *the third* (of the earth). We thus see that earth is also supposed to be three-fold in Avestan writings.

Similarly in Yasna 11, 7 it is stated that Haoma had bound the pernicious Turanian Afrasyab in the "*Middle third of the earth*". Spiegel in a note on this passage states that " at the time of the composition of the Avesta the division of the earth into seven Keshvaras was not known". But we know that the Gathas distinctly mention 'Boomiyâo-Haptaithe', the seven-fold earth, thus indicating the seven Keshvars of the earth (Y. 32, 3).

We thus see that the earth is said to be both three-fold and seven-fold in the Avesta and threefold and sixfold in the Vedas.

LOCATION OF HELL IN AVESTIC AND LATER ZOROASTRIAN WRITINGS.—(*See Diagram at end.*).

It is below this three-fold earth that Hell is supposed

to be situated just as Heaven is supposed to be situated above it. Yasna 19, 6 states that Ahura Mazda will take the soul of the perfect reciter of Ahuna-Vairya from over the Chinvat Bridge to "Heaven and to Righteousness the Best, and to the lights of Heaven".

And Yasna 19, 7 states that Ahura Mazda will draw the soul of the imperfect reciter of Ahuna-Vairya "off from the better world; yea, so far off will I withdraw it as the earth is large and wide; and this earth is as long as it is broad". (Mills).

Now the Chinvat Bridge is supposed to lie on the top of the Chakat-Daitik mountain; and as this mountain is said to lie and extend round the middle of the globe of our earth, thus dividing the earth into two equal halves, it is clear that heaven lies above the Chinvat Bridge and thus above the upper half of our earth, and that hell lies below the bridge and thus under the lower half of our earth. It may perhaps be argued that heaven can be identified with the upper half *of the earth itself* and hell with the lower half. But it is not so. For, paragraph 7 states that Ahura Mazda draws the soul of the wicked from the better world, that is, from the Heaven, or Behesht which is above, a nd also makes it clear that He will draw it off from the Behesht to the extent of the length and breadth of this world. On a little consideration we see that the world is thus in the centre and the Heaven and Hell are above and below it.

AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION FROM THE ABOVE PARAGRAPH 7 OF YASNA 19.

The Earth is round.

The words appearing at the end of paragraph 7 of Yasna 19, namely "and this earth is as long as it is broad"

are considered by Mills to be Pazand and by Kanga to be a commentary or further explanation of the earth. I am inclined to believe that here the author meant to convey the idea though not quite clearly that the earth was round and was a perfect sphere, the two diameters *North to South and East to West*, being equal. If this is so, then we can go further and state that the author also meant to convey the idea that the heaven above the upper half of our earth was not situated at the top, merely in a straight line and hell similarly situated below the lower half also in a straight line; but that as the earth formed a sphere, heaven and hell situated above and below it were also in the form of two celestial hemispheres corresponding with and co-terminating with the two equal hemispheres of our terrestrial earth.

We thus find that the formation and location of the later Zoroastrian heaven and hell are the same as those of the Vedic heaven and hell—namely that they represent the two equal halves of the celestial sphere, bordering on one another, 'samante', as the Rig Veda has put it, and enveloping the two equal halves of our terrestrial earth.

Hell,—Why Eternal?

The celestial hemisphere lying above the earth and that lying below it are limitless in the same way as space is limitless. We find this from the use of the words Anagra Raochao, the fourth and highest heaven placed at the top of the three Heavens or Beheshts, and called by the appropriate name of endless lights. So also the worst and lowest hell, which is below the three hells, is called Asar Tariki—endless darkness. It was thus natural to conceive of a material hell situated in an endless dark space below the earth to be an endless and eternal hell.

The unfortunate souls are supposed to "fall" into this limitless region or space below the earth so continuously that there is no end to that falling. Hell is elsewhere compared to an inverted tub, and falling downwards from this inverted tub in space has no ending. According to Chapter 18 of Viraf Nameh, hell is very deep, so deep according to Chapter 54, that the length of a thousand *vâm* does not find its bottom! Hell is again so thickly dark that one can actually cut its darkness with a knife! Punishment, in this endless hell is thus eternal punishment, and is further aggravated by (1) intense darkness, (2) bad food and (3) a wailing tongue. It may be remembered that the Gathas speak of *mental* darkness, of unsavoury *spiritual* food, and of the pangs of *conscience*. But subsequent ages were unable to comprehend the sublimely ethical and spiritual meaning of the terms used in the Gathas, and have converted them into expressions for a grossly material hell. But in this connection it must be borne in mind that even when the Avestic Yasna 19 seems to locate hell below the earth, it does not convey the idea that the wicked souls remain in hell for ever.

Endless Eternal Punishment and Rastakhiz, the Day of Resurrection.

It is surmised by some that the punishment comes to an end on the day of Rastakhiz and is thus not eternal. The Rastakhiz is said by some to correspond with the end of the Zravane Deregho Khadhatahe—when the present cycle of time comes to an end. But the end of the cycle may come after thousands of years. And the question is whether the soul of a person whose wicked actions are slightly in excess of his good actions is to remain in hell along with other really wicked souls, for all this long period of time? Would that constitute God's

justice? Another question is: If we consider this material hell as a place in which nothing but evil resides without any possibility of anything good creeping in, even unawares, at any time: in other words if it is such a dark and gloomy place, that no ray of light, no ray of hope, can ever hope to penetrate into it; then it must be admitted that the unfortunate souls have no hope of bettering their lot or of making any progress during all this long term of imprisonment and punishment. Such a wretched conception eternally militates against the notion of a good and merciful God. And this is the result, when the sublime teaching of Zarathushtra in the Gathas is being completely misunderstood, when evil is considered as something substantial, in its nature, and not as a mere negation of good or as a passing phase in the life history of a soul. Evil is not the product of an evil God, of Angra mainyu or Ahriman, which clings to a soul for all time, and cannot be removed or eradicated by the efforts of the soul itself. That is not Zoroastrianism.

On a consideration of the absurdity of such notions—regarding a concrete, material and objective hell, instead of one of a subjective nature, our cry now should be: away with such fictions of the mind and back to the Gathas.

We may conclude this paper with the words of Mills: "So far as a claim to a high position among the curiosities of ancient mental lore is concerned, the reader may trust himself freely to the impression that he has before him—an anthology which was probably composed with as fervent a desire to benefit the spiritual and moral natures of those to whom it was addressed as any which the world had yet seen. Nay, he may accept the opinion that nowhere else are such traces of intelligent religious earnestness to be found as existing at the period of the Gathas or before them, save in the Semitic Scriptures."

THE POSITION OF HEAVEN AND HELL—ACCORDI
TO LATER AVESTA AND SUBSEQUENT ZOROASTRI
WRITINGS, AS ALSO ACCORDING TO THE VEDA

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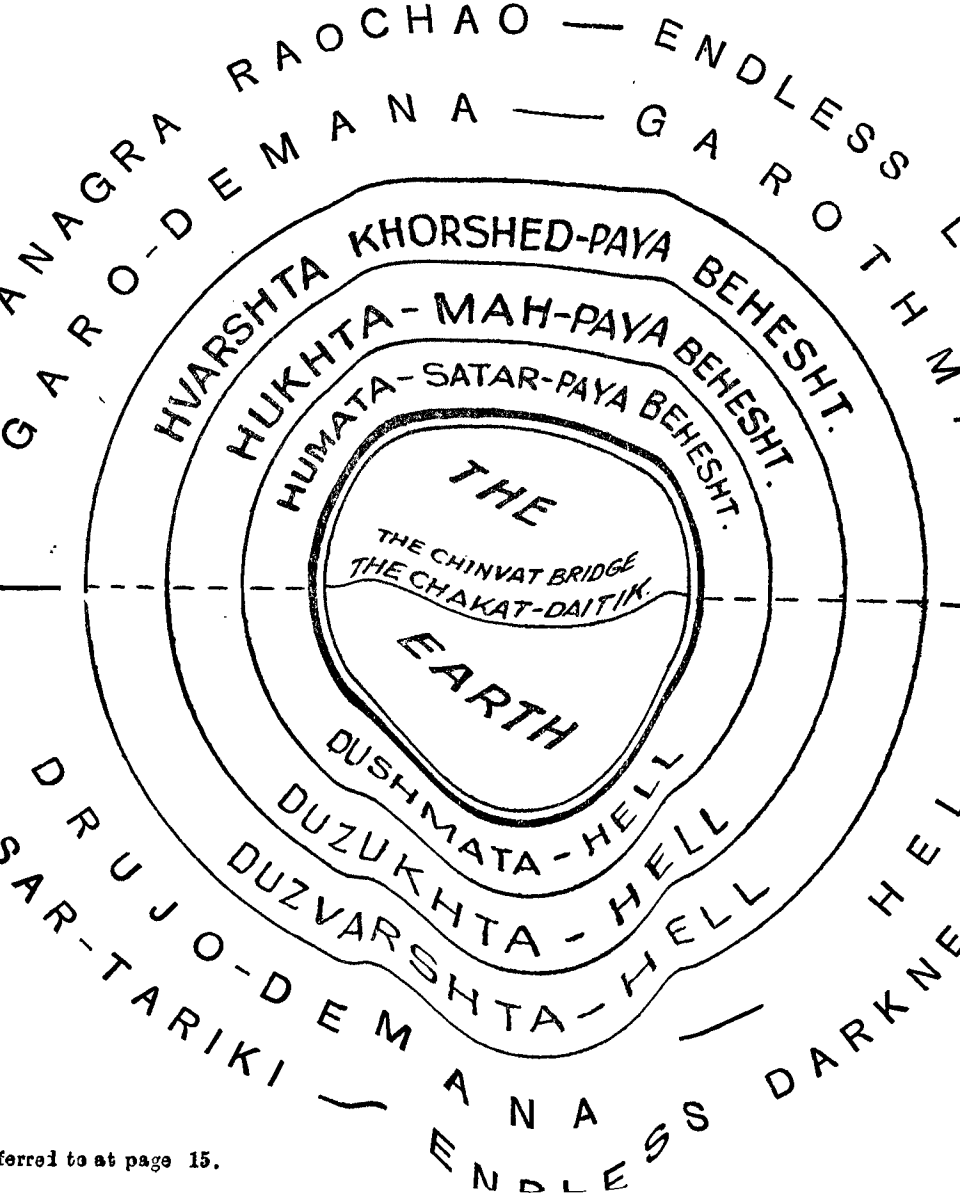

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COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS AND PHILOSOPHIES.

II

HEAVEN AND HELL AND THEIR LOCATION—IN ZOROASTRIANISM AND IN PLATO.

Some time back I had the pleasure of reading a paper before the Gatha Society on "The Ideas of Heaven and Hell—and their Location—in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas", and which appears in this publication as Part I. The present paper forms Part II of the comparison which we seek to institute between Zoroastrian and other writings. In the former paper we had seen at great length the abstract and ethical meaning of the terms good and evil, of heaven and hell, and the import of subjective rewards and punishments, both in this life and in the life hereafter. We therefore do not enter into them again in this paper, beyond emphasizing that the Zoroastrian writings talk of states of existence for weal or woe, of Vahishtem Ahum or Achishtem Ahum, for the soul. For the above reason the Gathas do not countenance the idea of a material heaven or hell, and cannot and do not talk of their supposed location anywhere in the Universe.

In the present paper, we try to see what we can find on the subject of heaven and hell, and their location, from the Phaedo, one of Plato's Dialogues. Before I proceed with that subject, I may state that the comparison between the Zoroastrian and Vedic accounts would take us to that period of time when, before the Aryan schism occurred, the forefathers of the Zoroastrians and

the Indians lived in a common land under the common appellation of Aryans. Thus there was not much of borrowing in the accounts by any one party from the other. But in the case of the Zoroastrian and Greek accounts it would seem that there has been a borrowing by the Greeks from the Zoroastrian writings. We gather this fact from a perusal of the various Dialogues of Plato. I had occasion in my former paper to state that in the opinion of B. Jowett, M.A., as given in his Introduction to his translation of the Phaedo, Plato has described the " Soul and her attendant genius in the language of the mysteries or of a disciple of Zoroaster ".

The Soul, its progress and its peregrinations, according to Plato.

Plato does not say what the soul is in its essence. He simply contents himself by saying in the Phaedo that the soul can be described as " that which is ". This phrase reminds us of the famous line in Firdausi, when, talking about God, the world-renowned Persian poet says: " I do not know what you are; you are what you are ". And we find that this is exactly an echo of the statement in the Hormazd Yasht that the first name of Ahura Mazda is Ahmi, " I am ", and which Ahmi again reminds us of the " I am " of the Old Testament.

But while Plato does not say what the soul is in its essence, he talks about the affections of good and evil which appertain and adhere to the soul in course of time. All virtues, including Wisdom, in the special meaning of the term as used by Plato, are purifications of the soul. Jowett says this is also the meaning of the founders of mysticism when they said " Many are the wand-bearers, but few are the mystics ". This phrase reminds us of the Gospel according to St. Matthews, ch. XXII, 14,

where it is said:—"Many are called, but few are chosen". The Avesta also talks of purifications, mostly inward purifications, for the soul, but does not say what the soul is in its essence. We find that while the concepts regarding Ahura Mazda, Spenta Mainyu, and the Ameshas have something definite about them, the concept regarding the soul, Urvan, Ravan, is comparatively rather vague, both in the Gathas and in the other Avesta. For instance, we do not gather whether the soul is created or is uncreated. We are simply told that Ahura Mazda has created human beings—*vide* such expressions in Yasna I, 1, as Yo no dadha, yo tatasha, yo tuthraya, "He who made us, and has fashioned us, and who has nourished and protected us." (Mills.)

Difficulties in the way of giving any one definition regarding the nature of the soul.

For those who would lightly treat of the subject of the nature of the soul, Jowett puts forth a formidable list of difficult questions which may be asked by Modern Science. "For what idea can we form of the soul when separated from the body? Or how can the soul be united with the body and still be independent? Is the soul related to the body as the ideal to the real, or as the whole to its parts, or as the subject to the object, or as the cause to the effect, or as the end to the means? Shall we say with Aristotle that the soul is the entelechy[1] or form of an organized living body? or with Plato that she has a life of her own? Is the Pythagorean image of the harmony, or of the monad, the truer expression?" etc. etc.

We thus despair of finding out the true nature of the soul. We may therefore consider that "it is what it

1 Entelechy is a philosophical term for actuality as opposed to potentiality; realization.

is", and now proceed to show how the soul progress according to Plato, in his famous dialogue—the Phaedo.

The Phaedo may be properly divided, for the purposes of this paper, into two parts. The first part, and by far the longest, tries to prove the immortality of the soul by tackling argument after argument in the process. I may state at the outset that many of the arguments are being challenged now-a-days by learned men. And, after having proved that the soul had no beginning and has no end even after death, in other words that it is immortal, the second part of Phaedo goes on to describe the habitations of the soul after death; and in so doing gives a description of "this earth and the earth which exists in the pure heavens." Among the many arguments regarding the immortality of the soul, there is Plato's favourite doctrine of reminiscence, adduced as a confirmation of the pre-existence of the soul. The argument, in Plato's own words, is "that knowledge is nothing but reminiscence, and that if this is so, the soul must have existed and had knowledge before it became united to the body." Plato again refers here to his doctrine of Ideas, and which doctrine has been given at great length in the Republic, another of Plato's Dialogues. This doctrine of Ideas has so much in common with the Zoroastrian doctrine of Fravashis as given in the Farvardin Yasht, that it would not be amiss if the subject is taken up on some future date.

As regards the Platonic doctrine of reminiscence we might say that it has been referred to in the "Human Personality" by Fred. Myers, Chap, III, p. 89 (abridged edition). It is mentioned in the Collected Works by Max Muller, Vol. IV, p. 406. And we find a reference to it in the English poet, Tennyson, when he sings that we come into this world,

Not in utter forgetfulness, not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, Who is our home.

Another argument for proving the immortality and the imperishability of the soul consists, according to Plato, in showing that just as ideal opposites exclude one another, so also ordinary opposites in us may similarly exclude one another. For instance, he says, smallness excludes greatness, the odd excludes the even, etc. Thus also life would exclude death. And as life is the imperishable attribute of the soul, the soul also excludes death. Thus the soul is imperishable and therefore immortal.

It is further argued that if life which is the state of living thus excludes death, which is the state of non-living, then the soul at the time of the dissolution or death of the body is not at all affected by that dissolution, but that it simply "removes itself" from that state of dissolution and lives in the other state after death, and is thus immortal.

On his theory of contraries or opposites, Plato now goes a step further and states that "everything living is produced from that which is dead". He explains this by saying that he has already proved that the soul existed after the death of the body in a previous life before it entered into the present life, and was born again on this earth. On *his* theory of transmigration and re-incarnation on this earth, to which he so often alludes in this and in other Dialogues, Plato argues that the soul is born on this earth from nothing else than death, which had occurred in the immediately previous incarnation on this earth.

THE THEORY OF RE-INCARNATION AND TRANSMIGRATION.

Plato believes in the theory, not only of re-incarnation but also of transmigration of souls, on this earth. Some of us at the present day are inclined to believe only in the theory of re-incarnation and not in that of transmigration as well. To be logical, it seems one ought to believe in both theories. For, can we not imagine a human being living an immoral and beastly life on this earth? Can we not imagine a mighty conqueror of old as well as of the present day, who becomes the cause of the slaughter of thousands of lives and of untold miseries to hundreds of thousands of living beings? There would be nothing absurd in thinking, as Plato did, that such persons return after death into bodies of wolves and other animals. I must however in passing state that I am not inclined to subscribe to this theory of re-incarnation or of transmigration. Years ago, I had occasion to write against this theory—especially from the Zoroastrian point of view. Nowhere in the Avesta, is this theory considered in any light, and as capable of solving the problem of the apparent inconsistencies and contradictions in life. It should not however be understood that a man who does not believe in this theory of re-incarnation on this earth only, does not believe in future lives or states of existence after death elsewhere than on this earth. The whole question is why the final nirvana or moksha or salvation or perfection can be attained, after thousands of peregrinations, on this earth only? Is God's greatness restricted to this earth only, so far as human beings, and also perhaps the animal, vegetable and even mineral kingdoms, are concerned? How is it that such mighty religions as the Zoroastrian, the Christian and the Mahomedan are reticent on this theory if not against it?

It has often occurred to me that those religions which have evolved, at some period or other of their existence, the idea of a material heaven and hell and the idea of Rastakhiz or resurrection on the distant day of final judgment for all men together on this earth, have necessarily discarded this theory of re-incarnation; but that in doing so they have fallen into a greater absurdity than the one they sought to avoid. This absurdity consists in the thought that on one blessed day—however remote from our times—all the dead of all times, good, bad and indifferent, would be made to rise from out of their graves, and be made perfect on this earth for ever and ever. But what would happen after this one-day perfection of the souls? This question would take us to other thorny questions as regards the final aim and end of human evolution and of human purposes. I do not propose to enter into that question here. And we now proceed from where we left off in our subject.

The Soul is a simple substance.

Having proved to *his own* satisfaction that the soul existed before *its life* on earth, and that it will exist after the end of this life,—in other words, that the soul is immortal, Plato states that the soul is one and simple and indivisible. It is "an unmixed essence by itself", which cannot be comprehended by the senses, and as such it is invisible to us. In Plato's words, "you cannot apprehend it in any other way than by the exercise of thought." Now by thought, Plato does not mean our ordinary process of thinking, in which the senses take part, and which process may turn out to be right or wrong. It is only when the soul draws itself away from the objects of senses, and thus as far as possible within itself, that the human beings begin to "apprehend the soul by the exercise of thought". This is introspection by the soul on its own self.

THREE GRADES OR DIVISIONS OF SOULS—IN PLATO.

Regarding the highest grade of soul Plato says. "When the soul examines anything by itself (that is, without any assistance from the senses), it approaches that which is pure, eternal and unchangeable.....And this affection of the soul is called Wisdom". We are not to understand this Wisdom, as merely that ordinary knowledge which is gained through the senses by means of books or otherwise, but as the highest state of introspection by the soul unaffected by those senses. This is exactly what, in the case of advanced souls, seems to have been thought of by the Zoroastrian Gathas. When Zarathushtra desires in the Gathas to see and converse with Ahura Mazda—*vide* the expressions "darshtoishcha hemparshtoishcha," meaning, "a sight of and a converse or a talk with Ahura Mazda" in Yasna 33, 6—*through Vohumana and Asha*, we have to understand Vohumana, not in the ordinary sense of knowledge arrived at by means of ratiocination, but in that highest sense in which Plato uses the word Wisdom. So also, we should understand the word Asha, not merely as indicating ordinary tarikat or ordinary outward piety, but as indicating that purity of the soul which so few *of us* are easily able to attain. We must remember in this connection that for the attainment of the highest spiritual Wisdom the Gathas speak of Vohumana's and of Asha's own special paths (pathô). For, many are called, but few alone are chosen.

THE WISDOM IN PLATO IS AKIN TO VOHUMANO IN ZOROASTRIANISM.

We may note that just as Plato puts Wisdom at the top of all virtues and as the special virtue of the highest kind of soul, so also the Gathas put Vohumana at the top of the six Ameshas, the six Immortals, and put Asha as next to Vohumano. With the attainment of Vohumano

and Asha, in their highest sense, a human being becomes like the Cosmotheoros of Plato,—that is, like one who can perceive all things at the same time and in the most comprehensive way. Such a being or such a soul belongs to the first grade of souls according to Plato, and is said to have "pursued philosophy aright, and to have studied how to die easily".

We now go to the *second* grade of souls. As against the above such highly evolved souls, there are others who, in Plato's words, "have constantly held communion with the body, have served and loved it, and been bewitched by it, through desires and pleasures". Such souls have not reached intellectuality and philosophy, and are consequently of a far lower grade than the pure souls who have "pursued philosophy aright." The *third* grade of souls consists of those lowest souls who are said to be condemned *practically for all times.*

We have said in the beginning of this paper that Plato divides the Phaedo into two parts. The first part speaks of the soul and the second of what happens to the soul after death. We have spoken at some length about the first, and we now enter into the second part.

The State of Souls after death and their whereabouts.

The pure soul, which belongs to the first grade, to quote Plato's own words, "departs after death to that *state which resembles itself*, namely, the invisible, the divine, immortal and wise state, and on its arrival there, that is, to that state, it is happy, free from error, ignorance, fears, wild passions and all the other evils to which human nature is subject;.....and passes the rest of its time with the gods". This is communion with God and His saints, in heaven. The purest soul after the bodily death thus enters, not a material heaven, but those

heavenly states in which the gods alone, and no impure souls, reside. This statement by Plato reminds us of the Ashahiya patho or the "realms of righteousness" spoken of in the Gathas, for the pious. It also reminds us of the realization by the soul of haurvatat and a-meratat, wholesomeness and immortality, as stated in Yasna 47, 1. I have spoken at length about this immortality in my paper on "The two mainyu of the Gathas and Spenta-Mainyu," which will appear as a publication of the Gatha Society. And just as according to Plato, there is no return to this earth for the pure souls of the first grade, so is it in the Gathas.

The First Guides of Souls After Death: "The appointed Demons" or Farohars. The Chinvat Bridge.

As regards the souls of the second and the third grade, Plato goes on to state that the "impure and imperfect souls which had loved the life of ease while on this earth, wander about after death among monuments and tombs, paying the penalty of their former evil conduct for a long time. They are then forcibly and with great difficulty led away by their appointed demons to that place where those souls receive their judgment." It will be seen that "that place where the souls receive judgment" is the Chinvat Bridge, and that the "appointed demon" for each individual soul is none other than the Farohar or Fravashi of the Zoroastrian writings.

The Second Guide: Sraosha. From the Chinvat Bridge to Hades, the World of Spirits.

Plato then goes on to say that after having received judgment at that particular place, which is the allegorical Chinvat Bridge, the souls "proceed to Hades with that guide who has been ordered to conduct them from hence thither". This Hades is the world of spirits as distinguished

from the world of matter, and in which world of matter the souls remained before the death of the body and also some time after, before they received their judgment on the Chinvat Bridge. And now they enter the world of spirits. And because they enter a totally new world, the presence of a guide is considered necessary. This second guide who conducts all the souls together to the world of spirits, Hades, is quite different from the above-mentioned demon or Farohar, and is none else than the Sraosha of the Zoroastrian writings. It must be particularly noted that just as in Zoroastrian writings so also in the Greek account, each Demon or Farohar leaves the soul when the latter reaches the Chinvat Bridge and is given over in charge of the second guide or Sraosha.

The "Discipline and Education" of Plato: The Kerdar or Daena of Zoroastrianism.

Plato states that the souls enter Hades, or the world of spirits, "accompanied by nothing else but their *discipline and education, which are of the greatest advantage or detriment to the dead.*" This "discipline and education" reminds us, in a way, of the Daena or Kirdar, which according to Zoroastrian writings is present as the *embodiment of a soul's good or bad actions* on the morning of the fourth day at the Chinvat Bridge where judgment is pronounced either for heaven or hell, that is, for weal or woe. In this connection we are reminded of the statement in Gathic Yasna 46, 11, namely that "their own souls and conscience (daena) have hardened the men."

The importance of the second guide or of Sraosha according to Platonic and Zoroastrian writings.

Plato makes an important statement. He says:— "The path leading to Hades or the spiritual world is neither simple or one. For there would be no need of guides, nor could any one ever miss the way, if there were

but one." And Plato conjectures that "this is so from our religious and funeral rites". Plato thus connects the necessity for the presence of the guide with religious and funeral rites. Now we can easily understand that, bereft of bodily senses and of bodily surroundings after death, the souls would get confused in totally new surroundings and would require guidance from a helping hand, before they awake, as it were, fully conscious on the other side, according to the Zoroastrian writings on the dawn of the fourth day. The work of Sraosha evidently ends when the soul rises *fully conscious about his surroundings* on the dawn of the fourth day, and is also able to understand the full import of the judgment then given. We gather this from the fact that the daena or the embodiment of each soul's actions while on earth is said to be present on the other side on the day of judgment, and which fact assures the soul of the equity of the judgment pronounced. Plato has connected the presence of the guide with religious and funeral rites. We also know that in Zoroastrianism, the presence of Sraosha is similarly connected with the first three days' ceremonies, which are performed in honour and in the name of Sraosha *alone*, and that from the fourth day onwards ceremonies are performed in the names of all Fravashis or Farohars, beginning with the mighty Fravashi of Ahura Mazda Himself, the Fravashis of all other heavenly beings, also those of all beings who have existed before, who exist now and who will exist in the future upto the time of Sosios, that is, upto the time of Rastakhiz.

No Return After Death, according to Zoroastrianism, of Souls on this Earth.

Having spoken of this guide, whom we have identified with the Zoroastrian Sraosha, and who for some time looks after the souls of the departed in the world of

spirits, Plato mentions "another guide who brings the souls back from the nether world after long revolutions of time to this earth again." Zoroastrian writings does not talk of such another guide, because they do not entertain the idea of re-incarnation or of a return after death to this world.

HADES OR THE WORLD OF SPIRITS IS SITUATED ON THE GLOBE OF THE EARTH ITSELF AND NOT OUTSIDE OF IT.

It is a peculiar notion in Plato that the world of spirits, Hades, is to be found on the globe of this earth and not outside of it. This is at variance with other accounts of the spirit world. We have seen from my paper on Heaven and Hell in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas, that they are supposed to lie completely outside of the globe of the earth. But Plato is of opinion that the souls after death, instead of being transported to regions outside of this earth, remain on different parts of this earth, reaping the rewards of their good actions and suffering punishments for their evil actions. And that, after the necessary period of weal or woe is over, the souls of the moderately good and moderately evil persons, again enter bodily states of existence on this earth. The wholly pure and wise souls, who belonged to the first grade, have no occasion to be re-incarnated on this earth, but remain with the gods "in the pure earth." We shall see more about this pure earth later on.

TRANSMIGRATION AND RE-INCARNATION IN THE FORMS OF ANIMALS AND OF MEN.

Plato states that some of the impure souls on return to earth are "clothed in the form of asses and brutes, and in the species of wolves and kites." Other impure souls "migrate into a corresponding civilized and peaceable kind of animals, such as bees, wasps or ants, and even into the same human species again, and from these

become moderate men." He then makes a general statement that souls assume such bodies "according to the resemblances of their several pursuits" on earth.

Having spoken at some length about the state of souls after death and of kindred matters, and comparing them with similar matters in the Zoroastrian writings, we now try to see where exactly Plato locates heaven and hell.

Description of the Globe of the Earth and of the Pure Earth, according to Plato.

Plato says that "the earth has diverse wonderful regions, and is indeed in nature and extent very *unlike* the notions of geographers, as I believe on the authority of one who shall be nameless."

It would be interesting to find out who was the "nameless person" who gave the fanciful account of the earth, and also why Plato was inclined to put his faith into it!

I quote the following for the description of the earth from the Analysis given by Jowett, who has translated the Dialogues of Plato:—"The whole earth is a globe placed in the centre of the heavens, and is maintained there by the perfection of balance. That which we call the earth is only one of many small hollows, wherein collect the mists and waters and the thick lower air; but the *true earth* is above, and is in a finer and subtler element. And if, like birds, we could fly to the surface of the air, in the same manner that fishes come to the top of the sea, then we should behold the true earth and the true heaven and the true stars. *Our earth* is everywhere corrupted and corroded; and even the land which is fairer than the sea, for the sea is a mere chaos or waste of water and mud and sand, has nothing to show in comparison of the other world.

But the *heavenly earth* is of diverse colours, sparkling with jewels brighter than gold and whiter than any snow, having flowers and fruits innumerable. And the inhabitants (of this pure heavenly earth) dwell some on the shore of the sea of air, others in 'islets of the blest', and they hold converse with the gods, and behold the sun, moon and stars *as they truly are*, and their other blessedness is of a piece with this.''

The Real and the Phenomenal.

From the above we may perhaps be justified in stating that Plato here has in his mind the distinction between the truly real and the merely phenomenal, between the noumena and the phenomena, between the spiritual and the temporal: and also that the merely phenomenal and the temporal are an imperfect copy of the truly real. We are perhaps reminded of the fact that our imperfect ideas or concepts of things on this our earth are merely a copy, and a very imperfect copy, of the Ideas or Ideals as they obtain beyond the sphere of our senses. In the description however of the heavenly pure earth as having been made up of diverse colours and sparkling with jewels etc., we are reminded of the much later and material description of the Zoroastrian heavenly abodes, in which we find chairs of gold and silver etc. for the blessed to rest in !!

The Description of the Lower Earth. The Tartarus and the Four Rivers of the Nether World.

The Analysis by Jowett goes on to further describe the lower earth, and states:—" There are hollows on the surface of the globe, and they vary in size and shape from that which we inhabit; but all are connected by passages and perforations in the interior of the earth. And there is one huge chasm or opening called Tartarus, into which streams of fire and water and liquid mud are ever flowing. Of these,

small portions find their way to the surface and form seas and rivers and volcanoes.....The rivers are many and mighty, and there are four principal ones, Oceanus, Acheron, Pyrephlegethon and Cocytus. (1) Oceanus is the river which encircles the earth. (2) Acheron takes an opposite direction, and after flowing under the earth through desert places, at last reaches in the Acherusian lake. This Acheron is the river at which the souls of the dead await their return to earth. (3) Pyrephlegethon is a stream of fire, which coils round the earth and flows into the depths of Tartarus. (4) The fourth river, Cocytus, is that which is called by the poets the Stygian river, and passes into and forms the lake Styx. This river, too, falls into Tartarus."

The Difference in the Accounts of Heaven and Hell and of the Globe of the Earth, in Zoroastrianism and in Plato.

Plato thus describes the two parts of the earth, one the upper or heavenly, pure and perfect earth, the other the lower, and the imperfect earth, to which the pure and impure souls respectively go after death. In my paper on "Heaven and Hell, and their Location—in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas," I had an occasion to mention "upper" and "lower" celestial regions, lying completely *outside of this earth*, to which the souls of the pure and the impure go after having received the judgment on the Chinvat Bridge. In Plato, however, we find that the pure souls go to the upper and pure earth, and the impure and imperfect souls go to the lower regions of the earth. Thus Plato's Heaven and Hell are situated on the earth itself, that is, on terrestrial and not on what we consider as celestial regions. This is a noteworthy difference between the accounts in Plato and in the Zoroastrian writings.

THREE CLASSES OF IMPURE SOULS. THEIR CONDITION AND THEIR WHEREABOUTS AFTER JUDGMENT AND BEFORE RETURN TO THIS EARTH.

It is said that after judgment has been delivered, "those souls who appear to have lived neither well nor ill, *i.e.*, those who are neither wholly good nor wholly evil, go to the river Acheron and thence to the Acherusian lake. There they dwell and are purified of their evil deeds, and having suffered the penalty of the wrongs which they have done to others, they are absolved, and receive the rewards of their good deeds, each according to his deserts. But those souls who appear to be incurable by reason of the greatness of their crimes, are hurled into Tartarus, from which they never come out. There is another class of souls, who have committed crimes, which although great, are not irremediable. These are plunged into Tartarus, where they remain for a year; and at the end of the year, the wave (of Tartarus) casts them forth, and they are borne to the Acherusian lake. There they lift up their voices and call upon the victims of their infamy, to have pity on them. If they prevail, they come forth and cease from their troubles; but if not, they are carried back again into Tartarus and from thence into the rivers unceasingly, until they obtain mercy from those whom they have wronged."

THE CONDITION AND THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE PURE SOULS.

As against the above three classes of impure souls, "those holy souls who have been pre-eminent for holiness of life are released from this *earthly prison*, and go to their pure home which is above, and dwell in the purer earth; and of these, such as have duly purified themselves with philosophy live henceforth altogether without the body, in mansions fairer still which cannot be

described." In these words Plato describes the state of the souls, good, bad and indifferent, after death, in the other state of existence. From the above account we find that there are souls who have been so incurably wicked that they are damned for all time, and suffer eternal punishment in Tartarus, and from which they never come out. This is eternal hell. Fortunately, however, Plato's hell, unlike the Vedic hell, and the hell described in some of the later Zoroastrian writings, is more considerate in the case of that class of souls who are neither wholly good nor wholly evil, inasmuch as that hell does not absorb these unfortunate souls into itself *for all time*, but gives them an opportunity of purifying themselves somehow or the other. Thus, when Plato's hell is considerate as stated above, it is unfortunate that the hell conceived of in the later Zoroastrian writings has no amending grace about it, and keeps all the unfortunate souls without distinction confined within itself *for all time*, that is, upto the last day of resurrection!

We have come to the end of our subject. After having described the two earths, the upper and the lower, and the state of the souls, good, bad and indifferent, after death, in the regions of heaven and hell, Plato makes an important statement. His words are:—"A man of sense ought not to say, nor will I be very confident, that the description which I have given of the soul and her mansions is exactly true. But I do say that inasmuch as the soul is shown to be immortal, he may venture to think, not improperly or unworthily, that something of the kind is true." Jowett says in his Introduction to the Phaedo that Plato here "wins belief for his fictions by the moderation of his statements; he does not, like Dante or Swedenborg, allow himself to be deceived by his own creations".

In the course of this paper I have tried to point out comparisons on the subject of heaven and hell, and their location, from Platonic as well as Zoroastrian writings. This paper may thus be considered as a complement to my paper on " Heaven and Hell in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas". In pointing out points of agreement and disagreement, my intention is to show that the Greek account has borrowed from the Zoroastrian account. Such a borrowing can be further shown from a perusal of some of the other Dialogues of Plato. We may conclude this paper by giving a quotation, in support of the above supposition, from the " Religion of Ancient Greece" by Jane Allen Harrison. Under the heading of " Literary Evidence of Oriental Influence," the author states:—" We are apt foolishly to resent the notion that Greece borrowed from the East. Such resentment is part of our exclusive classical tradition. The Greeks themselves gloried in their borrowings and frankly acknowledged them."

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THE WAY OF THE SUPERIOR MIND

BEING A LECTURE

DELIVERED BY

Madame Sophia Wadia

on Monday, March 4th, 1932

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

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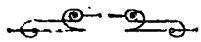

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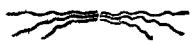

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THE WAY OF THE SUPERIOR MIND.

Friends:

The question of questions which every intelligent man ought to ask, and which every earnest soul does ask, is the very question which the holy Zarathushtra put to Ahura Mazda in the first Gatha. What was that question? This: "What is the Path of Vohu Mano, the Superior Mind, walking which man is recompensed with peace and power and glory?"

We are going to study together the Path of the Superior Mind, of Vohu Mano, of which the Gathas sing. In doing so we must keep in mind that the right perception and correct understanding of a subject like this demands a certain breadth and depth of vision—breadth that comes from a comparative study of religious philosophies, and depth which results not from study only, but from reflection, from meditation, from contemplation. If the key to the Avesta and Pahlavi languages is in the Vedas, the key to the Philosophy of the Gathas and the Vedas themselves, is in that Universal Code of Experience which is made up of the true thoughts and the grand ideas of all those who possessed the gift of Vohu Mano, of the Good Mind. I find justification for such an idea in the Yasna itself. Is not there a clear and pointed reference to "the former religions" which are praised, religions followed by those who have "the conscience that loves the right". Whatever the man or the woman, he whose conscience loves the right ultimately arrives at the Universal Vision of Divine Intelligence working at every point of space.

TheWay of the Superior Mind brings us truths which are identical to those we find in what the Chinese Lao Tze described as the Path of Virtue, Tao Teh. In the Bhagavad-Gita Krishna speaks of Purushotta ma, the Man of Supreme Virtue. In other places the same fact is defined and described differently. But just as one and the same idea can be spoken in various languages, so also it is true that one and the same idea can be explained in various ways. We all recognize that not understanding the language of another debars us from understanding him; but we do not all recognize that a non-understanding of ideas differently expressed also takes away from our appreciation not only of other peoples but also of our own ideas. We all know the value (and the Gatha Society perhaps more than any one else), of the study of languages; let us not neglect the Soul of languages, namely the ideas, the concepts, the images, the symbols. And when we engage ourselves in the comparative study of ideas, images and symbols, we arrive at the apperception of the whole and not only the partial truth. So without troubling you with perpetual citations and quotations, I will try and put before you, friends, the result of a study about Vohu Mano, the Superior Mind, not only as is found expounded in the Gathas, but also in other philosophies.

First, it must be noted that there are numerous aspects of Vohu Mano, the Superior Mind, not contradictory of each other, but supplementing each other. There is the aspect of Universal Intelligence, Chit and Chaitanya; there is the emanation aspect of the manifested Mind, Mahat or Maha-Buddhi; there is the human aspect, Manas or Manasa-putra; there is the hierarchical aspect which the Greeks termed Logos, and by which the Amesha-Spenta aspect of Vohu Mano can be understood. And there are others.

Adopting the good old way, let me first give you the metaphysical basis and then come to the kingdom of the human individuals and finally apply the teachings for our daily living. For each one of us must learn to walk the Way with the aid of the Superior Mind in him.

There are many to-day who dislike metaphysical "jargon" as they call it. "Leave alone," say they, "Philosophical 'speculations' ; be practical," is their advice. But they are verily impractical people who will act without a basis of thought; they are like quacks who prescribe medicine without any knowledge of the human body and its ailments. Study of philosophy, of universals, is necessary for working out the details of daily encounters. Study of religious philosophies, however, must not be divorced from ethical application. If we learn the truth, we must *live* that truth, otherwise life becomes a nightmare.

First, then, as to the metaphysical background. The entire universe, in which solar systems swim as fishes in an ocean, is a Living Universe. Life is omnipresent and ever-existent. The first, the primary quality of Life is Intelligence, Divine Thought, called in Hindu Philosophy Mahat. It is Chit, Cosmic Ideation; it is named Maha-Buddhi, the Great Cognition. Ahura Mazda is the omnipresent, ever-existent Life, and Vohu Mano is the co-eternal and co-eval Intelligence of Life which may be compared to and called Light—Light which radiates from the Source of All, Ahura Mazda. Life and Light, Ahura Mazda and Vohu Mano, and Vohu Mano is the Light of the Universal Life. It is said in one of the Upanishads that Atma, the Self, is in all things, but it does not shine forth *equally* in

all things. So also, Ahura Mazda, the Divine Life, is in all men, all creatures, all things, but its Light does not shine forth equally in all beings and all things. The Light of Ahura Mazda, the Intelligence of Ishvara, is the power of perception, called in Sanskrit Pragna or Prajna. Life perceives itself with the Light of Intelligence; Vohu Mano, the Divine Mind, reveals or unveils the nature and the power of Life at any given space, at any given time. The Light of Vohu Mano, the power of perception, exists in all—stones and dust, plants and shrubs, insect and bird, reptile and quadruped, as well as in men and women; but in each it marks a different stage of evolution. Our power to perceive shows what stage of progress we have reached. Divine Mind is called great and good because through its effort evolution proceeds on its upward arc and reaches its final goal.

Now, pass on from the function of Vohu Mano as Maha Buddhi, the Divine Mind in nature as a whole, to another function, connected specifically with the human kingdom. While Life manifests intelligence everywhere, it is only in the human kingdom that it unfoldsthe power of reflection and of reason. Consciousness is present everywhere, but its reflective power appears only in the human kingdom. The animal-mind has not the power to name itself, to know itself, to say: "I am so and so." The animal intelligence perceives and responds to the universe, and so do vegetable and mineral intelligences, but this consciousness is not self-consciousness. We said intelligence could be compared to light. Let us push the analogy and say, that the dim candle-light of intelligence in the mineral has increased and become the oil-lamp of intelligence in the vegetable king-

dom, and once again has increased and become electric light in the animals. The light of intelligence increases with the evolution of the lower kingdoms till the human kingdom is reached. Then, please note, a new *kind* of intelligence comes to birth, a new function of Mahat, a new aspect of Vohu Mano is at work. In the lower kingdoms Vohu Mano enables the intelligence to grow, to gather force, to concentrate; to the human kingdom Vohu Mano gives another boon, brings another gift. It is a triple gift, this gift of self-consciousness. By this gift Vohu Mano introduces in the animal intelligence of the animal-man, first, the power to know oneself as distinct and separate from others; secondly, as a distinct entity that self-conscious intelligence is able to reason, *i.e.*, to compare and to contrast; and thirdly, the power to express in speech that reasoning. Thus human intelligence and the power of speech are intimately related to Bone another, and both are but aspects of Vohu Mano, the Superior Mind. In this function students of Hindu Puranas will recognize Vohu Mano as the host of Manasa-Putras, the mind-born sons of Brahma or Viraj, who emanated by their father, take residence in human bodies, become human souls, mix and mingle with the animal soul of the animal-man which evolution has brought to a concentration, to a saturation point. In this view of the origin and genesis of man the ancient scientists part company with the modern scientists. The latter have not yet found the "missing link" between animal and human kingdoms, whereas that link was well known to the ancients. It is that link, my Parsi brothers, which lies hidden in this particular function of Vohu Mano, the Avesta Prometheus, the Avesta mind-born son of the Creator, Ahura Mazda. The gift of Man or Manas brings the

human soul the power of choice, of free-will, of moulding his conduct, and to this power Zarathushtra appeals when he begins his grand sermon recorded in Yasna 45.

We have arrived at a very important concept in our study. It is this: we of the human kingdom have the power to know ourselves, to reason, and to express in words to other thinking minds our own ideas and cogitations. This faculty of self-consciousness is the characteristic of human intelligence *par excellence*. It is the result of the special action of the Divine Mind in the human kingdom. Man's freedom of will, man's power to choose, are man's greatest faculties. All other capacities spring from this basic faculty of volition, free-will and self-determination. And it is this free-will inherent in man or Manas, the human thinker which has produced the most puzzling phenomenon on earth—that of evil.

In the Zoroastrian philosophy we must distinguish between Angra-Mainyu and Akem-Mano. Angra-Mainyu is Matter which has resistance and thus makes evolution possible. Its function is that of a brake. Therefore Spirit and Matter are co-eval and co-eternal; they supplement each other, they complement each other. That is the highest metaphysical view of these two Spirits, and it is presented in the Gathas. It is a misnomer, philosophically speaking, to call these two good and evil; for, to us humans, good and evil imply moral qualities—virtues and vices, while as the primary pair these two Spirits, Mainyus, are the centripetal and centrifugal forces, and one without the other is an impossibility. Spirit or Spenta-Mainyu is like the seed which cannot fructify without Angra-Mainyu or Matter, the soil. Therefore Angra-Mainyu is not our real adversary, though

in later Pahlavi writings it is this aspect which is emphasised. But when we come to Akem-Mano, the evil *mind*, ah ! then we have another story ! So please remember the distinction between these two : the one but an impersonal force in Nature, essential for manifestation and evolution ; the other the personal mind in man from which proceeds what we call in ethical language evil. This is an important distinction for it will show you that outside of our human kingdom there is no such thing as evil. Our only enemy is the evil mind in us.

Let us look at ourselves, as we are today, with a view to analyse our various principles. We are human souls with freedom of choice, and we are able to name and to know ourselves, we are able to argue and to reason for ourselves, and we are able to express our ideas in words. However limited in capacity or vast in genius, each one of us possesses these powers of the human soul,

We find ourselves in a body of senses, of flesh and blood. In that body certain primary functions take place which it is necessary for us to understand. Take this analogy:—our body is like a telegraph office at which messages are received and also sent out.

First, we find that through our senses impressions come to us and they are registered. These impressions produce a result. Because the body is a vital organism the phenomenon of sensations occurs. Sensations are produced by outer impressions, because our body is a battery in which is stored vitality or life-energy. Just as we store electricity in a battery, so our body stores, for its own use and consumption, life-energy, that energy, by which the body

remains a living organism. When the body fails to use the energy gathered, or is unable to gather any more, death results. So all our experiences of heat and cold, light-rays, sound-waves, (and so on) are sensations.

Secondly, in the body are appetites, hunger for nourishment, hunger for reproduction, hunger for companionship, and so on. These appetites are another force and reside in the body ; in fact they are the cause and the maker of the body. These appetites coming in contact with outer impressions and the resulting sensations beget emotions. Emotions are psychological phenomena, as sensations are physiological phenomena. Just as we feel heat and cold because of sensations, so we feel love and hate because of emotions. In the body the power or force of appetites expresses desires or emotions.

Now you see that the Soul in the body contacts in a most intimate way both sensations and emotions, and in trying to use them gains knowledge, gathers experience. To protect and guide the Soul against the dangers and snares pertaining to school life, divine Kings and Teachers live with infant humanity, giving rules of life and conduct. But, note now, as the Soul passes from the kindergarten classes to higher standards, it asserts its own individuality, and begins to act on its own. Then it is that the Soul identifies itself with those sensations and emotions in the wrong way, by incorrect methods, thereby lending them its own reasoning power, and thus comes to birth the evil mind, Akem-Mano. It is not this group of sensation-emotion which produces evil ; in fact both sensations and emotions as we just said are necessary to provide experience for the Soul.

But the wrong association of the Soul with them imparts to them a reasoning power and begets the lower or evil mind, the cause of all our troubles.

So, there are two minds in us, the inferior and the superior. The mind which identifies itself with appetites and gives them strength is the evil mind, Akem-Mano, the animal soul in us. The mind which discriminates and gives to the appetites only their right due, that is the Soul Mind, the Superior Mind, Vohu-Mano, also *in* us. The force of the animal mind is pride, the separative tendency of Ahamkara, while that of the Good Mind is the unifying power of Compassion. Pride competes and separates ; Compassion co-operates and unites. Pride begets anger and punishment; Compassion begets mercy and justice. Therefore is Vohu-Mano given the quality of protecting mercy, and he is made to preside over the kingdom of the dumb.

All of us desire to get away from egotism and from anger ; all of us wish to feel the peace of contentment, the power of co-operation, the uplift of compassion. But mere desire and wish will not do. All of us suffer from weaknesses and vices ; do the Gathas show us a way out ? Do they give us practical instruction ? They certainly do. In a wonderful passage in the Ahunavaiti Gatha we get the answer. Listen to this quotation from Yasna 30:

> " When suffering falls on the sinful, then, through their own good mind, they recognize Thy sovereignty, Oh ! Mazda ; the Superior Mind in them gives direction to those who make Druj, the Evil, bond maiden to Ashoi, Purity." (30-8)

Compare this with the teaching of the Bhagavad-Gita where Krishna says that the afflicted who begin to seek Him are dear unto Him. Compare it also with the first of the Noble Truths of the Buddha, that suffering is. Everywhere it is the same teaching, sorrow awakens the higher aspect of our mind, sorrow is the great educator, and hence it has been said: "Woe to those who live without suffering!" Those who in their pride see no weakness in themselves, those who in their egotism are blind to their own suffering, for them there is no help. But when we note our suffering and trace it to some weakness within ourselves we get the light of the Superior Mind, of Vohu-Mano, and by that light we overcome our weakness and we cease to do evil.

But that is not enough. The Gathas, like other holy books, do not stop at negative virtue, *i.e.*, absence of vice; they advocate, like the Gita and the Dhammapada, positive virtue. Listen to this other passage from Yasna 48 :

> "The motives, words and deeds of that man are wise and pure, who keeps his own mind wise and pure, O Mazda; his will and his yearning is for the common good of all; finally, he is one with the Infallible Law which is Thine." (48-4)

Here we get the steps of the Path of the Superior Mind. Note the three stages. Wisdom and purity of mind will make our motives and words and deeds pure, that is the first. Secondly, we must wish for the common good, we must develop altruism. And thirdly, we must make ourselves a channel for the Law of Ahura Mazda, and repose ourselves, take refuge in that Law of Ahura Mazda, that Law

which is the inherent principle of the Life of the Universe, the divine energy which we find in our own hearts.

Permit me one more quotation and I have done. It is from Yasna 28 and is a prayer or an invocation addressed by Zarathushtra to Ahura Mazda :

> " In veneration, with upraised hands, I ask this the beginningless spiritual joy of Mazda; the power to multiply righteous actions ; the insight of Vohu-Mano, the Superior Mind; thus will I propitiate the Soul of the World." (28-2)

Zarathushtra, the great Teacher, had a fully developed Superior Mind; in him Vohu-Mano was fully incarnate; and yet he invokes the help of Ahura Mazda for his own Superior Mind, his own Righteous Soul. You remember we said in one of its aspects Vohu-Mano was an Amesha-Spenta. For the success of His mission Zarathushtra invokes the co-operation of the Amesha Spentas. We have no time left to study fully the nature and constitution of the Amesha-Spentas in the Zoroastrian philosophy. But please do not look upon them as individual or personal beings. Each Amesha-Spenta, including Ahura Mazda, is but a collectivity of Divine Powers, Spiritual Forces, Shaktis. To pray to them as if they were dispensers of health, wealth and happiness is to go counter to the instruction of the Gathas. Each one of us possesses the power of every Amesha-Spenta; and by the power of the Supreme Mind or Vohu-Mano in us we can gain proximity and even complete unison with Life Universal, with Wisdom Supreme. This is promised us in the Gathas.

What have we learnt ?

We have learnt that within each one of us two minds are at work—the inferior whose chief quality is pride or egotism, and the superior whose great virtue is Wisdom or Compassion. All dislikes, all hates, all fears, spring from the pride of egotism; all likes, all loves, all friendliness, spring from the Compassion or Wisdom.

Our motives, words and deeds, are born of our thoughts; knowledge and altruism purify and enlighten our reason, our thinking, our ideation; illuminated mind is the Superior Mind—illumined mind *is* Vohu-Mano, and it is one with Ahura Mazda. Knowledge about Mind, *Man*, Soul, *Urvan*, Spirit, *Fravershi* must be obtained. Mere belief will not save; mere pride in one's religion will not help; knowledge and knowledge alone will save and help. There is much of make-belief and of superstition about religious matters; and we must also guard against mystification and mystery-making while we prosecute the study of the mystic element in religion.

Look at humanity around us; it is like the great space in which so many different places exist. What a variety of minds, evil and superior, surround us! Let us look at them for a moment.

There is the gutter mind full of filth; there is the slum mind full of poverty and of disease; and the stupefied and drugged mind like unto an opium den; and the querulous mind like the liquor shop; and the mind which is like an unswept street, full of scraps of paper and of peels of fruits, a picture of untidiness; and then, there is the city mind, sharp and keen and competitive, as well as the village mind, simple and unsophisticated and clean. These places of evil

and ill-health are within us, and the city and the village are also within ourselves. We must tidy up our streets, and abolish liquor shops and opium dens of our own Akem-Mano or evil mind. But let us not make it a desert mind—vast and clean but unfruitful, in which tempests are bound to arise. Let our minds be like a fair garden, a beautiful orchard, where joy is felt, where nourishment is obtained. Let our minds be like deep mines in which diamonds of purity, and rubies of power, and emeralds which please, and sapphires which inspire, are to be found. Let our minds be like mountain peaks of magnificent heights, from which we are able to view miles and miles of territory, and whose awe-inspiring beauties are perceived by men from a distance also of miles and miles.

Friends, such mountain peaks are Master Minds, all Sons of Vohu-Mano, all possessors of superior vision. Such Master Minds were Zarathushtra and Jesus, Lao Tze and Confucius, Rama and Krishna, Buddha and Shankara. Let us raise our eyes and behold the glory of those majestic mountains. What a sublime and stupendous range They make! Let us praise Them by silent repetition of holy thoughts, let us bow our heads in true invocation, with confidence because of inner conviction based on knowledge so that Their blessings may come to light our own minds, and that we too,may become in the process of time possessors of higher Wisdom and Compassion, of the Superior Mind of Vohu-Mano.

The Gatha Society.

AIMS AND OBJECTS.

The work of the Society shall consist of :

(i) Expository study of the Avestan Gâthâs;

(ii) Papers read by members or visitors on all Iranian subjects, together with discussions on such papers ;

(iii) Lectures delivered in public under the auspices of the Society ;

(iv) Publications of essays, papers or other similar works on Zoroastrian subjects ;

(v) Conducting and assisting in conducting, if possible, Gâthâ classes in various parts of Bombay, for educating the General Parsi Public in the teachings of the Gâthâs.

The Need and Possibility

OF

Organisation

FOR AN

Increasing Betterment

OF THE

Parsee Community.

By—Dr. JAL FEEROSE BULSARA, M.A., Ph. D.

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The Need and possibility of Organisation for an increasing Betterment of the Parsee Community.

ARE PARSIS DEGENERATING?

For over a score of years since the famous Juddin case, a cry has continuously gone up among the Parsis for a thousand and one remedies and reforms for the improvement of their lot, a cry which gradually led the Parsis to feel sometimes that they were nearly lost and which recently culminated on the part of some genuine well-wishers of the community in a panic over its steady and supposedly certain degeneration. While the urge for improvement has steadily gathered momentum and has made the Parsis more articulate in course of time, there has been *no systematic or scientific survey* of the community at any time of its history to warrant the declaration that the community is degenerating compared to the allround high standard of life and culture supposed to have been reached by them once upon a time. No such standard has ever been found or consciously formulated, except the one-ever present standard of comparing the Parsi culture and advancement with that of some of the more civilised and advanced communities of Western Europe.

Thus while we cannot scientifically vouchsafe either the continuous progress or steady degeneration of the Parsi community even in comparison to the progress of the Hindu or Moslem communities in India, let us admit the manifest fact, which any one who runs may read, that the demand for varied steps for the betterment of the community is not only a genuine one but that it is also an imperatively necessary one in view of the rapidly changing conditions of the country as a whole and their inevitable repercussions on the many-sided activities of the Parsi community.

PROVISION OF SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE COMMUNITY.

This *articulate tendency* of the Parsis favoured by the possession of a numerically sufficient and communally-minded Parsi Press has done one good thing for the Parsis in the last generation—it has always kept the community awake and alert to the provision of certain types of social services such as medical or monetary relief and the establishment of educational, religious and social institutions such as schools, fire-temples, baugs, sanatoria, etc. for the welfare of the community. This efflorescence of Parsi philanthropy into various types of individually desired charity institutions has been on the whole conducive to the raising of the educational and social level of the community, aud to the reduction and at rare times the removal of unnecessary aggravating poverty and misery among its poorer strata of society. But one strange and undesirable feature of this overflow of social and charitable disposition has been the disorderly or chaotic way in which this characteristic Parsi goodwill took concrete shape in the multiplication of institutions of all kinds irrespective of their utility, necessity or effective functioning in the Parsi body politic; and the stranger feature still has been that though Parsis came to know of this rapid multiplication of definite types of institutions in their midst they rarely gave thought to (1) the tremendous benefit arising from their *co-ordination*, (2) the manifest dangers of *overlapping* and *waste*, or (3) to the results or lack of any *results proportionate to the amount of time and energy* devoted to their working.

MULTIPLICATION OF CHARITIES AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

Thus to take a random example, between Fort and Forjet Street–a distance of about four miles–the Parsees have or had 27 Agiaris and 4 Atashbehrams, 5 to 7 Baugs, 9 hospitals, dispensaries and Sick Wards, about 15 schools and free classes, and 3 Dharmasalas–all institutions not only working independently of each other but never deigning to tell or to know from others what each one was doing and with what results. If institutions like these did not care to co-operate with one another it was *worse still for charity institutions* which multiplied apace, most of them with very nearly the same ends in view of giving monetary help for education, family maintenance, medical relief or removal of sudden distress or destitution. Because every one who cared could establish such funds from his or her own resources or by collecting money from charitably minded persons for a good cause,

we have at present the singular spectacle of over 50, small and large *known* charity bodies and over 40 private donors continuously distributing only five or six kinds of relief to about *fifteen hundred or two thousand families* among a Parsee population of about *55000 individuals* in Bombay alone. And they do this without any recognised channel existing among or for them to co-ordinate their similar efforts for nearly the same beneficiaries—a need that would be and should have been sorely felt the moment more than one institution for the same or similar purpose came into being for a limited and localised group of people. It was unfortunate that the Parsi Charity Organisation Society could not secure all the co-operation it needed for a worthy end it set out to attain over a decade ago.

THE MODERN NEED OF CO-OPERATION IN SOCIAL EFFORT.

The need for co-operation between various institutions engaged in a particular sphere of activities and of co-ordinating their efforts with a view to bring about not only the needed economy but also to prevent waste and overlapping, and effect greater good and efficiency for all concerned is now felt all the world over not only in scientific and intellectual circles, but also in the economic, political, and other social fields as can be witnessed from the daily growing international corporations, and combines of institutions and organisations even of one time deadly rivals or opponents. That the small Parsi community of Bombay, with so many institutions of a like type working without useful interlinking, should feel this need in the present crisis is no surprise to a student of social institutions. Economic conditions have been known to affect the whole cultural life of communities, and sharp changes in the economic position of a community particularly on the downward grade often brings about a deeper awakening in many other fields of its activities besides the economic. The same is happening to the Parsis in the present preeminently economic crisis, and it is a good augary for the future that they are seriously thinking not only of relieving poverty and destitution and the moral deterioration and mental misery consequent upon it, but are trying to search for the *causes* of this growing destitution with a view to check it by their removal. And hence the stirrings and searchings into the work not only of our charity bodies but into our educational system and its results, our social and socio-religious institutions and organisations, and even our religious customs and traditions in so far as they are instrumental

in creating or aggravating the material and physical downfall of a substantial section of the community.

SIGHING FOR THE GOLDEN AGE OR WISHING FOR THE MILLENIUM NO REMEDY FOR SOCIAL ILLS.

That people begin widely and seriously to think that certain things are going wrong or at best that they are not going quite right is a sign that they may at least really do something after a score of years of organised talking and thinking and disorganised doing. For it is a socio-psychogical phenomenon of all ages for some stricken people to sigh for the golden age that is past or for the millemium that is eagerly ex pected in the near future. But sighs, however deep and nobly heaved, as some people, particularly of the East, are never tired of doing, do not solve grievous social problems. Let us suppose that the Parsis are leaving behind the tendency of sighing and wishing and are now seriously out for action. And even if they are not, there is still some consolation for men who mean business, in the historic fact that *circumstances have very often proved mightier than man,* and that the force of circumstances as also the spirit of the progressive age will compel us to act soon not only to safeguard our interests but to enhance them by marshalling our resources for the greater solidarity and well being of the community.

If thowever, most of us are agreed upon doing something, it is given to a very few of us to see this something in a well-formed, clear vision of the desired social transformation. It is therefore that on this occasion, when, as is their wont, Parsis would be taking stock of their past and making resolutions for the future, we would like to throw out a few suggestions as an individual contribution, for whalever they are worth, towards the effective organisation of the Parsi community in its various spheres of activities, economic, intellectual, cultural or spiritual, in the hope that with the more valuable contributions of other more discerning minds the whole may produce a well planned scheme of social amelioration, in which all socially-minded members of the community, rich or poor, may share.

PROBLEMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, UNDER-EMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND DESTITUTION. THE NECESSITY OF SOCIAL AND INDIVIDUAL INSURANCE.

Perhaps the question that is most agitating the minds of most people at present is that of the increasing unemployment or

under-employment of the less literate or the more literarily educated sections of the community. Cooks, butlers, chasnibearers, less educated fitters, turners, tally-clerks, office-clerks, salesmen, godown-keepers, typists, stenographers, primary teachers and other casual or low-salaried employees are occasionally or frequently forced to seek charitable help because of poor earnings, death or sickness in the home and consequent expenses and debt, necessity of supporting an over-large family, the loss of service, etc. The resourceless widows, sometimes single, but generally with from three to seven or more children, form another, large inevitable class of recipients of charity, while a good many families with fair earnings are compelled to seek charitable help for the education of their children which they are unable or at times unwilling to afford from their own earnings. Except for the last class, whatever other channels of relief we may provide, there cannot be any doubt that so long as the State is not prepared to do anything for its unemployed or underemployed (and India will take years before it can effectively evolve a scheme of unemployment relief, and we cannot afford to wait till that happy day), the only effective remedy for the Parsis seems to be to found for all classes of employees below the monthly income of Rs. 500/- (the highest salary that the approaching regime will allow to state servants), a *social insurance scheme* in which primarily the insured may contribute their premia, but towards which the communal Insurance Society, or any other charitable body or bodies may *occasionally* give in urgent cases of need, a certain quota according to the circumstances of each family. The sum borrowed on the policy in times of need by the policy-holder may be kept as a charge on the policy and recovered either at its maturity or before by small monthly instalments, or even let go in needy cases. There will be no extra funds necessary for this relief purpose, for, if the Society be independent of any other insurance company and founded on the lines of sectional religious and industrial insurance companies or Friendly Societies of the West, a certain part of the profits may be employed in such charity or timely relief, while if the Society effects insurance with any old established insurance company, the commision rebates on each policy can very easily form the nucleus of a fund for such charitable or semi-charitable purposes. While in case of need the various charity bodies may even contribute their mite towards the general insurance fund, as it will be one way of *teaching self-help to the*

poor, and helping them in a much better way than merely by giving doles, when such persons or their dependents are stranded. The details of the scheme can be worked out in consultation with a body of persons like Sir Phiroz C. Sethna, Mr. Sorabji E. Warden and a number of other Parsis in the insurance business, whose help would go a great way towards ensuring the success of such a scheme, particularly if we are eager to learn the merits and avoid the defects of state insurance of unemployment in countries like Great Britain and Germany.

DIFFICULTY OF PROVIDING SUITABLE EMPLOYMENT TO LABOUR DISPLACED DURING AN ECONOMIC CRISIS.

In any economically advanced society working on a competitive basis, sudden displacements of labour are sure to occur with the cyclical fluctuations in trade and harvests, and it is no easy thing immediately to find suitable or remunerative employment for people so suddenly thrown out of employment, and hence the pressing necessity and greater feasibility of a combined insurance scheme for life, sickness and unemployment, which, in the absence of compulsory legislation as in the West, willing individual employers might be invited by the Insurance Society to join and contribute their quota to.

NEED OF AN EMPLOYMENT BUREAU AND A REGISTER OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

It may be noted here that out of every hundred male applicants for relief one comes across hardly two or three who hold a life insurance policy of one or two thousand rupees, the ninety-seven others when questioned plead inability, ignorance or sheer negligence, saying they did not think of it at the moment, even though their earnings may have been such as to enable them, while employed, to pay a good monthly or quarterly premium. The habit of thrift or saving for a rainy day, or of life-insurance is almost absent among the poor and lower middle class Parsis, though it may be said that the monthly income of some may be so low that they may truly not be able to pay as much as the monthly or quarterly premium of the policy of even a thousand rupees. Combined individual and social insurance, therefore, is very helpful for all such cases, as by a little regular saving and contribution each month or quarter, and its accumulation for hard times the sudden misery of a large number of our needy people can be removed or mitigated.

Besides insurance, an effective relief measure is to maintain a ready register of the unemployed at an Employment Bureau, which must, in addition keep an expanding register of the likely employers of labour, and particularly of Parsi employers in India and abroad, so that in case of need they may be appealled to or communicated with for the employment of suitable men if and when there is such need. But one very important fact to be remembered in this connection and one which is almost always lost sight of is that *in the business world of such ruthless competition, people must not expect sentimental philanthropy to prevail for long.* The men who seek employ must be capable of delivering the goods, and must try to accommodate themselves to changed circumstances. Not only the men however, but the Organisers of the Employment Bureau must also realise that they cannot expect others to run their business on unbusiness-like communal or patriotic sentiments however dear to their Bureau. They must be prepared to meet the demand of the market or go under. Good advertising work will also be necessary and our communal papers can help a lot in this direction by allowing the Bureau a cheap and accommodating advertising medium in their columns.

HOW FAR TEMPORARY INDUSTRIES ARE PRACTICABLE?

A third alternative, thought of by some enthusiasts is to open new temporary industries to tide over industrial crises. When unemployment or underemployment even in a small community like the Parsis, assumes the magnitude that it has done at the presant moment, and when we consider the fact that *varities of people* of different ages and varying inclinations and skill fill the ranks of the unemployed, such people will realise that it is neither cheap nor an easy task to provide for them industries of a temporary nature with any reasonable expectation of profit or recovery of cost for the industry, or very great good for the workmen employed therein, unless of course the industry in question is well chosen and turned into a long time or permanent concern. But when this is done it ceases to make room for the periodically unemployed for whom it was originally started, for it cannot expand just at the moment, when there is sudden unemployment in the community to absorb more men from the unemployed class. The only help that can be effectively given to the temporarily unemployed is for private individuals and business concerns to co operate with

the Employment Bureau and engage as many as possible of such men on suitable part-time or full-time commissions and pay them at least a bare *living wage* for their services until they are engaged on their old jobs or obtain suitable employment. Unless therefore there is a state-wide network of Labour Exchanges or a controlled Scheme for a judicious, gradual *spread-over* of public works and of state orders for the manufacture of certain articles in constant use over short periods of every seven or ten years, so that during the cycle of depression a number of men can be employed effectively on extra public works or the manufacture of needed articles, we have again to fall back on social insurance of some kind or another, unless of course we are willing to give such men the usual pittance of doles for an indefinite period.

INTENSIVE TRAINING OF THE TEMPORARILY UNEMPLOYED IN THEIR OWN OR NEW VOCATIONS.

Another device employed by some wealthy or well organised countries like the U. S. A. during such periods is to give their unemployed some intensive teaching or training in their old avocations or in some new ones according to the capacity and age of the candidates with a view to enhance their efficiency and increase their future possibility of employment, which method, besides being in the long run a less costly one, frees the men from the demoralisation of doles.

UNDER MODERN CONDITIONS DOLES CANNOT BE COMPLETELY DONE AWAY WITH, BUT THEIR EVIL EFFECTS MUST BE COUNTERACTED BY SUBSTITUTES.

For, although we cannot agree with those who believe that the system of dole-giving can entirely be done away with so long as our present economic and industrial system of employment continues, let us face the facts gathered from experience that the giving of doles to able-bodied men and women not only encourages in some of them a *love of idleness* and *parasitic ease*, but it destroys in persons of a weaker moral fibre the fine qualities of *initiative, independence and self-reliance*, while among others it engenders a certain hatred towards society, a *sullenness of temperament* and bitterness of mind—all disqualifications that would inevitably mar or weaken the chances of such persons doing well in the struggle for existence in a keenly competitive world, where every good quality or qualification counts for so much in the making of a

successful career. Moreover, no society so far has been able or in our opinion can be able, to give such doles to all its destitute or unemployed brethren as will *suffice* to satisfy even their bare but decent needs of food, clothing and shelter, let alone the minimum of comforts that civilised men or inhabitants of cities have come to look upon as necessities. This *glaring insufficiency* then may further lead such unfortunate dole receivers to physical deterioration. To add to this injury a further insult, certain distributors of charity or their agents, fortunately not many, have a certain unconscious and perhaps unmeant contempt for all people who come to seek their help, which further *undermines all dignity* that may be left in the man harrowed by want and misery. *Dole-giving is for the able-bodied an unmitigated evil under most circumstances, a vicious circle that creates more evil than it mitigates.* But as we said, in the modern highly evolved and complex economic life, it is a necessary evil that has to be borne so long as the basis of human life remains competitive and individualistic. For sickness, for mortal or material catastrophe, physical disablement or senile debility, for casual, seasonal or discontinuous and underemployment of wage earners, for women who cannot go to work, or for widows who cannot earn sufficient for their own or their children's needs and such like, the dole will be the only remedy so long as business and industry do not pay a living wage to their workers, social iusurance is not developed into a perfect scheme of finding means for the needy, and population is allowed to multiply without any intelligent individual check or social control.

WHERE LIMITATION OF THE FAMILY IS A BLESSING.

For, there are among Parsis parents expecting more children while they themselves are earning hardly sufficient to provide the bare creature comforts of their large family, and may be already receiving various charity help to keep body and soul together. If the number of such families were negligible, it would hardly need mention here, but in the course of one's relief work, one comes across several such cases where the mothers are anæmic, fathers debilitated, and children pale and undergrown for dire want of sufficient nutrition, not to speak of suitable clothing and sanitary surroundings. It is here that charity, *unless most lavishly given,* can effect little good, for the want is out of all proportion to the amount of charity that is usually given. The result is continuous ill-health and early senility of

the poor mother, the mental distraction and irritability of the father, and heavy mortality, or still worse, lifelong physical deformity and mental subnormality of the helpless children—misery that, humanity requires, should be alleviated, and which ultimately involves almost a dead loss to the community at large. Some will perhaps think this is only a pen picture. The reality, however, which can be seen by anybody who cares, will be more distressing to the sight.

One truly effective remedy one can think of in such *extreme cases* is to afford to the helpless parents *good medical advice* to check, if necessary, the growth of the family impossible to maintain without profuse communal doles, *or* the community must be prepared to maintain the crippled and stunted humanity that is the inevitable outcome of such conditions.

Whether any ultimate benefit can accrue from populating the community with children born under such conditions and therefore subsidised by the community is a vexed question much discussed in the West for years, which we shall not enter into here. If, however, we believe not in *numbers* but in the *culture* and *quality* of the race, the question can be more easily decided.

HOW CAN WE DECASUALISE A PART OF CASUAL LABOUR?

In certain centres of Parsi population, it is also possible to decasualise a part of casual labour such as that of cooks, butlers, tally clerks, petty carpenters, fitters, turners and other like workers by establishing a few *co-operative* agricultural and manufacturing industries and stores to supply the daily wants of big Parsi institutions and Parsi colonies as at Huges Road, Dadar, Tardeo, Parel, etc., and turning some of these casual wage-earners into permanent employers. Even here the principle must be borne in mind that we cannot trade for long and profitably on communal sentiments, we can only do so on economic principles of supply and demand. If we cannot supply the needs of our people and institutions at lower than market prices, we must at least never expect them to patronise higher than the average market prices. On *co-operative lines*, industries like *dairying*, *poultry farming*, *fruit farming*, *floriculture*, *tailoring*, *boot-and shoe-making and furniture* making etc. can be easily developed on a permanent basis to supply the daily wants of Parsi boarding establishments, infirmaries, religious institutions, hospitals, etc., which can give *regular custom* to such coope

rative business and thus provide the means of livelihood to about *150* or more Parsi *families* at fair living wages.

THE NEED OF LIMITING THE OUTPUT OF ARTISANS OR PROFESSIONALS.

In devising all such schemes for employing Parsis, one very important factor to be remembered, but which is in the heat of novel enthusiasm almost always lost sight of, is that our numbers being limited and the competition of men in similar trades and professions belonging to sister communities, who subsist on a very low standard of life not universally enviable or worthy of emulation, being very keen, we must always *control* not only the output of our industries but also *the number of men* and women we may employ in or train for such undertakings. Otherwise we will suffer the inevitable consequences of an over-productive industry and multiplication of unwanted workmen, artisans and professionals. If the demoralising existence of 15 or 16 millions of unemployed in Europe, America and Japan point to any lesson to-day to the industrial or gradually industrialising world, it is this *supreme necessity for all progressive nations to collect vital and economic statistics on a scientific basis* to enable them to have a workable control over and give an intelligent direction, to both *the proportionate employment of their man-power* in various profitable pursuits, and *the output of their industries.* The Parsis with their limited and therefore manageable numbers are in the *unique and fortunate position* of tackling this statistical problem and set an example to the rest of the world, if only some of their youth and elders sufficiently understood the ways and means of effecting it.

WHAT PROVISION CAN BE MADE FOR WIDOWS AND THEIR CHILDREN?

The details of such a scheme of industries on a cooperative basis as suggested above may be worked out to be laid before proper Parsi persons and organisations for their consideration in due time. The question as to whether anything and if so what can be done for single widows and those with families on similar lines of profitable employment is a more difficult question in view of the traditional position of Parsi women as regards outdoor employment, and will have to be tackled in spite of the insurance scheme which will give them some but not adequate relief. It must however be remembered that for constantly recurring social ills like periodic unemployment, or for seasonal or discontinuous employment or constant under-

employment, machinery for profitable relief cannot be *immediately* devised at the time of crisis, and if devised at all, it cannot be so efficient as a scheme or provision of social watchfulness to fight such ills, devised by forethought and far-sightedness during the cooler and more prosperous years of the economic life of the community.

HOW FAR IS OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR ECONOMIC TROUBLES?

It is to devise such permanent measures for the long run for the various sections, young, middle-aged and old, male and female, literarily and vocationally trained, that, while people are talking about the prevention of growing destitution, we may naturally turn our minds to the entire domestic and public system of education among Parsis, in order to find out how far it is responsible for the prevailing state of affairs among them. There can be little doubt that our education, never propagated with any desire or object of satisfying national needs, has remained extremely faulty throughout long decades, and with our present awakening and high expectations we find that most of our bookish education fits our boys and girls *neither for life nor for a livelihood*, a disability we share with the rest of India, and till lately the colonial East generally. With the Indian population constantly on the increase, with the best fruits of their industry passing to the foreigners, and indigenous industries kept under check, discouraged, or rarely actively encouraged by the ruling commercial class, there has been no conscious effort on a nation-wide scale to formulate the aims and objects of our primary, secondary or higher education, and consequently it has not been adjusted to the building of national character, nor to the economic needs of our society, or to its social evolution. Like most things in India the educational system has *sprawled* to its present position, and if we want it to produce anything worth our while in the making of men or the preparation of able professionals, we shall have to reshape our educational institutions and methods with a fresh orientation towards national welbeing and efficiency- thus needing very *radical changes in the curricula, text-books, personnel and pedagogic methods*-in all of which the western European nations, the U. S. A. and Japan are far ahead of us. At present we vaguely feel that we must make our instruction more vocational, technological, scientific, matter-of-fact, and less bookish and theoretical.

HOW TO RESHAPE OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM? DESIRABILITY OF A COMBINED POLYTECHNIC AND HOME OF INDUSTRY.

With the excellent network of our free and fee vernacular, anglo-vernacular and High schools in Bombay and in the mofussil centres of Parsi population like Bulsar, Navsari, Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad, Poona, and Karachi, we only need their urgent reshaping with a fresh outlook and spirit to place our children in a much more favourable position as regards their physical, intellectual, moral and vocational upbringing. We shall not discuss here at length the details of the changes people deem necessary, but one thing may be said, viz. that the *physique* of Parsi children in schools must be very carefully attended to and that particularly in the free schools for the poor; a bent should be given them towards *manual work*, and a *scientific temperament* definitely aimed at and developed in them. The helplessly insensate rush of all matriculates to the Arts Colleges, to be transformed into arts graduates without prospects, can only be checked by establishing a sound technological institute or polytechnic, where training may be given in various branches of technical education in cooperation with various Parsi and other industrial concerns, so as to give the students both a thorough theoretical knowledge and a sound practical grounding in their subject or profession. The power-house and the various apparatus of the technological institute, instead of being used merely for demonstration purposes and then allowed to rust idle, may be utilised actually to work minor industries like *Textile* and *Printing*, which may give employment to a few hundred more Parsis, thus rendering it possible to establish simultaneously with the technical school, a partially domiciliary Home of Industry at a relatively low cost, for aged but able-bodied, unemployed Parsi men and young boys, who are willing to work in order to earn their livelihood. A *combined scheme* for a technological institute and a Home of Industry on the lines of self-help, if prepared and worked in harmony, will save a considerable amount of time, money and energy that may have to be spent on institutions working independent of each other, particularly when the community is so small in numbers.

DANGER OF OVER-EMPHASIS ON COMMERCIAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND NECESSITY FOR CAUTION.

While no doubt our educational system needs alteration in all its three stages of primary, secondary and higher,

and provision is badly required for research work in social and physical sciences as well, let us beware of the over-emphasis laid in certain quarters on commercial and vocational pursuits almost to the extent of turning the Parsis into a hive of petty artisans, salesmen or shop-keepers as if there were no other finer pursuits in life open to or advisable for them. There are not yet enough industries developed in India to provide higher posts for all our men trained in theoretical science, while even those trained for definite professions or avocations, are finding it difficult to secure good jobs, though they are not baulked of a livelihood, while of ordinary artisans there are so many, and perhaps smorekilful, among the sister communities, that it will not pay the Parsis to turn out an *unlimited number* of carpenters, cabinet-makers, cane-weavers, watch-makers and book-binders, masons, smiths, fitters, turners, book-keepers, typists or stenographers as we are wont to do. No doubt it is advisable to produce such artisans among the Parsis, *but it is equally essential to secure them employment at a decent wage*, and let us once more emphasise this could only be achieved by limiting the numbers of such artisans and working their respective trades on *cooperative principles*. For, it may very likely happen that in the present unorganised state of Indian labour, the individual Parsi artisan may very soon go under and find it extremely difficult to make both ends meet, owing to the perssure of competition from a class of workers, whose all-round standard of life is too low for emulation by the Parsis. And if we are to take any lesson from the economic history of the West, we may safely concede that refinement and civilisation that would raise men above the brute level could only be fostered among men after a certain minimum of their primary physical, cultural and aesthetic needs have been satisfied.

THE VALUE OF A FAIRLY HIGH LEVEL OF MINIMUM STANDARD OF CULTURE FOR PARSI BOYS AND GIRLS.

It is therefore necessary that we must ensure for every Parsi child *a minimum standard of culture* in the home and school if the community is to retain the moral and cultural status that it has attained amidst her sister communities. Besides it is a truism proved by the example of various Western countries that *an intelligent mass of population pays in the long run* both by way of greater plasticity shown and higher skill attained by them in trade and industry, which ultimately redounds to

the profit of the nation as a whole. With the wage-earning population more than less literate or entirely illiterate, there is always a greater possibility of initiative and adjustment in normal and abnormal times of trade depression and industrial fluctuations. Moreover, a well trained, well educated mass of population, as the backbone of a community, is a great asset in various other directions to fight the battle of life and therefore not to be lightly disregarded especially by a small community like the Parsis. It is moreover an observed fact that the highest amount of unemployment and under-employment prevails among our less skilful, less educated and illiterate men and women. Hence the vital necessity of a background of a minimum standard of general cultural educaation for every Pársi child, sav upto the age of sixteen or seventeen, a standard not difficult to attain thanks to our small numbers and an already ample provision of primary and secondary educational institutions.

WHAT IS THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE PARSIS?

Moreover, it does not bespeak very highly for a community that amidst all this never-ending hue and cry of pecuniary pursuit and profit-making enterprise, there has not been heard for a long time a single weighty voice haranguing the Parsis to outstanding achievement in the advance of science or human culture and civilisation, with the result that there is little Parsi *cultural heritage* developed after their advent into India that promises to be *permanent* as permanence goes in the history of national contribution to human civilisation. We may remember that the greatness of a community depends as much, nay, perhaps more, on the depth of its literary, and humanitarian thought and the height of its creative genius and scientific discovery, as on the extent of its pecuniary stock. Rightly or wrongly the riches of the European and American Jews always serve to bring into prominence their love of grabbing, miserliness and other ugly qualities of overflowing wealth by which the race is often naively characterised, but it is their genius in art, literature, science and social polity that is the saving feature, which extracts some sure, though stinted admiration from their not very loving Christian brethren.

A BRIEF RECORD OF PARSI ACHIEVEMENTS. WHAT OF THEIR LITERARY, PHILOSOPHIC OR SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE STORE OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE AND HAPPINESS?

While we scan the records of the past twelve hundred years

of Parsi domicile in India we will no doubt find many episodes, incidents and achievements in their social and political life which will redound to the lasting credit of the community, while the more recent pioneer contributions of Sir Jamshedji N. Tata in the industrial life of the country, of Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji in the politico-economic awakening of the people, of Sir Phirozshaw Mehta in the civic life of the city, of Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Bengali in the domain of female education, of Mr. Behramji Malabari in the sphere of social uplift of men and women, and while the manifold *munificent charities* of the families of the Batliwallas, the Wadias, the Tatas, the Petits, the Readymoneys, the Jejeebhoys and many others will certainly find a brilliant page in the history of the remaking of India in the last hundred years, let us candidly admit that there has been no Parsi of outstanding genius in any department of literary or scientific thought and creation-no great poet, literatteur, philosopher, historian, scientist or sociologist of such remarkable merit as the world at large or a large section of it would pay homage to. There have been numerous satellites but few stars and that is the tragic failure of an economically minded, microscopic community laying too much emphasis on pecuniary standards of achievement and immediate gains. We must grant that we have not only not produced any great literature but not even a single great book, nor made a scientific discovery of permanent value by which to be remembered by posterity. Commendable mediocrity as regards literary and scientific thought and creation is so far writ large on the face of the community, but *there is no reason why it should always be* so. A social student is inclined to find causes for social phenomena or their absence, but let us not venture upon guesses in this direction. Some may attribute this to the community's smallness of numbers, others to the fact that the Parsis got a real chance of developing their creative powers only within the last century. Whatever be true, if the Parsis so desire, they can with honest effort put their house in order by taking stock of their excellent, numerous, well-endowed, existing institutions working mostly in isolation, in order to see what best use can be made of them before starting new ones, thus preventing communal efforts from being scattered or its resources frittered away, and by thinking and planning at least a decade if not a generation ahead for communal welfare and peogress in the physical, intellectual, moral and material spheres of life. This done, it can then give such impetus to the

devotion latent among many of its young and old members to the search of new knowledge or sociological research and organisation as may enable some of them to make some permanent contribution to the store of human knowledge and happiness.

ORDERLY EFFICIENCY OF ITS INSTITUTIONS, THE SIGN OF A PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY.

The establishment of institutions to effect social ends is the mark of a developing and civilising community; while the orderly efficiency of such institutions to meet the *progressive needs* of the community is a sign of communal refinement and culture. It indicates that the community is awake and alert, not dormant and stagnating. For, efficient institutions and their coordinated organisation not only reflect the organising powers and developing culture of the community, but they show that the community has not fossilised, that it is not living on its past glory, that its members believe in *timely adjustment* to the unceasing changes to which humanity is subject; that they have further realised that if they do not want to retrogade they must make progress in civilisation, and that the march to progress demands constant *vigilance, energetic action, liberality of thought* and other qualities of character that those wishing for such progress must show themselves capable of.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR PLANNING AND ORGANISATION, NOT MERE AIMLESS DRIFT.

The need of the hour for the Parsis then, as for any other community of the world similarly placed, is to marshal its resources, organise its efforts, and plan its future instead of allowing itself to drift, as hitherto, with the inevitable confusion, waste and misery that are the products of *aimless social drifting* as witnessed among savage tibes, many a semi-civilised community and even highly cultured nations. It seems to be a social phenomenon that the price of the very *multiplication of numbers*, which ensues in greater freedom of action for individuals, is the loss of social solidarity, growing disintegration and all the ugly features that accompany a ruthless, individualistic, competitive struggle for life which becomes most emphasised in conglomerations of slums and dark crowded houses called cities.

THE RESULT OF AN UNCHECKED GROWTH OF NUMBERS.

Every type of social development that grows naturally cut of this growth of numbers *unchecked or uncontrolled by human intelligence* almost always introduces in its wake certain undesirable physical elements in the social milieu such as *want and starvation, pain and*

disease, as also *mental misery* and *moral depravity* and other outgrowths from these, which can only be removed, and have to be conscientiously removed by organised human effort. Anybody who wishes to know of examples of these can get them from the study of the history of Great Britain or Western Europe since the Industrial Revolution and the resulting rapid growth of population and its uncontrolled aggregations in circumscribed areas.

THE MAGIC TOUCH OF CO-ORDINATION AND ORGANISATION.

At a certain point in the history of every developing community coordination and organisation puts such a touch on sprawling and drifting that the disintegrating colony of unit cells gets new life and coherance and the colony becomes a vital and well functioning organism. That touch is now badly needed in several spheres of Parsi communal activities such as prevention of destitution, care of the communal physique, reorientation of its educational policy and methods, and needed change in social and religious traditions.

HAPPY SIGNS OF RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE PUTTING THEIR HEADS TOGETHER.

And it is a happy portent for the community that, as has unluckily seldom happened during its past history, its wealthy, influential and educated thinking sections are, in spite of all their differences, now one and all coming to think that cooperation among themselves and between the many isolated institutions they control or conduct, is absolutely necessary, and that it is in their own interest that they should effect this cooperation among themselves and coordination of their several institutions, and their interlinking if possible, without, of course, losing their independence and power for doing good. And where at a critical juncture the good of the whole community is concerned it is advisable that private interests and personal considerations of memorialising by marble tablets the names of their ancestors should at least be partially kept in abeyance if a little sacrifice of independence but not of principles can result in closer organisation and consequent greater economy, efficiency and betterment of the community as a whole. If this be done, the permanent value, utility and efficiency of such co-ordinated Institutions will certainly ensure a more lasting memorial for their founders or administrators than a hundred tableted but moribund institutions ever would.

THE PROPOSED GENERAL REGISTER BY THE PARSI PUNCHAYET TRUSTEES AND ITS MANY POSIBILITIES.

It must be said to the credit of the Trustees of the Funds and Properties of the Parsi Punchayet of Bombay that they have given a splendid lead in this direction by proposing to prepare and maintain a common General Register of almost all the recipients of help or relief from charitable public institutions and private donors, and it is to be hoped that all those who give any kind of relief to the poor, destitute or needy will render the step taken by the Trustees fruitful of desired results by their whole-hearted cooperation with them. For, the maintenance of such a Register wherefrom information may be given to any responsible body or person seeking it, will not only prevent overlapping and *temptation to practise deception, which a multiplicity of isolated charities renders inevitable*, but will give the cooperating parties such knowledge of the problem of poverty-relief as will render it possible to achieve better results from the amount of charities distributed by them. Thus the organisation of our multiple charities may result in a considerable gain to the donors, benefit to the donees and the good of the community at large, while, once various isolated bodies begin cooperating without fear of losing their individuality, they may, if they so choose, follow up the first step with other concerted measures to attack the very *root causes* of disease, destitution and degradation, that may lead to the progressive eradication of want, misery and poverty from amongst a very large section of their unfortunate brethren.

THE PROPOSED SURVEY OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

The proposed survey of the unemployed among the Parsis in Bombay is also a very timely move on the part of the Punchayet Trustees and when completed, it will provide such data as is the first pre-requisite for an effective handling of the distressing problem of growing unemployment.

THE PROMISES OF MILLIONS AND THEIR USE!

With these efficacious first measures at cooperation and co-ordination on one side, we hear on others the declaration of relatively vast amounts of charity by various Trustees and princely donors, all individually announced without any reference to the existing *individually* or to those proposed to be founded by others. If reports go right, there is thus a princely sum of from Rs. 56 to Rs. 71 lacs waiting to be utilised

for varied purposes, one apart from another, and one who has seen the ravages of disconcerted, individualised charity, shudders at the prospect of these donors, responsible for the disbursing of such large amounts, committing themselves, in the heated atmosphere created by continued journalaise writing and speechifying, to the establishment of institutions which, if they do not prove *white elephants*, may be so run and controlled as to increase the waste and overlapping that are already the bane of communal charities to-day. When people are clamouring for more charities, and those who can give are willing to announce them, one fervently hopes that deep thought will be given to any institutions that may be founded particularly with an eye to their present and future necessity, their utility to large numbers of poor and middle-class men, women and children, and above all to the maximum of benefit to be derived from them in proportion to the amount spent on their working. For this we have not only to take into consideration the existing institutions of our own, but also the public institutions to which our men and boys have access. *The need of the moment is not merely charity of any kind, but of charity far-sightedly conceived for the progressive advance of our community in the scale of culture and prosperity.* We can now ill afford to waste our resources on obsolete or ill-conceived schemes of a few evangelically minded faddists or enthusiasts to whatever line of thought they may belong. We need now devote very deep thought and the concerted application of many able minds to the evolution of every new scheme of social welbeing before we launch upon a corresponding new institution.

OUR EXISTING NUMEROUS INSTITUTIONS TO SATISFY VARIOUS COMMUNAL NEEDS.

To that end, let us here revert to the fact that for about 80000 Parsis (exclusive of those who do not need or cannot take advantage of the institutions), we have already about 16 free or charity schools in Bombay and 63 in the mofussil, particularly on its seacoast between Bombay and Ahmedabad, 4 Orphanages for boys and girls in Bombay, Surat and Navsari, 5 Sanatoria in or near Bombay and about 16 outside, both along the sea-coast and on hill stations, 5 baugs or festive halls in Bombay and 86 baug-dharmasalas outside, some of them attached to fire-temples, 46 Agiaries and *Dadgahs* and 4 Atashbehrams in Bombay and 125 Agiaries and 4 Atashbehrams respectively in about 81 centres of Parsi population, the majority being in the Presidency of Bombay and an

inordinately large number in the province of Gujarat, 5 Dharmasalas, 4 to 5 widows' homes, 8 to 10 colonies or settlements, 7 to 9 dispensaries; sick wards and hospitals, and 4 to 6 maternity homes—all in the city of Bombay and exclusively for the benefit of the Parsis, 2 Convalescent Homes in Bombay and one in Matheran, and 3 sanatoria for the consumptives in Deolali, Punchagani and Dharampur. Besides, there are 5 Madressas and institutes for encouraging the study of our scanty and limited ancient literature in Bombay and 2 in Navsari and Karachi respectively, with magnificient endowments for some of them. And side by side with these exist other private and governmental institutions of a like kind, to which Parsis have free access either as members of the general Indian body politic or as special benefactors or contributors having given large sums of money to bring the institutions into existence. To add to these there are numerous Parsi bodies, societies and classes in Bombay which undertake moral and religious or socio-religious education mixing relief and entertainment with their work.

BUT NO CO-ORDINATION EXISTING BETWEEN THEM IN ORDER TO GET THE UTMOST BENEFIT OUT OF EACH.

All the above institutions may or may not be needed for a population of about 80000 men, women and children, some may not be utilised to their full capacity, some may be somnolent or decadent for want of funds, others may be overflowing with them but not efficiently administered, and the simultaneous isolated existence of so many of them may not be conducive to their *healthy functioning*, much less to needed economy and efficiency. When we look at these magnificent assets of the community we may perhaps justifiably say that the Parsis are one of the most fortunate communities on earth in their endowments for all kinds of social services! And yet we can hardly boast of any scientific or coordinating organisation for utilising them to the best advantage of the community, as they can and should be utilised by any society who realises their value for its advance and amelioration.

OUR OTHER PUBLIC ASSETS.

Besides these and many other well endowed instituions, each with its own special funds, there are more than 50 *known* small or large charity Trusts, almost

all for the exclusive benefit of the Parsi cammunity with three or four exceptions, with an aggregate of funds amounting on a modest calculation, approximately to at least Rs. 2,40,000,00,* the interest of a major portion of which sum @ about 5 p. c. is disbursed to meet a few specific wants, religious, economic, social and educational, of the needy Bombay Parsis, mostly in the form of monthly doles or stipends. What a wonderful source for doing real good to the community if the respective persons in possession realised the value of cooperation for common good and combined *not to amalgamate* the funds but only to adopt concerted measures for the more effective use of their vast income.

THE EXTENT OF OUR PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL CHARITY AND ITS OUT-COME.

There may be other charity Trusts besides the above, unknown to the Parsi public, and to add to these there are about 40 known Parsi individual donors, who give every month large sums in charity to Parsi applicants varying from Rs. 200 to 900 p. m for each donor, and amounting we believe, at least to Rs. 6000 to 7000 per month in all, involving a further capital outlay @ 5 p. c. of Rs. 14 to 17 lacs. Knowing the *Parsi disposition for charity* kept alive and fanned from time to time by our standard of social approbation, there may be other stray gifts of a like kind, too numerous to get an accurate estimate of. One sure effect of such individual and uninstitutionalised charity is the encouragement of questionable begging and the art of demoralising dissimulation, of which the donors themselves become pitiable victims. Carnegie was wise not to carry any money in his pockets to be carelessly thrown to wandering beggars. Now, if the above figures are even approximately true it has an obvious lesson for the Parsis—we are squandering money on social services, which, for aught we know, may be out of all proportion to the benefit accruing therefrom to the community at large. And we still hear of occasional trusts and funds being created here and there if not for the same old charitable purposes of giving educational, medical and alimonisary help, then for some obsolete purpose! In short *we lack organisation* and in consequence, to a very appreciable extent, we are frittering away our resources without knowing or controlling the results of our actions.

*I have tried to be as exact as is possible under the circumstances in computing the above figures for funds and institutions. I must, however, confess that there may still be found in some of them a small margin of error but it will be found on the side of a lower than a higher estimate.

NEED OF CREATING NEW INSTITUTIONS AND CO-ORDINATING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE OLD ONES.

On a closer study of the above institutions we will find that in spite of them all, there is a crying need for certain other types of new institutions and a necessity to organise the existing ones, which we have so far done little to satisfy. With all the profusion of medical provision we cannot deny that *adequate and timely* medical aid does not reach all he Parsi patients and most of it is given in a half-hearted haphazard manner. Except for the Bandra and Matheran Convalescent Homes for women so ably conducted by the devoted Mrs. Shirinbai Cama, and the Varsova one of the B. D. Petit Parsee General Hospital, we have no provision for the convalescence of the many sick poor, who need such homes most to recuperate their lost health. And yet we are multiplying our sanatoria without caring to know whether the existing ones are not already enough and whether all of them are adequately taken advantage of, for, the really poor cannot afford to go to them with their families and there is no cheap provision anywhere for single patients. Though our municipality has introduced compulsory medical inspection in its schools, there is no such provision in most of our free schools either in Bombay or the mofussil, with the result that the health of the children is constantly in neglect. One very distressing and costly result of this neglect of health in early childhood is the huge incidence of disease, debility, deformity and early ageing that characterise a very large number of men and women who seek relief from charity. Oddly enough the community seems quite willing to bear this burden *when past redemption*, at an egregiously enhanced cost and little return for the same. It hardly needs saying that if it spent one-tenth of this amount for improvising compulsory measures for an all-round care of its growing children till the age of fourteen or sixteen, it would be a splendidly profitable investment with multiple returns. There are perhaps sufficient maternity homes for the Parsis in Bombay, but not to one of them is attached an ante-and post-natal maternity clinic to which expectant or delivered Parsi mothers may repair for periodic advice or treatment Nor is there a single nursing home for poor mothers to take much needed rest and enjoy quiet peace for a month or fortnight on leaving the lying-in hospital. People are only too ready to ask mothers to go to work but they have seldom thought of providing the much-needed crèche for their infants in order to enable them to do so,

IN SPITE OF THE EXISTING PARSI COLONIES, HOUSING IN BOMBAY STILL INADEQUATE AND INSANITARY.

Most people honestly believe that the Parsees have provided enough *housing* for their poor, but those who know that Bombay is one of the most inadequately, insanitarily and inconveniently housed of large cities, will realise the great need for more housing in sanitary surroundings particularly for those Parsi families whose earnings, already too low to satisfy their creature comforts, have to be given away *by half or more* in the payment of rent for the most insanitary of dwellings in the Fort, Dhobi Talao, Chira Bazar, Grant Road and Parel areas. And this rent mostly goes to landlords whose sense of sanitation or decency of human habitation is unfortunately little developed. I believe, for a goodly number of such families paying high rents for one- or two-room tenements, we can provide dwellings in healthier surroundings at full paying rents, which will be less than what they are giving to such landlords, who have to live upon such revenue alone.

MANY RELIGIOUS OR SEMI-RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES AND *No Welfare Cntres.*

There are, as most of us know to our cost, so many societies among us trying either to save the souls of our so-called misguided young men from religious perdition, or to show them the path of salvation both here and hereafter, and an equally large number, who time and again, organise typically monotonous concerts, gatherings and shows. Yet, with perhaps a solitary exception, we sadly lack bodies that will undertake practical welfare work by *house to house visits* or *individual attention* to cases of distress or destitution that need following up until the cause of distress is removed. Nothing is easier than to give a dole or alms and to feel that one has done a meritorious deed. But nothing is less fruitful of results, and perhaps nothing more devastating, except in rare cases, where the distress is sudden and can be alleviated by timely relief which puts the recipient on his feet again. It is also because of this *lack of consistent welfare work* of any kind that we have so *little reliable data* collected so far, revealing the true social conditions of the poor, on which to base our study of the causes of poverty, disease, destitution and degeneration, and suggest remedies for their removal. The helpful western tendency to study social phenomena and the capacity for social research are unfortunately largely lacking in the country as a whole. We are lately also feeling a great need for an honest, disinterested propagandic body or society, who can prepare and send out educated

men and women from amongst their members or others to do solid educating work particularly among our adult population on such subjects as *domestic sanitation* and *public hygiene, curtailing* or doing away with *luxuries, reduction of expenditure on unnecessary or obsolete ritual* and *costly festivities, ways of economic household management* etc.

MANY SCHOOLS, CLASSES AND MADRESSAS BUT NO TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

With so many of free schools, it is a sad commentary on some of them in Bombay and elsewhere, that even poor parents, who can scrape up a few annas or rupees for the school fees of their children, will rather send them to other schools for their education. While with such a profuse provision of literary and religious education, the Parsis, in the twentieth century, the age of power and machinery, have not got one well equipped technological institute for their boys, who consequently indiscriminately rush in for obsolete literary education provided in most of our colleges.

THE DANGER IS NOT OF THE DESSICATION OF THE FOUNT OF PARSI CHARITY, BUT OF ITS ILL-CONCEIVED DIRECTION.

The danger, to-day, then, lies not so much in the sudden drying up of the ever-flowing stream of proverbial Parsi charity as in the mournful fact that it may still flow in the same old channels or paths of least resistence. We fear it may happen over again that individual Parsi donors or trustees may be led away by the cries for help from various directions by faddists or mere imitators who have taken a fancy to one or the other idea of founding an institution without studying the real needs of the community, or having the haziest notion of what benefit if any, will accrue from the running of the institution in question or without caring to see whether its constitution is elastic enough to satisfy, when required, the changing needs of the community, or whether it will within a decade stagnate and stultify itself like others, which were founded to meet a momentary need and which have, therefore, turned out wasteful in the long run.

THE NEED OF STUDY AND FORESIGHT IN PLANNING OUR FUTURE INSTITUTIONS.

And more than anything else we lack to-day social and economic data not for the community alone but for the country as a whole. With such difficulties to face we must be extremely *cautious* before we give concrete shape to our ideas into the establishment of one or more institutions, and while we found one we must see that it does not

remain isolated but is so shaped as to work in co operation with other existing institutions and to accommodate the creation of new ones if such a need arises. We certainly may learn a lot from the foresight of human benefactors like Rockefeller, Carnegie, Filene, Leverhume, Rowntree, Ford and many others who in their respective spheres of activities have set brilliant examples by planning *living* institutions for the increase of human knowle ge and the happiness of mankind.

THE PARSIS' LIMITED NUMBERS A UNIQUE ADVANTAGE FOR WISE ORGANISATION.

A *s atistical social survey of the Parsi community* to collect various data is very much needed and is not difficult to make if only people set their minds to it. One of the unique benefits, not enjoyed by any other similarly developed community on earth and little appreciated by the Parsis themselves, is that the Parsis are still limited in numbers and have not grown into an unwieldy mass. Herein lies the supreme opportunity of the Parsis for studying and effectively solving their social and economic problems so much so that they may even lead others in the methods of keeping social records, collecting social statistics and of tackling the many social ills that an advancing society is subject to—*in short*, that little known *art of intilegent social control* in order to increase human happiness with the increase in human knowledge and complication of man's economic life.

THE LOCALISATION OF THEIR POPULATION IN A CIRCUMSCRIBED AREA—ANOTHER GREAT ADVANTAGE.

But even if some hard-headed Parsis consider this visionary trash, they will at least realise the need and possibility of organisation for the increasing betterment of the community, towards the realisation of which, besides the limitation of numbers, the *localisation of the Parsi population in only a few centres of the Bomb y Presidency*, lends an unrivalled advantage. Out of a population of about 1,00,000 + about 55,000 live in Bombay, which likely enough presents the major problems of disease, distress, destitution and physical and moral deterioration in the community. Of the remaining 45,000 about 22,000 inhabit the 8 towns of Surat, Navsari, Karachi, Poona, Broach, Ahmedabad, Bulsar and Gandevi,

+ The above figures have been taken from the 1921 census. The present Parsi population in the whole of India has been estimated at a little more than 1,06,000, out of which about 89000 are found to reside in the Bombay Presidency.

while out of the remaining 23,000, about 5000 to 6000 more are to be found in other towns and villages of Gujarat, and the rest 17 to 18 thousand scattered in all parts of India and the rest of the world. If we can effectively organise for general social good the first two groups comprising 77 p. c. of the Parsi population, we can organise the rest with ease.

DECREASING CULTURAL CONTACT BETWEEN BOMBAY AND MOFUSSIL PARSIS. *An annual conference* A GOOD MEDIUM FOR INCREASING SOCIAL CONTACT AND CULTURAL INTER-CHANGE OF THOUGHT.

While we are at the problem of organisation, let us emphasise one further fact that between the Bombay and other mofussil Parsis unfortunately there has been lately very little direct contact of an intellectual or cultural nature. At the most the relation between them has been social and marital only, and that is slowly becoming one of a very scattered and occasional nature. This has resulted in the extremely slow pace with which any refinement or real advance in culture on the part of one section permeates the other. No doubt the Parsi Press, wide spread mobility among mofussil Parsis, the nearness of distance, the wide literacy among members of both sexes and a common language have helped to bridge the gulf in tradition and culture that inevitably occurs as the community increases in numbers and decreases in social solidarity. (Some Deccan Hyderabad Parsis with their enforced assimilation of Moslem customs presented a different example some time ago). But if we read the spirit of the times aright, there is a growing difference of outlook among the various sections of the community in Bombay and outside with the loosening of old social ties and the relaxing of the old *esprit de corps* engendered by the peculiar historical conditions of the Parsis now no longer prevailing. If we desire to stop this gulf from widening, as also if we wish the mofussil Parsis to reap an equal advantage of our better organisation we believe an annual conference, of the type of the British Association for the Advancement of Science alternately held in various centres of Parsi population, not to pass resolutions of any kind except the most non-controversial ones and even that only when occasion demands, but *merely to express and exchange views* on various aspects of Parsi cultural, economic, intellectual and religious life, will serve as an excellent medium. The scientific study aspect of such problems may be kept in prominence at the meetings to

avoid futile garrulity, which, I am afraid, Parsis as a community, are prone to. The increased social intercourse that would inevitably follow from such an annual event will lead to a better understanding and broadened outlook both for the Bombay and mofussil Parsis, while through its delegated representatives it will give to the young and old of the entire Parsi population a much-prized opportunity for knowing their brethren from various centres, and thus carrying away with them new ideas and views with which they may enlighten their fellow-members of the community on their return home. Such a friendly and non-controversial conference with a scientific, cultural and intellectual bias will have many further possibilities, one of them being a closer knitting of the various groups of Parsi population which may create an asset that may stand the Parsis in good stead in coming times.

THE DANGER OF MOFUSSIL AND RURAL PARSI IMMIGRATION INTO THE SLUMLAND OF BOMBAY.

Such a united conference may also much more easily study and report upon the problem of the increasing migration of destitute or adventurous Parsis from small towns and rural areas to the city of Bombay either to live upon the more easily available public charity or to earn a precarious livelihood. Thus it may be possible to check the annual swelling of the ranks of the destitute or dependent by dissuading at least those Parsis who had better remain in their own towns or at their old jobs, from flocking to Bombay either to crowd the slums and starve on a scanty income, or weaken and degenerate. For it is a well known social fact that everywhere at present, large cities *tempt* by their showy superfluities, *draw upon* and *gradually deplete* suburban towns and rural areas of their healthy and vigorous population, absorb them into the vortex of their bloated economic maze, and then within two or three generations, throw out into the streets or their specially constructed asylums a large portion of their unhappy population as skeletons of misfits, decrepits and degenerates — a dead charge that the self-same city—society has to bear and maintain at a cost much greater than would be incurred on the same population when healthy, active, radiant and self-reliant. We have no data to form any sure conclusions, but we fear something very similar may be rapidly taking place among the Parsis, and it is high time we tried to understand the consequence to us as a community of this rural and mofussil Parsi immigration almost exclu-

sively into the slumland of Bombay. We need not say more than that city life is not healthy for everybody, and that under prevalent social conditions it is least healthy and most costly for those with low incomes.

THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY. COMMUNAL OPINION HAPPILY TENDING TOWARDS LIBERALITY OF RELIGIOUS CREED AND PRACTICE.

We have said something about the economic, educational and physical needs of the community, while we have only hinted at the numerical excess of a type of its religious institutions in certain places. About the religious development of the community we shall not say more here beyond noting that communal opinion is happily gradually changing as regards what were once considered the most sacrosanct social and religious ancestral inheritances. And even in this a comparison of the socio-religious life of the mofussil Parsis with that of those in big cities like Bombay, Karachi or Calcutta will unmistakably show how much *the numerical increase of the group* and *the pressure of its changing economic position* modify the socio-religious traditions of the community and tend its members towards greater liberalism in creed and ritual. We find that in every human society on earth, the primitives or savages included, where individuals are capable of original and independent thinking, there are always men who delight in calling themselves *orthodox* and *progressive* respectively, with a sprinkling of *hesitants* who gracefully sway in either direction with the blow of the stronger wind. To both these sections of the community *vested interests* cling to serve their own ends. And among these two sections there are again *passive* and *militant* partisans, those who do not care for what the rest are doing so long as they are left to their own sweet strain of life, and those who want to force their supposed salvation on all men without any regard for the latter's personal sentiment or studied reason. In the Parsi community all these elements can be witnessed almost on the surface. And to all we may respectfully say that, human nature being what it is and our education as we find it to-day, there are going to be sluggish and active, orthodox and progressive, sentimental and rational elements of thought and activity in our community too, but if human history can have any lessons for us it surely teaches us *the supreme value and wisdom of a charitable view and gracious tolerance of other people's ideas and actions,* that individuals have a sacred right to their

views and actions so long as they are not convincingly proved to injure or actively interfere with the welbeing of the rest of society. It is no doubt difficult to draw the line of demarcation and put this criterion to test, but if the decision is uncertain, where *disinterested* thought and action are in question, it is human and humane to err on the side of charity and liberality rather than on that of narrow dogmatism. The Parsis may be almost on the parting of the ways, the community is astir with new aspirations, its youths are becoming restless for change and impatient of relative stagnation, and in the stir and feverish heat that such periods of self-conscious awakening engenders, it is wise to remember the above dictum of sane liberality.

A WHOLE SOCIETY NEVER STAGNANT IN SOCIAL BELIEF AND BEHAVIOUR.

Both the orthodox and the progressive may well know that *society is never stagnant* in the strict sense of the term. As a whole it is always moving either in the upward or downward direction. If there appear lulls of apparent stagnation or stability they are only so for a small part of the social fabric such as an institutionalised activity or a circumscribed creed here and there. *The law of life is eternal flux*, i.e., no community that is not dying out outright is free from social and religious or other change, while as soon as a community becomes conscious of its past and future as a whole if it is not actually making progress, it certainly attempts it. No creed or ritual, however sacred, long escapes this natural law of flux. When deeply probed there is *little truth in the vaunt that we have never changed from our ancestral hagiological heritage*. No doubt, that loose, fluid conglomerate of creed and ritual, called 'religion,' changes very slowly, but that it does change, the long history of any live creed and ritual on earth will unmistakably prove. And there remains little doubt about changing religion in the minds of those who feel and find that what we call religion is a part and parcel of man's creedal and ritualistic activities that are as much circumscribed by his contemporary material and economic environment as any other cogma or customary activity. Its change is therefore inevitable with the change of time, clime, social structure, intellectual advance and economic development.

BUT HUMAN SENTIMENTS ARE VERY POWERFUL FORCES FOR GOOD OR EVIL, AND THE NEED THEREFORE TO UNDERSTAND THEIR MECHANISM.

And while we say that the plane of man's thought and behaviour, whether secular or sacred, is constantly shifting, let us remind those calling themselves progressives, reformers, revolutionaries or the like that it seems to be equally another law of human life that men's beliefs clustering round a dogma, ritual, relic or the memory of a heroic or saintly person, form themselves into *sentiments which are some of the most potent psychological forces for man's good or evil.* And though generally sentiments in themselves cannot be called good or bad, right or wrong, circumstances in which they are formed and under which they are expressed make them forces for good or evil. For human good, sentiments, therefore, always need to be ultimatley scrutinised in *the light of reason, increasing enlightenment* and *changed circumstances* and fostered or rejected according to their influence for human good or ill. Dispassionately to allow the light of reason to bear on their sentiments is, however, not the happy position of many men and women, and we must therefore understand that impatience for change here will frustrate our end in view. In extreme cases where persuasion fails, it is a golden rule to let time do its work, for the remourceless course of events is sure to influence the most orthodox or retrograde. For, educating individuals and groups of men out of their cherished sentiments needs *a subtle sociological technique* which has not been unfortunately given much attention to by she-students of social change. Moreover, let us not forget that the so-called progressive also have their cherished sentiments to which they sometimes cling as rigidly as the orthodox always stick to theirs.

IN A CHANGING WORLD THE NECESSITY OF AN UP-TO-DATE RELIGION VERY VITAL. SWEET REASONABLENESS EQUALLY NECESSARY TO BRING IT ABOUT.

With the above provisos we may be permitted to say that if the community needs keep pace with advancing times in other secular spheres of activities, there is an equally vital necessity for it to remain *up-to-date in its religion*, though we may hasten to add that it is impossible to help those who are determined to remain out-of-date, or persist in taking a peculiar delight in obsolete dogma and ancient practice as regards their religion, which is becoming more and more a matter of personal observance, law and public opinion or social

conscience, vaguely called morals, taking the place of religious commandments for the guidance of man's daily behaviour in relation to his fellows. It is therefore, more desirable for enthusists of reform of any kind to learn to study and respect the sentiments of others and use the gentle art of *tactful persuasion* to influence them. We may thus expect by *sweet reasonableness* to effect peacefully more radical changes in the traditions and structure of society than we can ever hope to do by violently antagonising and exacerbating the feelings of others by sweeping declamations or scornful mockery of their dear dogma. Particularly a small community like ours must learn both the above lessons if it wishes to avoid its gradual disruption,

PERSISTENT HARD WORK ESSENTIAL FOR ACHIEVING DESIRED RESULTS. IF THE BEGINNING IS NEVER MADE, THE GOAL WILL NEVER BE IN SIGHT.

Finally let me not pretend that what I have said above will or should meet with universal approval, or that the ideas I have expounded and the suggestions I have made, when attempted to be put into execution, will make plain sailing. If to do were easier than to say and write, the world would have saved by now a treasure on print, paper and platform, and achieved all the desirable things of life before half the books in the British Museum were written. To establish *opproprite* institutions to meet communal needs and still more to coordinate the activities of and establish cooperation between independent institutions, erstwhile working in complete isolation are by no means easy tasks. A great amount of persuasion and hard preparatory planning will be necessary besides genuine goodwill on the part of those who are controlling the affairs of such institutions. If however, the above article has convinced some thoughtful persons of the desirability of cooperation between and coordination and replanning of our existing institutions, effectively marshalling our resources and organising the community after carrying out its complete statistical survey, there is no easier road for them to effect these ends than to get together and whole-heartedly devote some of their time to the arduous task. For, let us make no secret of it that social planning and organisation requires immense patience with opposing or obstructive forces, sweet reasonableness with those in power and authority, persistence in our efforts in face of constant defeat, and above all that earnest and genuine feeling for human weal and progress, which dreams of no self-aggrandisement, nor ever cherishes a desire other than the one to see human lot bettered and human

happiness increased even if little by one's humble efforts. We cannot expect nor claim from all and sundry the above qualities. It is always a few in every society who genuinely feel inclined towards social work and would, without parade and show, take an active interest in it, and let us honestly admit that not all men and women are so inclined, for the simple reason that social altruism is not a congenital virtue. But even such people are capable of profound goodwill towards the disinterested efforts of active social workers. With such goodwill the task of the latters, can be made much easier. We believe both these types of people can be found in sufficient numbers in our community. What is wanted is first a conviction on their part that there is a need and possibility of organisation for an increasing betterment of the community and then an iron will to achieve that end. For, nothing in our world seems to be achieved even by sincere sighing and wishing. It is not yet a fairy-land. We must therefore frankly count the cost of our desired proposals and be prepared to put in persistent hard work for some years to come before we can organise ourselves and our institutions effectively. The results, we believe will far outweigh the efforts and sacrifices made to achieve them. If, however, no beginning is made because of the fear of initial difficulties, the goal will ever recede farther by the amount of delay caused in taking the first step.

ઇરાનની છેલ્લી જરથોશતી

મહાન સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતી

તથા

જરથોશતીઓના હીંદમાં આગમનનાં

ખરાં કારણો.

કર્તા :

જમશેદ કાવસજી કાતરક, બી. એ.

અવસ્તા-પેહેલવી સ્કોલર, મુંબઇ યુનીવરસીટી; સર જમશેદજી જીજીભાઇ જરથોશતી મદરેસાની એમ. એ. ની સરટીફીકેટ ધરાવનાર; રીસર્ચ સ્કોલર, ધી કે. આર. કામા ઓરીએંટલ ઇનસ્ટીટયુટ, મુંબઇ; કર્તા, "સુરતના દાવર મોદી ખાનદાનના વડીલ નાનાભાઇ પુજીઆની તવારીખ."

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સર્વ હક કર્તાને સ્વાધીન.

ય. ઝ. ૧૩૦૮.

ઈ. સ. ૧૯૩૯.

ઈરાનની છેલ્લી જરથોશતી

મહાન સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતી

તથા

જરથોશતીઓના હીંદમાં આગમનનાં

ખરાં કારણો.

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ઈ. સ. ૧૯૩૯.

આ પુસ્તક ધી જમશેદજી નશરવાનજી પીટીટ પારસી ઑરફનેજ
કેપ્તન પ્રીન્ટીંગ વર્કસ, નં. ૪૧૬, લાલબાગ, પરેલ, મુંબઇ
મધે સોરાબજી એદલજી દૉકતરે છાપ્યું છે

અને

મી૦ જમશેદ કાવસજી કાતરકે ટાવર બીલ્ડીંગ, વાડીઆ ચોલ્સ,
લાલબાગ, પરેલ, મુંબઇ ૧૨, મધે પ્રગટ કર્યું છે.

અર્પણ પત્રિકા.

પારસી કોમના

માનવંત મુરબ્બી, પુજ્ય વડીલ, દીલસોઝ રાહબર,
ગરીબ લાચાર બેચારોના બેલી તથા તારણહાર

સર હોરમસજી કાવસજી દીનશાહ એડનવાલા, નાઇટ

એમ. વી. ઓ., ઓ. બી. ઇ.

જેમનાથી પારસી નામ, પારસી કોમ, પારસી ધર્મ, પારસી તવારીખ, પારસી કીર્તી આજે ચોમેર દુન્યામાં ઝલકી રહી છે;

જેવણ આગલા તથા હાલના પરમાર્થી પરગજી પારસી શેઠીઆઓ વચે એક કડી સમાન છે;

જેવણે અનેક ઉધરતા પારસી લખનારાઓને ઉતેજન, સલાહ તથા કીંમતી મદદ આપી છે;

તેવણને આપણા અશો ન્યાગાનો માટેની તવારીખનું, નમ્ર કોશીશના પરીણામનું આ નાનું પુસ્તક,

આ અદના લખનાર તરફથી ભારે માન તથા અહેશાનની લાગણી સહીત

અર્પણ કરવામાં આવે છે.

સાંકળ્યું.

પાનું

અર્પણ પત્રિકા ૩

દીબાચો ૧૨

પ્રકરણ ૧ લું.

સાસાની જમાનાના દીનચુસ્ત વીદ્વાન દસ્તુરો તથા મોબેદો ... ... ૧—૮

સાસાની ધર્મગુરૂઓના કહેવાતા જુલમ તથા ધર્માંધપણા બાબે કેટલાક પારસી વીદ્વાનોના પાયા વગરના આક્ષેપો ૧

સાસાની ધર્મગુરૂઓએ બજાવેલી ધર્મની, દેશની તથા રાજ્યની કીંમતી સેવાઓ ૩

કેટલાક Venerable Great દસ્તુરો ૪

દસ્તુર માનુશચેહેરનું બરશનુમ બાબે કીંમતી લખાણ ... ૬

કુસ્તી કરવા આગમજ, તથા બીજી ધાર્મીક ક્રિયાઓ વેલા મોબેદો ઉંચેવેરથી પોતાના હાથો પાણી વડે કાંય ધોઇને સાફ કરે છે તેની સાયંટીફીક સમજણ ૭

પ્રકરણ ૨ જું.

માનીકીઝમ તથા ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મનો ઇરાનમાં પગપેસારો ... ૯—૧૦

પ્રકરણ ૩ જું.

યુરોપ્યન વીદ્વાનોના જરથોશતી ધર્મ બાબે કેટલાક ભુલભર્યા ખોટા ખ્યાલો-અને તેમનો રદીઓ ... ... ૧૧—૧૨

પાનું.

પ્રકરણ ૪ થું.

સાસાની જમાનામાં કાયદાની બુલંદી—ઉંચ સાસાની Civilisation ... ... ૧૨—૧૭

સાસાની જમાનાની બાનુનો ઉંચ દરજ્જો ૧૩

માદીગાને હઝાર દાદેસ્તાન—સાસાનીઓના કાયદા બાબેનું એક કીંમતી પહેલવી પુસ્તક—મી. સોહરાબ બલસારાનો વીદવતાભર્યો તરજુમો ૧૪

સાસાની શહેનશાહતની જાહોજલાલી—દારમેસ્ટેટે તથા બારથોલ્ડના વીચારો ૧૫

પ્રકરણ ૫ મું.

સાસાની જમાનામાં ઇરાની પ્રજાનો મોટો તો શું પણ નાનો ભાગ વટીક રાજદ્રોહી તથા ધર્મદ્રોહી કદીપણ બન્યોજ નથી ... ૧૮—૧૯

ઇરાનીઓની બાહદુરી ૧૮

સર જેહાંગીર કોયાજી શું કહે છે ૧૯

પ્રકરણ ૬ થું.

એક નવો આશબોગ ... ... ૧૯—૨૧

રાજદ્રોહી ઠગારો મઝદક—તેના બુરા ફતવાઓ ૨૦

મઝદકીઓના કાવાદાવા—ઇરાનની પડતીનું એક કારણ ... ૨૧

પ્રકરણ ૭ મું.

બારકા લખનારાઓનાં તાસુબીભર્યાં લખાણો ... ... ૨૧—૨૨

એ બાબે પ્રોફેસર રેહાટઝેકનો અભીપ્રાય ૨૧

અફશીન ૨૨

પાનું.

પ્રકરણ ૮ મું.

ધર્માભીમાનની ઓટ—તે કોણને આવી છે? ... ... ૨૩—૨૪
સીસ્તાનના જરથોશતીઓની ધર્મ તરફની જનફેશાની બાબે સર જંગીર કોયાજીનું મત ૨૪
What is Truth? ૨૪

પ્રકરણ ૯ મું.

ઇરાનીઓએ રાજીખુશીથી ઇસ્લામ સ્વીકારવાની વાહીઆત વાત—અને તેનો રદીઓ ... ... ૨૫—૨૭
ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગે કરેલી ધર્મપુસ્તકો તથા સાહીત્યની જાલવણી તથા બચાવ ૨૫

પ્રકરણ ૧૦ મું.

ઇરાનના જરથોશતીઓ ઉપરના જુલમો તેમના પોતાના ઇરાની ભાઇઓ, વટલેલા ઇરાનીઓએ મોટે ભાગે ગુજરેલા હોવા બાબેનો ડો. તારાપોરવાલાનો આક્ષેપ—આ આક્ષેપનો એવણ સાહેબે આપેલો રદીઓ ... ... ૨૭—૨૮

પ્રકરણ ૧૧ મું.

આરબ જુલમનો સૌથી જાણવાજોગ દાખલો—ઇબ્ન મુકફ્ફાનું કરપીણ ખુન ... ... ૨૯—૩૦

પ્રકરણ ૧૨ મું.

સલનું તથા તવારીખનું આ તે કેવું ખુન! ના, દંતકથાનું, સાદી સમજનું વટીક ખુન! ... ... ૩૦—૩૧

પાનું.

પ્રકરણ ૧૩ મું.

આરબોએ ઇરાનીઓ ઉપર ગુજારેલા અણહદ અસહ્ય જુલમો, તેમજ તેમના ધર્મપુસ્તકો ધર્મસ્થલો વગેરેનો નાશ કરવા બાબતની મુસ્તકીમ શાહદતો તથા પુરાવાઓ. ૩૧—૪૦

ઇરાનીઓની કતલ અને આતશકદેહોનો નાશ ૩૨

તે બાબે કરઝન તથા આકિટીલના અહેવાલો ૨૨

આરબોએ ઇરાનીઓ ઉપર ગુજારેલા હદ વગરના સીતમો—રાગોઝીનનો મત ૩૨

પોતાના પ્યારા મજહબને ખાતર ઇરાનીઓએ ખમેલા અસહ્ય જુલમો ૩૩

આતશકદેહો, ધર્મપુસ્તકો તથા ધર્મગુરૂઓનો નાશ—પીગટનો મત ૩૪

Continued and energetic proselytism—ફ્રેંચ વીદવાન હુઆર્ટનો મત ૩૫

મીરખોન્દ, તબરી તથા બીજા મોહમેદન લખનારાઓ ... ૩૫

નવમી સદીમાં ધર્મશાસ્ત્રો બચવા બાબતનો રદીઓ ૩૬

ધર્મપુસ્તકોનો નાશ બાબે પહેલવી દીનકર્દનું સતાધારી લખાણ... ૩૭

દાદેસ્તાને દીનીનું લખાણ ૩૮

બુનદેહશન કેટાબની મજબુત શાહદત ૩૮

દસ્તુરજી રૂસ્તમજી સંજાણા શું કહે છે? ૩૯

એક વીદવાન ઇસ્લામી ગ્રહસ્થનો અભીપ્રાય... ... ... ૩૯

પ્રકરણ ૧૪ મું.

તલવારની અણી વડે ઇસ્લામનો ઇરાનમાં ફેલાવો—જાણીતા વીદવાનોના મતો ... ... ૪૧—૪૩

અરબી સાહીત્યના અઠંગ જર્મન વીદવાન ગોલ્ઝીહરનું મત ... ૪૨

પાનું.

આગાપુરે દાઉદનો મત ૪૨

ડો. ફ્રામરોઝ ચીનીવાલા શું કહે છે? ૪૩

ડારમેસ્ટેટે તથા ડો. દસ્તુર ધાલાના મતો ૪૪

તવારીખનવેશ ફરાકાના સ્પષ્ટ શબ્દો ૪૪

સર જોન માલકમનું મત ૪૫

એનસાઇકલોપીડીઆ બ્રીટેનીકા ૪૫

ફ્રેંચ મુસાફર શારદીનનો મત ૪૫

સર રોબર્ટ કેર પોર્ટર ૪૬

શમશુલ ઓલમાં દસ્તુર ડો. ધાલા તથા સર જાંગીર કોયાજી શું જણાવે છે? ૪૬

ઇરાનીઓની બાહદુરી તથા ધર્માભીમાન બાબે કવી થોમસ મુરે Lalla Rookh માં કરેલું વર્ણન ૪૬

પ્રખ્યાત અંગ્રેજ વીદવાન સર પરસી સાઇકસનું મત... ... ૪૭

વીદવાન નોલ્ડેકે શું જણાવે છે? ૪૮

ઇરાનીઓની કતલ અને જરથોશતી ધર્મનો નાશ—એનજમીન... ૪૮

આર્નલ્ડ પોતે આડકત્રી રીતે શું કબુલે છે ૪૯

એનસાઇકલોપીડીઆ બ્રીટેનીકાનું લખાણ ૪૯

તલવાર અને આગ વડે નાશ ૫૦

કાઉન્ટ ગોબીનોનો અભીપ્રાય ૫૧

ડો. હાઉગનો મત ૫૧

મી. જી. કે. નરીમાન ૫૨

મી. બેહરામગોર અંકલેસરીઆનો અભીપ્રાય ૫૨

પ્રકરણ ૧૫ મું.

Tradition માં સમાયલી સચાઇ ... ... ૫૩—૫૪

પાનું.

પ્રકરણ ૧૬ મું.

ઇરાન ઉપર હુમલો કરી બક્ષીફ઼ ઉમરે તોડેલી પોતાના નબીની વરયત ... ... ૫૪—૫૬
મી. બેહરામજોર અંકલેસરીઆનું વજનદાર મત ૫૬

પ્રકરણ ૧૭ મું.

ઇરાનીઝમની ઇસ્લામ ઉપર ભારી અસર ... ... ૫૭—૬૧
મી. આર. બી. પેમાસ્તરની એક નવી તવારીખી શોધ! ... ૫૯

પ્રકરણ ૧૮ મું.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા જણાવે છે કે ઇરાનમાં પારસીઓએ ધર્મપલ્ટો સ્વીકાર્યો, અને હિંદમાં હીંદુ વસ્તીમાં ભળી ગયા ... ૬૧—૬૩
પારસીઓ હીંદુ વસ્તીમાં ભળી જવાનો નવો ઓરંગો—ઇરાનીઓનો બીજો ધર્મપલ્ટો!! ૬૨
ડો. તારાપોરવાલાના અનેક છબરડાઓ તથા ઇતિહાસની 'સાવ' અજ્ઞાનતા ૬૩

પ્રકરણ ૧૯ મું.

પારસીઓને તેમના સાસાની વડવાઓ તરફથી વારસામાં મલેલું ઉંચ ચારીત્ર—તે બાબેના પુરાવાઓ તથા અભીપ્રાયો ... ... ૬૪—૬૮
ડો. તારાપોરવાલાને જુની તવારીખના જાણીતા વીદવાન તથા લખનાર મી. જે. આર. બી. જીજીભાઇનો સચોટ જવાબ ... ૬૪
પ્રખ્યાત સોલ સંસ્કૃત શ્લોકો ૬૫
પારકા મુલકમાં વટીક રાજ પ્રત્યે, દેશ પ્રત્યે વફાદારીના સૌથી જાણીતા દાખલા—તે માટેની જાંહગીર દેશાઇની સુંદર કવીતાઓ. ૬૫

પાનું.

ફરજ અને ધર્મ તરફની પારસીઓની જનફેશાની—આ સદગુણને લીધેજ પારસીઓ આ દેશમાં જીવતા રહયા છે—સર કાવસજી જહાંગીર પારસી ચારીત્રની કરેલી તારીફ ૬૭

ધર્મની જલવણી અર્થે આપણા વડવાઓએ ઉઠાવેલી અનેક જેહમતો તથા ખમેલા ઘણાક હાદેસાઓ—સર કાવસજી જેહાંગીર ૬૮

પ્રકરણ ૨૦ મું.

ઇરાનની પડતીના તથા જરથોશતીઓના હીંદમાં આગમનનાં ખરાં કારણો ... ... ૬૮—૭૮

યુરોપ્યન વીદવાનોએ સુધારેલી પોતાની ભુલો ૬૯

ડો. ફરામરોઝ ચીનીવાલાનો કીંમતી લેખ ૭૧

કાદીસીયા ખાતે ઇરાનીઓની બાહદુર લડત ૭૧

એક કમનસીબ પણ બાહદુર ખરો જરથોશતી પાદશાહ યઝદેગર્દ. ૭૨

ઇરાનમાં સખત પ્લેગે વર્તાવેલો કેહેર ૭૨

કુદરતી આફતો—ઇરાનીઓનો બરગસ્તે સેતારો ૭૩

કાદીસીઆનું ખુનખાર જંગ ૭૪

બાહદુર ઇરાની શાહજાદી ગુલશીરીના ૭૬

પ્રકરણ ૨૧ મું.

પારસી કોમના વડવાઓનું તથા તેમના ધર્મનું થતું અપમાન libel. ૭૮—૮૧

"સાસાની જમાનાના જરથોશતી ધર્મગુરૂઓનું ડો. ધાલાએ કીધેલું અપમાન" ૭૯

આ ચોપડી લખવા માટે ઉપયોગમાં લીધેલા હસ્તલેખો, પુસ્તકો, ચોપાન્યાઓ, પત્રો વગેરેની ટીપ: Biblicgraphy ... ૮૨—૮૯

અભિપ્રાયો ... ... ૯૦—૯૬

દીબાચો.

મુંબઇની ગાથા સોસાયટી તરફથી કે. આર. કામા ઓરીએંટલ ઇનસ્ટીટયુટના મકાનમાં તા. ૧૫ મી નવેમબર ૧૯૩૮ ને દીને મી. ફરદુનજી પારખ તરફથી " Causes of the Immigration of the Parsis to Sanjan " એ વિષય ઉપર એક ભાષણ આપવામાં આવ્યું હતું, જે વેલા હું ત્યાં હાજર હતો. મી. પારખના ભાષણ દરમ્યાન તેવણની ચોકસ દલીલો સાંભલી મને મનમાં હસવું આવ્યું, કારણ કે એજ બાબદ વિષે ૧૯૩૬ ના સાલમાં અમદાવાદ ખાતે ડો. એરચ તારાપોરવાલાએ કરેલાં એક ભાષણના ફકત વીચારોજ નહી, પણ ભાષાની પણ નકલ અને તરજુમો મી. પારખ કરતા હોય એમ મને લાગ્યું. મી. પારખનું ભાષણ ખતમ થવા પછી સોસાયટીના તેમજ ભાષણના પ્રમુખ મી. બેહરામગોર તેહમુરસ્પ અંકલેસરીઆએ મી. પારખની માફકજ, પણ વધુ જુસ્સાથી, મી. પારખની ચોકસ દલીલોને ટેકો આપ્યો, ત્યારે મને કાંઇક અજાયબી લાગવાથી ફરી મનમાં હસ્વું આવ્યું, કારણ કે બે વરસ આગમજ મી. બેહરામગોરના એ બાબદના સંબંધના વીચારો કાંઇક જુદાજ હતા. આ બંને પ્રસંગો ઉપર મને જે મનમાં હસ્વું આવ્યું હતું તે પ્રત્યે મી. બેહરામગોરનું ધ્યાન ખેંચાવાથી તેવણ કાંઇક ઉશકેરાતથી, મારા તરફ નજર કરી, સઘલા હાજર રહેલાં બાનુઓ તથા ગ્રહસ્થો વચે બોલી રીતે મારૂં નામ દેઇ બોલ્યા કે " ભલે મી. કાતરક હસે; તેવણને જો આ વીચારો ને આ દલીલો પસંદ નહી પડતી હોય તો તેનો રદીઓ આપે." મેં તુરતજ મારી ખુરશી ઉપરથી ઉઠી ઉભા થઇ જવાબ આપ્યો કે "આ બાબદ વિષેના ડો. તારાપોરવાલાના ભાષણનો ટુંક રદીઓ અત્યાર આગમજ હું જાહેરમાં બે વરસની વાત ઉપર આપી ચુકયો છઉ." મી. બહેરામગોરે ત્યારબાદ પોતાનું વીવેચન ખતમ કરતાં સેવટે જણાવ્યું કે " જેઓ આ બાબદમાં મતફેરી ધરાવતા હોય તેઓ બેલાશક પોતાના વીચારો જાહેર કરે. સચાઇ હમેશાં જાહેર થવીજ જોઇએ." મી. બહેરામગોરે મને જાહેરમાં કરેલી આ સુચના કહો યા ચેલેંજ કહો, જે હોય તે સ્વીકારી ઉપાડી લેવા માટે મારે સારૂ બીજો કશો માર્ગ રહયો નહી. ખુદ ગાથા

સોસાયટી સનમુખ એજ બાબદ માટેના મારા વીચારો એક ભાષણદવારા જાહેર કરવા મેં ઠેરાવ કર્યો, મારો વીચાર મેં એ સોસાયટીના ઓનરરી સેક્રેટરી એરવદ ફરામરોઝ બોદ તેમજ મી. હોશંગ અંકલેસરીઆને જણાવ્યો. જેઓએ ખુશીથી મને પરવાનગી આપી મારાં ભાષણનો દીવસ તા. ૨૯ મી નવેમબર ૧૯૩૮ નો ઠેરવ્યો. પ્રથમ મારો વીચાર ફક્ત ધણીજ ટુંક નોટસ લેઇ તે પરથી મોંઢેથી બોલવાનો હતો. પણ આ બંને સાહેબોના આગ્રહને વશ થઇ મેં મારૂં ભાષણ દશબાર દીવસના ટુંક સમય દરમ્યાન જેટલાંબી સાધનો મલ્યાં તેને આધારે રચી, લખી તૈયાર કર્યું. કમનસીબે મારાં ભાષણ દરમ્યાન મી. બેહરામગોર તેમજ મી. પારખ હાજર થઇ શકયા ન હતા. મારૂં ભાષણ શરૂ થાય તે આગમજ સોસાયટીના એક જોડયા ઓનરરી સેક્રેટરી એરવદ નવરોજી દીનશાહ મીનોચેહેર હોમજીએ આગલી એક સભાની મી. બેહરામગોરના એક ભાષણની મીનીટ વાંચી સમજાવી. જેમ જેમ હું આ મીનીટ સાંભલતો ગયો તેમ તેમ મારી અજાયબી તેમજ ખુશાલીનો પાર રહ્યો નહી; કારણ કે મારાં ભાષણમાં હું જે દલીલ રજુ કરવાનો હતો તેને તો ત્યાંજ મી. બહેરામગોરે ટેકો આપી દીધો હતો. મારૂં આખું ભાષણ જે "સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતી તથા જરથોશતીઓના હીંદમાં આગમનના ખરાં કારણો" વાલાં મથાલાં હેથલ મેં રજુ કર્યું હતું, તે 'જામે જમશેદ' પત્રના તા. ૩, ૫, તથા ૭ ડીસેમબર ૧૯૩૮ ના અંકોમાં આખું પ્રગટ થયું છે, જેમાં ભાષણને "જાણવાજોગ" તથા "બહુ મનન કરવા જોગ" ગણવામાં આવ્યું છે.

આ પછી મારા ધણાક દીલસોઝ મીત્રોએ આ ભાષણ develope કરી, તેને enlarge કરી, બીજી શાહદતો, પુરાવાઓ, સાબેતીઓ સહીત આ વિષય એક પુસ્તક આકારમાં પ્રગટ કરવા મને અરજ કરી. તેઓની આહેશને માન આપી આ પુસ્તક મેં રચી તૈયાર કર્યું છે. અસલ લખેલાં તથા છાપામાં છપાયલાં ભાષણ કરતાં આ વિષય ચારધણો કદમાં વધી લંબાણ થયો છે. સઘલી શાહદતો ભેગી કરી રજુ કરવા માટે જેહમત તથા ખરચની મેં જરાકબી કચાશ રાખી નથી. મારી મુખ્ય મતલબ એટલીજ છે કે આ ચોપડી સ્કુલો તથા કોલેજોમાં અભ્યાસ કરતા પારસી છોકરાઓ તથા છોકરીઓને ઇરાનના ઇતિહાસના પોતાના

અભ્યાસમાં મદદ કર્તા થઇ પડે; એટલુંજ નહી, પણ ઇરાની તવારીખના પારસી રકોલરો, લખનારાઓ, ઇતિહાસકારો, તેમજ ઇતિહાસપ્રેમી પરકોમી વીદવાનોને એ ચોપડી એક reference book તરીકે, એક ભોમ્યા તરીકે ઉપયોગી થઇ પડે. વલી જેઓના દીલમાં આપણી છેલ્લી શહેનશાહત બાબે ખોટો ખ્યાલ એકો હોય તેઓને આ ચોપડી વાંચવાથી ખરો ખ્યાલ જરૂરજ આવ્યા વીના રહેશે નહી. જો આ મારી આશા, ઉમેદ કંઇક અંશેથી ફલીભુત થશે તો મારી મહેનતનો પુરતો બદલો મલેલો હું સમજીશ.

મારાં પુસ્તકને મેં એકવીસ પ્રકરણોમાં વહેંચ્યું છે. મારી દલીલો મેં ટુંકમાં, અસરકારક રીતે, દાખલા, દલીલો શાહદતો ટાંકી રજુ કરી છે. મારી પોતાની ટીકાઓ થોડીજ જણાશે. ખાસ કરીને ઇરાનીઓ ઉપરના આરબોના જુલમો, તથા તલવારની અણીવડે ઇસ્લામનો ઇરાનમાં ફેલાવો, એ બાબેના પ્રકરણો શાહદતો તથા પુરાવાઓથી ભરપુર હોઇ કંઇક લંબાણુ બન્યાં છે. સેવટે જે Bibliography, યાને મેં પુસ્તક રચવા મદદમાં લીધેલાં પુસ્તકો વગેરેની ટીપ આપી છે તે ઉપરથી વાંચનારને જણાશે કે આગલાં તેમજ હાલનાં સધલાં સાધનોનો મેં ઉપયોગ કર્યો છે, જેમાં ૫૧) અંગ્રેજી પુસ્તકો, ૧૮) ગુજરાતી પુસ્તકો, તેમજ બીજાં ફ્રેંચ, જર્મન, ફારસી, સંસ્કૃત પુસ્તકો, તેમજ હસ્તલેખો, ચોપાન્યાંઓ, પત્રોનો સમાવેશ થઇ જાય છે.

મારાં આ પુસ્તકમાં મેં કોઇ પણ વીદવાન પ્રત્યે અંગત ટીકા કરી નથી. ઘણાકો, જેઓ માટે મને રદીઓ આપવો પડીઓ છે, તેઓ મારા મીત્રો થાય છે. મને ઉમેદ છે કે જે શુભનીષ્ઠાથી, spirit થી આ ચોપડી લખાઇ છે, તેજ શુભ લાગણીથી તેઓ તે સ્વીકારશે. આ ચોપડી લખવા માટે હું આડકત્રી રીતે તો મારા માનવંત ઉસ્તાદ મી. અહેરાંમગોરનોજ આભારી છું. તેવણ જો મને પડકાર કરતે નહી, તો મને ભાષણ કરવાનો, અને તે ઉપરથી આ ચોપડી લખવાનો પ્રસંગ ઉભો થતેજ નહી. મારી નાનાભાઇ પુજ્યાની તવારીખની ચોપડી પણ મી. અહેરાંમગોરનેજ આડકત્રી રીતે આભારી હતી.

આ ચોપડી રચવા જે સધલા વીદવાન પારસી, ઇરાની, યુરોપ્યન

લખનારાઓનો મેં આધાર લીધો છે, તથા જેઓના પુસ્તકોના ઘટતે ઠેકાણે મેં ઇશારા references કર્યાં છે તે સઘલાઓનો હું અત્યંત આભારી છું.

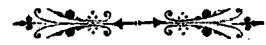
સેવટે, આ ચોપડી સર હોરમસજી એડનવાલાને અર્પણ કરતાં મને ભારી ખુશાલી ઉપજે છે. પારસી કોમમાં સર હોરમસજીનું પ્યારૂં પનોતું નામ એક ઘરગતુ શબ્દ થઇ પડયો છે. પરવરદેગાર એમને પારસી કોમને માથે હજી ઘણા વર્ષો સુધી તંદરોસ્તી, આબાદી સાથે કાયમ રાખે !

જમશેદ કાવસજી કાતરક,

ટાવર બીલડીંગ, વાડીઆ ચોલસ,
લાલબાગ, પરેલ, મુંબઇ, ૧૨.

તા. ૫ એપ્રીલ ૧૯૩૯.
રોજ બેહમન, માહ આવાં યઝ. ૧૩૦૮.

ઇરાનની છેલ્લી જરથોશતી મહાન સાસાની શાહેનશાહતની પડતી, તથા જરથોશતીઓના હીંદમાં આગમનનાં ખરાં કારણો.



પ્રકરણ ૧ લું.

સાસાની જમાનાના દીનચુસ્ત વીદવાન દસ્તુરો તથા મોબેદો.

આપણા કેટલાક પારસી સ્કોલરોમાં એક એવો ખોટો ખ્યાલ બેઠો છે કે આપણું ઇરાનનું રાજ ગયું તે ફક્ત આપણા ઇરાનીઓનેજ લીધે, બાસ કરીને ધર્મગુરૂઓના જુલમને લીધે ગયું, અને નહી કે આરબોના જુલમને લીધે.

હું દાખલા, દલીલો, શાહદતો સાથે સંપુર્ણ રીતે પુરવાર કરી આપીશ કે ઉપલાં કારણો ખરાં નથી. ખરાં કારણોની સત્ય હકીકત હું ટુંકમાં હેથળ રજુ કરીશ, અને આ વીદવાનોની દલીલોનું એક પછી એક ખંડન કરીશ.

સાસાની ધર્મગુરૂઓના કહેવાતા જુલમ તથા ધર્માધપણા બાબે કેટલાક પારસી વીદવાનોના પાયા વગરના આક્ષેપો.

અમદાવાદની ગુજરાત વરનાકયુલર સોસાયટીના આશરા હેથલ ડો. એરચ તારાપોરવાલાએ તા. ૨૭ મી જુલાઇ ૧૯૩૬ ને દીને "પારસીઓનું

હીંદમાં આગમન અને ત્યાર પછીનો તેઓનો ઇતીહાસ" એ વિષય ઉપર એક વ્યાખ્યાન આપ્યુ હતું, કે જે એ સોસાયટી તરફથી પ્રગટ થતાં "મુંબઇ પ્રકાશ" નામના ત્રીમાસીક ચોપાન્યાના જુલાઇ સપ્ટેમબર ૧૯૩૬ ના અંકમાં, પાના ૨૮૧ થી ૨૯૧ માં પ્રગટ થયું છે. એવણના એ ભાષણની "સત્ય શોધક"ના તખલ્લુસ હેથલ એક ઉડતી તપાસ "જામે-જમશેદ"ના તા. ૨૫) નવેમબર ૧૯૩૬ ના અંકમાં મેં લીધી હતી.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા પોતાના મજકુર વ્યાખ્યાનમાં જણાવે છે કે:—

"સાસાની જમાનામાં જરથોશતી ધરમ જે પ્રકારે પલાતો હતો, જે પ્રકારે ધરમગુરૂ વરગનો દોર તથા દુરાગ્રહ તે સમયે ચાલતાં હતાં, એ બધાંને કારણે ઇરાની પ્રજાનો મોટો ભાગ રાજદ્રોહી તથા ધર્મદ્રોહી બન્યો."

એજ પ્રમાણે મી. પારખ ધર્મગુરૂ વરગના persecution, intolerance બાબે બોલે છે. મી. બહેરામગોર તેઓના fanaticism, intoleration યાને અસહનશીલતા ધર્માંધપણા બાબે બોલે છે. જ્યારે એરવદ ફરામરોજ બોદે "History of Zorastrian Civilisation" ઉપર પોતે તા. ૧૬-૧૧-૧૯૩૮ ને દીને કરેલાં ભાષણમાં સાસાની clergy ના જુલમ tyranny ને શહેનશાહતની પડતીના એક કારણ તરીકે ગણે છે.

પણ આ સાહેબો પોતાના કલ્પીત વીચારોના ટેકામાં કશી સંગીન દલીલો રજુ કરતા નથી. એકાદ છુટા છવાયા મોબેદોના જુલમને લીધે આખા ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગને વગોવવો, તેની નાલેશી કરવી, એ વીદવાન માણસને તો નજ છાજે. આપણને અનેકવાર toleration ના સબકો આપવામાં આવે છે, પણ કમનસીબે આ ભાષણ કર્તાઓમાનાં કોઇકો ખુદ પોતાના ભાષણ દરમ્યાન ધીરજ, શાંત મન ન રાખતાં balance of mind ગુમાવી દઇ બીજાઓ ઉપર વીના કારણે હુમલા કરે છે, એ ખરેજ બેદની વાત છે. Practise what you preach.

ત્યારે શું સાસાની ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગનો 'દોર, દુરાગ્રહ, જુલમ, અસહનશીલતા તથા ધર્માંધપણું' એટલાં બધાં હતાં કે જેથી ડો. તારાપોરવાલા જણાવે છે તેમ ઇરાની પ્રજાનો મોટો ભાગ રાજદ્રોહી તથા ધર્મદ્રોહી બન્યો?

સાસાની ધર્મગુરૂઓએ બજાવેલી ધર્મની, દેશની તથા રાજ્યની કીંમતી સેવાઓ.

દસ્તુર તનસર, આદરબાદ મારેસપંદ અરદાએ-વીરાફ જેવા મહાન દસ્તુરોના નામો તથા કામોથી આપણે અજાણ તો નથી. આજ ધર્મગુરૂઓએ જરથોશતી ધર્મ પુસ્તકો એકઠાં કરી, તે compile કરવા તથા તેના પહેલવી તરજુમાઓ કરવામાં કીંમતી મદદ કરી હતી. ધર્મગુરૂઓ શાહોના સલાહકાર જેવા હતા. જેમ દરેક દેશની તવારીખમાં church તથા state ને ઘાડો સંબંધ રહે છે, તેમ તે વેલા હતું. સાસાની જમાનાનું સાહીત્ય દરેક દીશામાં જે ખીલ્યું હતું, તે clergy નેજ આભારી હતું. તેઓ ધર્મની તથા પ્રજાની સાચી સેવા બજાવતા.

આપણે જાણીને ઘણા ખુશી છીએ કે ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગ માટેના પોતાના વીચારોમાં ડો. તારાપોરવાલા પાછલથી પણ આવકારદાયક ફેરફાર કરવા શક્તીવાન બન્યા છે. Co-Ordinating Council of Zarthoshti Religious Bodies તરફથી પ્રગટ થતું ત્રીમાસીક ચોપાન્યું "Humata"ના ડીસેમબર ૧૯૩૮ ના અંકમાં Some Recent Books on Zoroastrianism વાલી આરટીકલમાં એ ત્રીમાસીકના અધીપતી ડો. તારાપોરવાલાએ મી. સોહરાબ બલસારાની ચોપડી " The religion of Zarathushtra " નો રીવ્યુ લીધો છે. મી. બલસારાએ ૧૯૩૫ માં કામા ઓરીએંટલ ઇન્સ્ટીટયુટ ખાતે Goverment Fellowship Lecturer તરીકે જે ભાષણો કર્યાં હતાં તે આ પુસ્તકમાં આપવામાં આવ્યાં છે. ડો. તારાપોરવાલા મી. બલસારાના પુસ્તકની તારીફ કરતાં ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગ માબે લખતાં જે લખે છે તે મનન કરવા જોગ છે.

" These great Dasturs who composed the later texts and who collected and re-arranged the scattered books of our religion are nearer to the Prophet than ourselves. They **Lived** the religion much more vividly than most of us do to day. These venerable Dasturs **Lived** their faith and have left us records of their

personal experiences in the late Avestan hymns and in the Pahlavi writings."

(જુઓ ઉપલું ચોપાન્યું, પાનું ૩૩)

ડો. તારાપોરવાલાએ આપણાં વડવાઓના વખતના જે અશો તથા ભણેલા દસ્તુરોના પહેલવી લખાણો બાબે ઇશારો કર્યો છે, તેના કેટલાક દાખલાઓ અત્રે રજુ કરવાનું પ્રસંગોપાત્ર થઇ પડશે. ડો. તારાપોરવાલા આ મુજબ મેં તા. ૨૫-૧૧-૩૬ ના 'જામે'માં જણાવ્યું તેમ એટલું તો કબુલે છે કે આપણા સાસાની દસ્તુરો ખરા ધાર્મીક હતા.

કેટલાક Venerable great દસ્તુરો.

દસ્તુર યુનાને નોશેરવાન આદેલને પહેલવીમાં એક પત્ર લખી કેટલીક નસીયત તથા દુઆ દીધી હતી. આ પત્રના પહેલવી ટેક્ષ્ટ તથા અંગ્રેજી તરજુમા માટે જુઓ Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume માં, દસ્તુર કેકોબાદ આદરબાદનો લેખ (પાના ૪૯૪-૫૦૮.)

શાહપુર પહેલાએ તબીબાની તથા ફીલસુફીની કેટલીક કેટાઓ રૂમથી મંગાવી હતી. એ કેટાઓ લઇને આવેલા રૂમી વીદવાનોને દાદાર બીન દાદોફ્ત નામના વડા મુબેદે વાદવીવાદમાં માહત કીધા હતા. આ બાબદનું પહેલવી લખાણ હાલ જલવાયલું નથી, જોકે તેનો ફારસી તરજુમો રેવાયતમાં જણાયલો છે. એનો એક હસ્તલેખ બ્રીટીશ મ્યુઝીઅમમાં છે. જુઓ West's Pahlavi Literature, Appendix.

નોશેરવાનના પ્રખ્યાત વડા વજીર બુઝોરગમેહેરની કીંમતી નસીહતોનું લખાણ હજી પહેલવીમાં, તથા ફીરદુસીના શાહનામામાં સચવાયલું છે.

ઇરાનના છેલ્લા કમનસીબ શાહ યઝદેગર્દની બેટી ગુલશીરીનાની દસ્તગીરી, રાહબરી તથા પાસબાની કરતાં દસ્તુર દાદે પોતાનો જીવ પણ ખોહયો હતો. જુઓ "ગુલશીરીના".

સાસાની શાહોના અમલ દરમ્યાન ઇરાનનો મુલક કેટલો ફલફુલ તથા આબાદ હતો, તે બીના યઝદેજર્દના બેટા તથા ખલીફ ઉમરનો કારસો, જે ફારસીમાં જલવાયો છે, તેપરથી માલમ પડે છે.

ખુદ ઇરાનની હાર પછી, આનકવેટીલ તથા એમ. ન્યોશે જણાવે છે તેમ થોડાંજ વરસમાં, અલીના વખતમાં, કેટલાક મોહમદન ઓલમાંઓએ પુછેલા ફીલસુફીના સવાલોનો વડા મોબેદે બાહોશીથી ખોલાસો કર્યો હતો. આ ફારસી લખાણ "ઓલમાએ ઇસ્લામ" નામે જાણીતું છે, તથા દારાબ હોરમઝદીઆરની રેવાયતના સંગ્રહમાં તેને સમાવ્યું છે. (જુઓ એરવદ માણેકજી ઉનવાલાની લીથો આવૃતી, વોલમ બીજું, પાના ૭૨-૮૬; તથા એરવદ બમનજી ધાભર એમ. એ. નો અંગ્રેજી તરજુમો "The Persian Rivayats", પાના 437-57.) West's Pahlavi Literature, Appendix.

એજ મુજબ ખલીફ હારૂન-અર-રશીદના દીકરા ખલીફા મામુનની દરબારમાં મુરા અબલીશે પુછેલા સાત સવાલોનો દસ્તુર આદર ફરોબગે સંતોશકારક ખુલાસો કર્યો હતો, જે બાબત પહેલવીમાં "ગજસ્તક આબાલીસ" નામની ચોપડીમાં જલવાઇ છે, તથા છપાઇ છે, તથા તેના પાઝંદ, ફારસી, તેમજ ફ્રેંચ, અંગ્રેજી, ગુજરાતી તરજુમાઓ પ્રગટ થયા છે. જુઓ West's Pahlavi Literature P. 109.

વલી સુલતાન મહમુદના અમલમાં મોબેદોએ ઇજશનેની ક્રિયા કરી, જરથોશતી ધર્મ તથા ક્રિયાઓની ખુબંદી દેખાડી, જરથોશતીઓને આફતમાંથી બચાવી, જરથોશતી ધર્મ બાલ કરતાં બારીક છે એ કહેવત ખોલેખોલ ખરી પાડી હતી. આ કીસ્સો દારાબ હોરમઝદયારની રવાયતના સંગ્રહમાં છે; જુઓ એરવદ ઉનવાલાની આવૃતી, વોલમ ૨)જું, પાના ૧૯૪-૯૯. વલી જુઓ દસ્તુર ફરામરોઝ કુટારનું એ કીસ્સાનું ગુજરાતી વાંચણ તથા તરજુમો, "શેઠ જેહાંગીર બીમાદલાલ યાદગારી ગ્રંથ"માં, પાના ૨૨૯-૨૫૯.

ધર્મગુરૂઓનો દોર તથા દુરાગ્રહ કહો, યા intolerance, fanaticism કહો તેનો બી. બહેરામગોરે એક વીચીત્ર દાખલો આપ્યો છે. તેવણે જણાવ્યુ કે નકામી, નીરજીવ, trifle બાબતો ઉપર priests પોતાનો વખત બરબાદ કરી મારામારી કરતા હતા. આના દાખલામાં તેવણે માનુશચેહેરનું નામ રજુ કર્યું હતું. હું ધારૂછું કે તેવણે આ નામ રજુ કર્યું ન હતે.

દસ્તુર માનુશચેહેરનું બરશનુમ બાબે કીંમતી લખાણ.

દસ્તુર માનુશચેહેર ગોશનજમ આજથી હજાર વરસ ઉપર ઇરાન ખાતે પારસ તથા કેરમાનના વડા દસ્તુર હતા. તેવણ એક ધણાજ બાહોશ દસ્તુર હતા, અને તેવણના કેટલાંક પહેલવી લખાણો, જેમ કે દાદેસ્તાને દીની, કીંમતી ગણાય છે. માનુશચેહેરના ઝાદસ્પરમ નામના એક ભાઇ, જેવણ સીરકાનના પ્રગણાના દસ્તુર હતા, તેવણે પોતાના કેટલાક યજમાનોના આગ્રહને વશ થઇ બરશનુમની ક્રિયામાં કેટલોક ઘટાડો કરવા માગ્યો હતો. માનુશચેહેરે આથી પોતાના ભાઇને સખત ઠપકો આપ્યો હતો, અને અનેક દાખલા દલીલોથી તેવણે પોતાના ભાઇને, તેમજ ઇરાનના જરથોસ્તીઓને દેખાડી આપ્યું હતું કે બરશનુમ જેવી મોતેબર ક્રિયાઓમાં મનને ફાવે તેમ ફેરફાર કરવાથી કેટલું બધું ધર્મને નુકસાન થાય છે. એ માટેના તેવણે પહેલવીમાં લખેલા ત્રણ યાદગાર પત્રો હજી પણ જલવાઇ રહયાં છે, કે જે માનુશચેહેરના પત્રો, Epistles of Manushchihar, ને નામે ઓલખાયા છે.

એરવદ બમનજી નસરવાનજી ધાભર એમ. એ. એ એક વીદવતા ભર્યા Introduction તથા Collations સાથની આ પહેલવી ટેક્ષ્ટ છપાવી છે, તેમજ પ્રસ્તાવના તથા નોંધ સાથે ગુજરાતી તરજુમો પણ પ્રગટ કર્યો છે; વલી જુઓ ડો. વેસ્ટનો અંગ્રેજી તરજુમો, S. B. E. Series Vol. 18.

મી. બહેરામગોર મારા માનવંત ઉસ્તાદ થાય છે, તેવણ માટે મને માન તથા અહેશાનની લાગણી છે અને રહેશે; પણ તેવણને હું નમનતાઇથી પુછીશ કે જો માનુશચેહેરની દલીલો trifle નીરજીવ હોય તો આ પ્રખ્યાત પહેલવી પત્રોની ચોપડી શા માટે યુનીવરસીટીના એમ. એ. જેવા સૌથી ઉંચા વર્ગમાં વરસો વરસ prescribe મુકરર કરવામાં આવે છે? શા માટે પોતાની બંને મદરેસાઓના વીદયાર્થીઓને તેવણ એ ટેકસ્ટ શીખવે છે? મેં તો ભાષણ દરમીઆનજ મી. બહેરામગોરને જણાવ્યું હતું કે એ બાબદ નકામી નથી. 'It is not trifle'.

કુસ્તી કરવા આગમજ, તથા બીજી ધાર્મીક ક્રિયાઓ વેલા મોબેદો ઉંચેવેરથી પોતાના હાથો પાણી વડે કાંય ધોઇને સાફ કરે છે તેની સાયંટીફીક સમજણ.

આ કહેવાતી નીરજીવ, trifle બાબદ વિષે બોલતાં, મોબેદ સાહેબો ઉંચેવેરથી હાથો ધોઇ કુસ્તી કરે છે, તથા બાજધરણું, યસ્ન, વીસપરદ, વંદીદાદ વગેરે મોતેબર પાવમહલની ક્રિયાઓ દરમ્યાન મોબેદ સાહેબો જે ઉંચેવેરથી આખો હાથ પાણી વડે પાવ કરે છે, તે વિષે મી. બહેરામગોરે મી. પારખના ભાષણ બાદ પ્રમુખપદેથી વીવેચન કરતાં તેમજ એરવદ ફરામરોઝ બોદે પોતાના મજકુર તા. ૧૬-૧૧-૩૮ ના "જરથોશતી સુધારાની તવારીખ"વાલાં ભાષણમાં, હાથોના ચાલા કરી ઠઠા મશકેરી કરી બોલ્યા હતા.

જરથોશતી ધર્મ તથા તેની ક્રિયાઓ સુખશાંતી hygiene ના તથા સાયંસના સીધ્ધાંતો ઉપર રચાયલાં છે, તે આપણુના વીદવાનોની જાણ બહાર તો ન હશે. વંદીદાદમાં એ વિષેના કાયદાઓની બારીક વીગત છે. આપણુ શરીરની બહારની પવીત્રાઇ વધારવા સાથે, આપણા શરીરમાંથી નીકલતો શુક્ષ્મ પ્રવાહ, જેને આપણે ખોરેહ કહીએ છીએ, તેની ઉપર આસપાસની અસર અપવીત્રાઇનો ગલબો નહી લાવે તે થકી શરીરના ભાગો જેવા કે, માથું અને પગો ઉઘાડા નહી રાખવાનો રીવાજ, તથા હાથ મોઢું વગેરે ઉંઘાડા ભાગોને પાણી વડે ધોવાનો રીવાજ, તથા માશ્રવાણીનો ઉપયોગ આપણા ધર્મે આપણને શીખવ્યો છે, જેને હાલની સાયંસ ટેકો આપે છે. આ બાબે Geoffrey Hodson પોતાની ચોપડી "Meditations on the Occult Life"માં (પાનું ૮), નીચે મુજબ લખે છે :—

"It (body) must be kept clean without and within its magnetism guarded and purified by frequent and regular bathing, frequent changes of clothing and pure and natural living even among impure and unnatural surroundings. The hands and feet are parts of the body which are most

susceptible to external magnetic impurities. They are as it were, magnetic orifices, modes of entrance into and egress from the magnetic system of the body."

શરીરની બહારની તેમજ બીતરની પવીત્રાઇની જરૂર વિષે, તથા બુરેહના શરીરની સાથના નીકટ સંબંધ બાબે, જાણીતાં માસીક પત્ર "ચેરાગ"ના વીદવાન અધીપતીએ "અખેમ વોહૂ"ના મથાલાં હેથલ એ પત્રના સપટેમબર ૧૯૩૮ ના અંકમાં લખેલી એક આરટીકલ (પાના ૪૫૮–૬૫) તરફ વાંચનારનું ધ્યાન ખેંચવાની હું રજા લેઉ છું.

ધર્મનો ક્રિયા સાથે નીકટ સંબંધ.

ક્રિયાઓ ધર્મનો અગત્યનો ભાગ ગણાય છે. ક્રિયા વગર ધર્મ હોઇ શકે નહી. ખુદ હાલની યુરપની સુધરેલી પ્રજાઓમાં પણ ફકત ધાર્મીક પ્રસંગોએજ નહી, પણ સંસારી પ્રસંગોએ પણ ક્રિયાઓની હાજરી જરૂરી જણાય છે, અને તેને રાજવંશીઓ પણ માન આપે છે. એજ પ્રમાણે ઇરાનમાં સાસાની બાદશાહો પોતે ધાર્મીક હોઇ ક્રિયાઓને માન આપી, ધર્મગુરૂઓને માન આપતા હતા. અલબત જમાનાને પ્રસંગને અનુસરીને સાસાની જમાનાની તરીકતો, ક્રિયાઓ ઘણી બારીક હતી, અને લોકો તે ખુશીથી પાલતા હતા. જો કોઇક સુધારકો, જેમ હાલમાં કેટલાક સુધારકો કરે છે તેમ ફકત પોતાની સગવડને ખાતર તમામ ક્રિયાઓને હસી કાઢવા માગતા, તો તેવાઓની વડા દસ્તુર તરફથી સખત ખબર લેવાતી. જેમ માનુશચેહેરે કર્યું હતું, અને તે દરોબસત હતું. તેવણે પોતાના ભાઇની પણ શરમ રાખી હતી નહી. જો આને દોર, ધર્મગુરૂનો દોર, જુલમ કહેવામાં આવે તો ભલે, પણ આજ strict discipline ને લીધેજ આપણનો ધર્મ હાલ બચી રહ્યો છે. આપણે તો આપણા પુર્વજો સાસાની ધર્મગુરૂઓના હજારો હજાર ઉપકાર માની શુકરાના કરવા જોઇએ.

મી. પારખ, માની તથા મજદકના અનુયાયીઓની કતલ, persecution બાબે બોલી સાસાનીઓના intolerence તથા tyranny નો દાખલો આપે છે. મઝદક બાબે હુ આગલ ચાલતાં વર્ણન કરીશ.

પ્રકરણ ૨ જું.

માનીકીઝમ તથા ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મનો ઇરાનમાં પગ પેસારો.

માનીએ એક નવો ધર્મ ઉભો કરી તેમાં શાપુરને તથા તેની રૈયતને વતલાવવાની તજવીજ કરી હતી, પણ તેની ઠગાઇ માલમ પડી હતી. ઇરાની પ્રજા, જે ડો. તારાપોરના કહેવા મુજબ 'ધર્મદ્રોહી' હતે, તો ખુશીથી માનીનો ધર્મ કબુલ કરતે; પણ તેમ થયુ નહી. આ તેઓની ધર્મની જનફેશાનીના બદલામાં આપણના વીદ્વાનો તેઓને intolerant persecutors ના એલકાબથી નવાજે છે. માનીના બુરા નાસ્તીક વીચારોને લીધે દીનકર્દના પુસ્તક ૩) તથા ૯)માં તેને 'દ્રુજ' તથા 'ઝંદીક' તરીકે ઓલખ્યો છે. પ્રોફેસર ખાઉન આ 'ઝંદીક' ઓલની સરસ સમજણ આપે છે. માનીકીઅનોનો પગ પેસારો ફકત જરથોશતી ધર્મને ભયરૂપ હતો એટલુંજ નહી, પણ રાજ્યને, state ને પણ તેથી અસર થતી. એજ પ્રમાણે રૂમીઓ સાથની ચાલુ લડાઇઓને લીધે ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મે પણ પગ પેસારો ઇરાનમાં કર્યો હતો. અનેકવેલા ઇરાની શાહોની ભલાઇ છતાં ખ્રીસ્તીઓ ઇરાની જરથોશતીઓને ત્રાસ આપતા, એટલુંજ નહી, પણ આતશ-કદેહોનો પણ નાશ કરતા, આથી શાહપુર બીજાએ ખ્રીસ્તીઓની તથા માની પંથવાલાઓની કટલ ચલાવી હતી. પ્રોફેસર એડવર્ડ રેહાટઝેક, જેણે મુલ્લા ફીરૂઝ કેટાબખાનાના ફારસી હસ્તલેખોનું કેટલગ તૈયાર કર્યું હતું, તેણે ૧૮૭૭ ના ફેબ્રવારીની ૧૭ મી તારીખે Royal Asiatic Society ની મુંબઇની શાખા સનમુખ "Christianity in the Persian Dominions" નામનું પેપર વાંચ્યું હતું. તેણના જણાવવા મુજબ ખ્રીસ્તીઓનું persecution ધાર્મીક કારણો કરતાં રાજ્યદ્વારી, political કારણોને વધારે આભારી હતું. (જુઓ Journal, B.B.R.A.S., XIII, pp. 18-108) ડો. સર જીવનજી મોદીએ પોતાની ચોપડી "A Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A. society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view" વાલા પુસ્તકમાં, પાના ૮૨-૮૯, પ્રોફેસર રેહાટઝેકના પેપરનો લંબાણ રીવ્યુ લીધો છે.

કોપનહેગનની યુનીવરસીટીના ઇરાન્યન ફાઇલોલોજીના જાણીતા ડેનીશ પ્રોફેસર આર્થર ક્રીસ્ટેનસન જેવણે કોપનહેગનની લાઇબ્રેરીમાંના કેટલાક કીંમતી પહેલવી હસ્તલેખો, codices ની facsimile આવૃતીઓ છપાવી છે, તેવણે સાસાની જમાનાના ઇરાન બાબે ૧૯૩૬ માં એક બહુજ વીદ્વતા-ભર્યું પુસ્તક ફ્રેંચ ભાષામાં પ્રગટ કર્યું છે. આ ચોપડીનું નામ "L'Iran Sous Les Sassanides" છે, તેના ૪ થાં પ્રકરણ 'Le Prophete Mani et sa Religion'માં (પાના ૧૭૪-૨૦૦) માનીના પંથ વિષે ઘણું સુંદર બ્યાન છે. વલી તેના ૬ થાં પ્રકરણ "Les Chretiens de L'Iran"માં (પાના ૨૫૩-૩૧૦) ઇરાનમાં ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મનો કેમ પગ પેસારો થયો, તથા સાસાની શાહોને તેની સામે કેમ થવું પડીઉ, તેનું પહેલવી, અરબી, ફારસી તથા યુરોપ્યન લખનારાઓના લખાણોને આધારે બાહોશીથી ખુલાસો કર્યો છે.

પ્રોફેસર બ્રાઉન (Literary History of Persia, Vol. I. page 154, seq) જણાવે છે તેમ માનીએ Christianised Zoroas-trianism નો ફેલાવો કર્યો હતો. સર પારસી સાઇકસ પોતાની "History of Persia", Vol. I. page 405 માં જણાવે છે કે "mani's religion might almost be described as ascetism grafted on Zoroastrianism". માનીના જે સૌથી બુરાં શીક્ષણો હતાં, તે આ હતાં કે માણસ જાતે લગન કરી, વસ્તીનો વધારો કરવો એ એક બુરૂ કાર્ય હતું. માનીની ફીલસુફી વલી એવી હતી કે રોશની અને અંધકાર બુરી શકતીના પરીણામ હતાં.

આ સઘલાં બુરાં શીક્ષણો જરથોશતી ધર્મને તેમજ ઇરાની પ્રજાને, તથા દેશને નુકસાન કરતા હોવાથી, અલબીરૂનીના જણાવવા પ્રમાણે માનીને બેહરામ પહેલાએ પકડવાનો હોકમ કરતાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે આ માણસ દુન્યાનો નાશ કરવા લોકોને શીખવે છે, તેથી પહેલાં તેનોજ નાશ કરવો જરૂરી હતું. (જુઓ અલબીરૂનીના અરબી પુસ્તક 'અથાર ઉલ બાકય" નો ડો. એડવર્ડ સાખાઉ (E. C. Sachau)નો અંગ્રેજી તરજુમો "Chronology of the Ancient Nations", પાનું ૧૯૧.)

પ્રકરણ ૩ જું.

યુરોપ્યન વીદ્વાનોના જરથોશતી ધર્મ બાબે કેટલાક ભુલભર્યા ખોટા ખ્યાલો–અને તેમનો રદીઓ.

યુરોપ્યન વીદ્વાનોએ આપણના ધર્મની ઘણી શોધખોલો કરી કીંમતી સેવા બજાવી છે, પણ તેઓએ અનેક વેલા અમુક બાબતો ન સમજતાં ઘોંટાલો, છબરડો કરી ગંભીર ભુલો કરી છે. આપણના વીદ્વાનોએ યુરોપ્યન વીદ્વાનોના લખાણો વાંચી તેમના વીચારોની આંધલી નકલ કરવાથી ચેતવુ જોઇએ.

પ્રોફેસર ડારમેસ્ટેટે જેવા એક મહાન સ્કોલરે અવસ્તાને કાઇસ્ટની પછીના જમાનામાં રચાયલા કહયા હતા. ડો. વેસ્ટ જેવો અદંગ પહેલવી અભ્યાસી પહેલવી 'ખેતોદસ' (અવસ્તા 'ખએત્વદથ') બોલ બરોબર ન સમજવાથી તેનો અર્થ 'next of kin marriage' કરે છે. આ ઉપરથી શું એમ કહેવાશે કે સાસાનીઓમાં મા–બહેનને પરણવાનો રીવાજ હતો, ના એવા 'દુરાગ્રહ'નો એક પણ દાખલો તવારીખમાંથી મલતો નથી.

ડો. વેસ્ટના આ આક્ષેપનો રદીઓ મરહુમ દસ્તુર દારાબે બહુજ બાહોશીથી આપ્યો છે. મુંબઇની રોયલ એશીઆટીક સોસાયટીની શાખા સનમુખ તા. ૧૫ તથા ૨૨ એપ્રીલ ૧૮૮૯ ને દીને "The Alleged Practice of next of kin marriages in old Iran" એ બાબે એક લંબાણુ પેપર વાંચી અનેક દાખલાઓ રજુ કરી, આ આક્ષેપ તદન નાપાયદાર હતો એમ પુરવાર કરીઉ હતું. જુઓ એમની ઉપલી મથાલાંવાલી ચોપડી, તેમજ Journal, B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XVII, pp. 97–136.

મરહુમ સર જીવનજી મોદીએ "A Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A. Society" વાલાં પોતાના પુસ્તકમાં દસ્તુર દારબના પેપરનો લંબાણુ રીવ્યુ લીધો છે. (ઉપલી ચોપડી, પાના ૧૦૦–૧૦૪)

વલી મરહુમ વીદવાન એરવદ શેરીઆરજી દાદાભાઇ ભરૂચાએ શાહનુમાએ માઝદયસ્નાન સભા તરફથી તા. ૨૨-૫-૧૮૯૩ ને દીને એક ભાષણ કર્યું હતું, તેમાં તેવણે આ આક્ષેપનો ઘણીજ વીદવતા ભરી રીતે રદીઓ આપીઓ છે. જુઓ મી. હોશંગ અંકલેસરીઆએ પ્રગટ કરેલી ચોપડી "ગંજે ઇરાની, ભાગ ૨ જો—જન્મ લગન અને મરણ" પાના ૪૮ થી ૬૧.

ઇલ્મે ક્ષનુમવાલા સાહેબો આ ખએત્વદથ શબ્દને, તથા તેને લગતી ક્ષમજણને જુદીજ રીતથી સમજાવે છે, જે વાંચવા લાયક છે. જુઓ ડો. ફ્રામરોઝ પીનીવાલાની ચોપડી "ખુરદેહ અવસ્તા ના ક્ષનુમ", પાનું ૬૪૬.

વલી અમેરીકામાં હાલ વસ્વાત કરતો mazdaznan નામનો તોલો, જેઓ આપણી ઘણીક જરથોશતી તરીકતો, તથા રસમો પાલી જરથોશતી ધર્મના સીધાંતો અનુસાર ચાલે છે તથા જેઓ તરફથી "mazdaznan" નામનું ચોપાન્યું પ્રગટ થાય છે, તેઓ વિષે મી. નાનાભાઇ ફ. મામા એડવોકેટે "ફ્રશોગર્દ સીલ્વર જુબીલી મેમોરીઅલ વોલ્યુમ"માં એક ટીપ્પણી લખાણ કર્યું છે, જેપરથી જણાય છે કે આ મઝદસ્નાનો ચટીક લગનનો ઘણો ઉંચ અર્થ, ભાવાર્થ, આદર્શ ધરાવે છે.

મારા વીદવાન ગુરૂ મી. બહેરામગોરે જરથોશતી દીનની ખોલ કરનારી મંડલી સમક્ષ અનેક મીટીંગોમાં આ 'ખએતોકદસ' બાબે વીવેચન કરી સાબેત કરી આપ્યું છે કે અવસ્તા યા પહેલવી સાહીત્યમાં કોઇપણ આ શબ્દ next of kin લગનને અરથે આવ્યોજ નથી, એ શબ્દ તો ઘણો ઉંચ, ઉમદા ભાવાર્થ દેખાડે છે.

પ્રકરણ ૪ થું.

સાસાની જમાનામાં કાયદાની બુલંદી-ઉંચ સાસાની Civilisation.

'માદીગાને હઝાર દાદેસ્તાન' નામની કાયદાની હજાર બારીકીઓની ક્ષમજણની એક ચોપડી પહેલવીમાં લખાયલી છે. ડો. બારથોલોમીએ

આ પુસ્તકના કેટલાક ભાગનો જર્મનમાં તરજુમો કર્યો છે, તેમજ કામા ઓરીએંટલ ઇનસ્ટીટ્યુટના કેટલાક journals માં પહેલવી text સાથે બારથોલોમીનો તરજુમો notes સાથે અંગ્રેજીમાં આપ્યો છે. આ પુસ્તકની ઇબારત તેવણ બરોબર ન સમજવાથી તેવણે એવો અર્થ કર્યો છે કે સાસાની કાયદા હેઠલ એક ઇરાની ગમે એટલી બાયડીઓ તથા રખાતો તેમજ ગોલામડીઓ રાખી શકતો. ડો. તારાપોરવાલા પ્રોફેસર બારથોલોમીના ચેલા હોઇ આ અર્થ કબુલ રાખતા હોય યા ન હોય. બારથોલોમીના જર્મન તરજુમાને આધારે મરહુમ મી. જી. કે. નરીમાન પણ સાસાન્યન polygamy and concubinage ની વાત કરે છે. (જુઓ 'Persia and Parsis', Intro, IV) પણ બારથોલોમીના આ અર્થનું ખોટાપણ મી. સોહરાબ બલસારાએ હાલમાં આ પહેલવી ચોપડીના પોતે કરેલા અંગ્રેજી તરજુમામાં ઘણી બાહોશીથી દલીલ પુર્વક દેખાડી આપીઉ છે.

સાસાની જમાનાની બાનુનો ઉંચ દરજ્જો.

પ્રોફેસર ક્રિશ્ચીઅન બારથોલોમી માટે આપણને માન છે. તેવણે Altiranisches Worterbuch, યાને અવસ્તા ડીક્ષનરી ત્રણ મોટાં વાલમમાં પ્રગટ કરી છે. તેવણની Zum Sassanidischen Recht ના ત્રણ ભાગનો, તેમજ ueber ein Sassanidischen Rechtbuch નો રશીઅન વીદવાન એલ. ખોગડેનોવ, જેવણે પ્રખ્યાત Salemann ના Middle-Persian grammar નો અંગ્રેજીમાં તરજુમો કર્યો છે, તેવણે જે અંગ્રેજીમાં તરજુમો કર્યો છે, તે કામા ઇનસ્ટીટ્યુટના જર્નલો નં. ૧૮, ૨૧ તથા ૨૬ માં પ્રગટ થયો છે. બારથોલોમીના જર્મન Notes on Sassanian Law ને આધારે મી. જી. કે. નરીમાન નીચે મુજબ લખે છે :—

"Not only Polygamy and Concubinage obtained under the Khoros, but if certain Sassanian codes which have outlived neglect are reliable, there were some extraordinary sex relations sanctioned by law. Not only there were legitimate senior and secondary wives, but there were legalised temporary concubiums."

(જુઓ Persia and Parsis, Part I. Intrcduction, page IV)

મરહુમ મી. નરીમાને બારથોલોમીને આધારે સાસાની જમાનાની ઈરાની બાતુના દરજ્જા બાબે કેટલાક ટીકાઓ લખ્યા હતા, જેમાંના કેટલાક મી. એસ. એચ. ઝાબવાલાએ પ્રગટ કરેલી "Posthumous Works of G. K. Nariman" વાલી ચોપડીમાં આપ્યા છે. (પાના 63–91). મી. સોહરાબ બલસારાએ આ ચોપડીનો Foreword લખીઓ છે, જેમાં તેવણ લખે છે કે:—

"Misinterpretation of the Matikan led Mr. Nariman to form erroneous views about Sassanian society. He has been vehement in his condemnation of Sassanian social order."

દસ્તુર ડો. ધાલાએ પણ તા. ૨૩–૧૨–૩૮ ના દીનના "Our heritage of Indo Iranian Languages' વાલાં ભાષણમાં સાસાની જાહોજલાલી બાબે બોલી જમાનાની ગીરદેશથી તેની પડતી આવવા બાબે ઇશારો કર્યો હતો.

વલી એમના ભાષણ બાદ પ્રમુખ સર જાંહગીર કાયાજીએ જણાવ્યું કે ઇરાનીઓ સાયંસ, ફીલસુફી, વગેરેમાં પુરવીણ હતા.

મજકુર ભાષણમાં વલી ડો. ધાલાએ સાસાની જમાનાના લોકોના ઘણા મોટા પ્રમાણના Nationalism બાબે ઇશારો કર્યો હતો.

અને તે છતાં ડો. તારાપોરવાલા સાસાનીઅન પ્રજાના 'દેશદ્રોહ'ની, તેમના 'દેશાભિમાનની ઓટ'ની મિથ્યા વાતો કરે છે.

આદીગાને હઝાર દાદેસ્તાન–સાસાનીઓના કાયદા બાબેનું એક કીંમતી પહેલવી પુસ્તક–મી. સોહરાબ બલસારાનો વીદ્વતાભર્યો તરજુમો.

મી. સોહરાબ જ. બલસારા, જેવણે પહેલવી નીરંગેસ્તાન કેટાબનો અંગ્રેજી તરજુમો કર્યો છે, તેવણે ઘણાક વરસોની ઝેહમત પછી સાસાની કાયદાની આ પહેલવી કેટાબનો ગયે વરસે અંગ્રેજી તરજુમો કરી છપાવ્યો છે. આ દલદાર ગ્રંથનું નામ "The Laws of the Ancient Persians" છે, જેમાં પહેલવી ટેક્સ્ટનું અંગ્રેજી વાંચણ, તરજુમો, નોંધો ઉપરાંત એક વીદ્વતાભર્યો લંબાણ દીબાચો, Index તથા Glossary આપવામાં આવી છે.

આ કેટાલ્ગનો એક અતી વીદ્વતાભર્યો લંબાણ રીવ્યુ ડો. ફરામરોઝ શો. ચીનીવાલાએ જામે-જમશેદ પત્રમાં અંગ્રેજીમાં આપ્યો છે. "Humata" ત્રીમાસીકના ડીસેમ્બર ૧૯૩૮ ના અંકમાં તેના વીદ્વાન અધીપતી ડો. તારાપોરવાલાએ આ ચોપડીનો રીવ્યુ લેઇ તેની વાજબી વખાણ કરી છે. (p. 33).

પ્રોફેસર બારથોલોમીના ભુલભર્યા અનુમાનો માટે મી. બલસારા નીચે મુજબ કહે છે :—

"His conclusions from the Madikan are unjustifiably disparaging" (Preface, પાનું ૧૮).

પોતાના Introduction માં (પાનું ૬૧). મી. બલસારા સાફ જણાવે છે કે "Monogamy was the only form of marriage" યાને એકજ બાયડી કરવાનો સાસાની જમાનામાં રીવાજ તથા કાયદો હતો.

ગોલામી વેપારના આક્ષેપના સંબંધમાં મી. બલસારા નીચે મુજબ કહે છે :—

"The Iranian nation was essenrtially a free people, and had therefore no indigenous slaves among them. The few that were imported had been most humanely treated, perhaps better than anywhere else in the world" (ફીબાચો પાનું ૭૨).

પ્રોફેસર બારથોલોમીના વીચારોથી જુદા પડતાં મી. બલસારા જણાવે છે કે :

"It will be seen that we entirely disagree with him in the interpretation of the structure of Sassanian Society. And indeed latterly he seemed to feel in his lecture on "Woman in Sassanian Law" that the state of things actually was not as he had interpreted. (પ્રસ્તાવના પાનું ૧૮).

આ પ્રમાણે પાછલથી બારથોલોમીએ પણ પોતાની ભુલ જોઇ તે જાહેર ભાષણદ્વારા સુધારવાની ટક લીધી હતી.

સાસાની શહેનશાહતની જાહોજલાલી-દારમેસ્ટેટે તથા બારથોલ્ડના વીચારો.

ખુદ દારમેસ્ટેટે વટીક સાસાની civilisation, સુધારા માટે બોલતાં લખે છે કે :—

"This Sassanian period is important not for the history of Persia alone but for that of the whole world. Persia constituted the centre to which everything recurred and from which everything issued. The Sassanian monarchy continued for four centuries to be the mart of civilised mental activity."

(જુઓ Historical and Literary Sketch of Persia-મી. નરીમાનની ચોપડી, "Persia and Parsis" pp. 11-14) વલી જુઓ C. Huart ની "Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilisation".

સાસાની શહેનશાહતની ધાર્મીક, સંસારી, આર્થીક, લશ્કરી તથા રાજ્યદ્વારી વ્યવસ્થા કેવા ઉતમ પ્રકારની હતી તે બાબે પ્રોફેસર આર્થર ક્રીસટેનસન પોતાની ચોપડી "L'Iran sous Les Sassanides" ના બીજા પ્રકરણમાં L'Organisation de L'Empire (પાના ૬૨-૧૩૫) માં બહુ સુંદર ખોલાસો કરે છે. આ ચોપડીનો સેવટનો ભાગ Epilogue અચીત વાંચવા તથા મનન કરવા લાયક છે.

અરબી ભાષા તથા સાહીત્યના અઠંગ રશીઅન વીદ્વાન W. Barthold, જેણે ઇસ્લામ બાબે અનેક પુસ્તકો રશીઅનમાં પ્રગટ કર્યાં છે, તેણે "Iran" બાબે એક બહુજ વીદ્વતા પુર્વક પુસ્તક રશીઅનમાં પ્રગટ કર્યું છે, જેનો મી. જી. કે. નરીમાને અંગ્રેજીમાં તરજુમો લખ્યો હતો, કે જે તેવણના Posthumous Works માં આપવામાં આવ્યો છે. મી. બારથોલ્ડ પણ, સાસાની શહેનશાહતની જાહોજલાલી, તેની બુલંદી, તેનો સુધારો, વગેરે માટે વખાણ કરતાં નીચે મુજબ લખે છે:—

"In course of time the Sassanians came to be regarded in the East as rulers of the world. Victory was always with the Sassanids in any military conflicts. The Sassanians elaborated an efficient state apparatus, perhaps the most perfect in the history of Asia Minor. Even during the periods of the greatest internal troubles the state could conduct wars crowned with success. We cannot see in the history of the Sassanids any slow placed developement

followed by gradual decay. The empire was founded as if by a "single stroke". Its downfall was closely preceded by the period of the greatest splendour of the Sassanian empire attained most probably by excessive and over strained effort".

(જુઓ Posthumous works of G. K. Nariman (Orientalist and Linguist), compiled by S. H. Jhabwala, pages 120–121.

અને આમ છતાં મી. ફરદુનજી પારખ જણાવે છે કે સાસાની રાજતંત્ર એટલું તો જડમુલથી સડી ગએલું હતું (Sassanian state was rotten to the core) કે તે કારણથી મઝદકે નવો ધર્મ સ્થાપ્યો. આપણા વીદવાન ડાકટર સાહેબ તારાપોરવાલા પણ એવીજ મતલબનું બોલે છે. આ પારસી વીદવાનોની દલીલોની તપાસ વીગતે આપણે આગલ ચાલતાં લઇશું.

પ્રોફેસર ડારમેસ્ટેટે સાસાની પાદશાહોની આપખુદ સત્તા તથા ધાર્મીક અસહનશીલતા એ બે vices ને downfall ના કારણ જણાવે છે.

ખરી વાત છે કે રૂમીઓના હુમલાઓ, ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મનો હુમલો તથા માની, મઝદક જેવા બુરા ઠગારાઓના પંથના પગ પેસારાને લીધે રાજ્ય તથા ધર્મની જાલવણી માટે સાસાની શાહોને સખ્ત હાથે અનેકવેલા કામ લેવુ પડતું, પણ તેથી દેશને તથા ધર્મને, લોકોને ફાયદો થતો. અસલવારેથી દરેક દેશમાં દરેક જમાનામાં આ strong man's rule કહો, યા despotism કહો તે ચાલતું આવ્યું છે. આ વીસમી સદીમાં એક રેઝાશાહ પહેલવી, એક કમાલ અતાતુર્ક, એક ઝગલુલ પાશા, એક અમાનુલ્લા, એક સ્ટેલીન, એક મુસોલીની, એક હીટલર તથા એક ગાંધીએ આ despotism યા intolerance વડે પોતાના દેશની તથા પ્રજની શું સેવા બજાવી છે તે આપણની જાણબહાર નથી. પછી આ આપખુદ સત્તા ચલાવવા પર એક રાજા હોય, એક પ્રેસીડંટ હોય, એક વડો વજીર હોય, મોબેદાન મોબેદ હોય, એક પ્રીમીઅર હોય, યા એક હાઇ કમાન્ડ હોય.

પ્રકરણ ૫ મું.

સાસાની જમાનામાં ઇરાની પ્રજાનો મોટો તો શું પણ નાનો ભાગ વટીક રાજદ્રોહી તથા ધર્મદ્રોહી કદીપણ બન્યોજ નથી.

ઇરાની પ્રજાના 'રાજદ્રોહ' તથા 'ધર્મદ્રોહ'ની પોકલ વાતના ટેકામાં ડો. તારાપોરવાલા કશીજ શાહદત, પુરાવા રજુ કરતા નથી. ઇરાનની પડતીના કારણમાં તેવણ આ કલ્પીત 'દ્રોહ'ની વાત કરે છે.

ઇરાનીઓ 'રાજદ્રોહી' હોવાની વાત કોઇબી આરબ યા યુરોપ્યન લખનારાઓ કરી ગયા નથી. આગલા પેશદાદી, યા કયાની, યા હખામની, યા સાસાની કોઇ પણ વંશના અમલમાં ઇરાની પ્રજા હંમેશા રાજ તથા તાજ પ્રત્યે સદા વફાદાર રહી છે, અને એ વફાદારીના ગુણો હાલના પારસીઓની રગોમાં પ્રસરેલા છે. એક ઇરાની બચાની બહાદુરી, તેની મરદાનગી, પોતાના દેશ તથા રાજા તરફથી દુશમન સામે લડતાં જીવ આપવો એ બધા ગુણોની, ખુદ ઇરાનીઓના દુશમનો જેવા કે ગ્રીકો, રૂમીઓ, આરબો વટીક તારીફ કરી ગયા છે, અને એ સદ્‌ગુણોના દાખલાથી સાસાની તવારીખ ભરપુર છે. (જુઓ "તવારીખે સાસાનીઆન"–કર્તા મરહુમો બરન્હેરજી પાહલનજી દેશાઇ તથા પાહલનજી બ. દેશાઇ).

ઇરાનીઓની બાહદુરી.

'The Story of the Nations' સીરીઝવાલાં "Persia"ના પુસ્તકના કર્તા મી. એસ. જી. ડબલ્યુ. બેનજામીન, જેવણ યુનાઇટેડ સ્ટેટસ તરફથી ઇરાન ખાતે ઘણાક વરસો સુધી મીનીસ્ટર હતા, તેવણ એ પુસ્તકની ત્રીજી આવૃતીમાં લખતાં જણાવે છે કે:

"Properly led there are no better fighters than some Asiatic races, and foremost among them are Persians. (page 204).

Army after army was shattered before the military genius and invincible Cavalry of the Persian empire. (page 206).

શાહપુર તથા ખુશરોના વખતમાં રૂમી લશકરોને ચાલુ શીકસ્તો ઇરાને આપી હતી તે બાબે આ લખનાર ભારે સ્તુતી કરે છે.

કમનસીબે બીજા યુરોપ્યન લખનારાઓએ સાસાનીઓની બાહદુરી તથા બીજા સદ્‌ગુણોની ખરી કીંમત આંકી નથી. મી. Benjamin પોતાની ઉપલી ચોપડીના Preface માં જણાવેચ તેમ આ Christian લખનારાઓએ House of Sassan ને full justice આપ્યો નથી.

સર જેહાંગીર કોયાજી શું કહે છે.

સર જેહાંગીર કોયાજીએ Humata ત્રીમાસીકના ડીસેમ્બર ૧૯૩૮ ના અંકમાં "Seistan in the Iranian Epos" (pages 41–61) વાલો એક રસીલો તેમજ વીદ્વતાભર્યો લેખ લખ્યો છે, તેમાં તેવણ સીસતાનના ઇરાનીઓની બહાદુરી, તથા સ્વતંત્રતા માટેના જુસ્સાની તારીફ કરતાં લખે છે કે આરબ ચઢાઇ લાવનારાઓ સામે લાંબો વખત સુધી તેઓએ ટક્કર ઝીલી લડત ચલાવી હતી. (પાના ૬૦–૬૧).

પ્રકરણ ૬ ઠું.

એક નવો આશમેાગ.

હવે આપણે ડા. તારાપોરવાલાના 'ધર્મદ્રોહ'ની તપાસ લઇએ. જ્યાં મુલમાં ધર્મગુરૂઓનો દોર, દુરાગ્રહ જેવું હોયજ નહી, તો લોકો 'ધર્મદ્રોહી' કેમ બની શકે. ખુદ દારમેસ્ટેટે વટીક સાસાનીઅન clergy ને high in their morality, extremely refined in their dogmas યાને ઉચ નીતીમાન વગેરે ગુણોવાલા જણાવે છે, અને આ કહેવાતા 'રાજદ્રોહ' 'ધર્મદ્રોહ'ના પરીણામે, ડો. તારાપોરવાલા જણાવે

છે કે 'મઝદકનો ક્રાન્તીવાદ ઇરાની પ્રજાએ ગોયા વધાવી લીધો'. પણ વસ્તુ સ્થીતી તો જુદીજ છે. ડાકટર સાહેબની વાત સાવ ખોટી છે.

રાજદ્રોહી ઠગારો મઝદક-તેના બુરા ફતવાઓ.

નોશેરવાન આદલના પીતા ક્વાબાદના અમલમાં મઝદક નામે એક બુરો ઠગારો થઇ ગયો હતો. ઔરત તથા દોલત સરખે હીસે વહેચાવી જોઇએ, એવા તેના નાશકારક અનીતીમાન ફતવાથી ક્વાબાદ પણ અંજાઇ ગયો હતો. ક્વાબાદ તેના કહીઆ મુજબ ચાલતો. આ વેલા મોબેદોએ, વજીરોએ તથા રૈયતે પોતાના ધર્મ, તથા દેશ પ્રત્યેની જનફેશાનીને લીધે ક્વાબાદને પદભ્રષ્ટ કીધો, અને આખરે નોશેરવાને એ પાપી ઠગારા તથા તેના અનુયાયીઓને તેમના કેફે પુગાડયા. જો ઇરાની પ્રજા 'રાજદ્રોહી' 'ધર્મદ્રોહી' હતે, અને તેણે મઝદકના ક્રાનતીવાદને ખરેખરજ વધાવી લીધો હતે તો, મરહુમો બરજોરજી તથા પાલનજી દેશાઇના બોલોમાં બોલું તો "આજે દુન્યામાં જરથોસ્તીઓનું કદાચ નામ પણ રહયું ન હોતે".

દીનકર્દ, બહમન યશત, પહેલવી વંદીદાદમાં મઝદકને 'ગઝસ્તક' યાને શ્રાપ પામેલો તથા આશમોગ કહયો છે. તેના પાપી ફતવાઓ તથા બુરા કામો વિષે યાકુબી, તબરી, મસુદી, હમઝા ઇસ્ફાની, ઇબ્ન કુતઇબા, દીનાવરી, બલબીરૂની, અબુલ ફીદા જેવા અરબ લખનારાઓ લખી ગયા છે. મીરખોન્દ, ફીરદોસીનો અહેવાલ ઘણો જાણવા જોગ છે. દબેસ્તાનમાં ખાસ એક પ્રકરણ મઝદકના બુરા શીક્ષણ બાબે છે. અસલ પહેલવીમાં મઝદક નામુ હતું જેનો ઇબ્ન મુકફફાએ અરબીમાં તરજુમો કીધો હતો. તે હાલ જલવાયુ નથી. એ બાબે જુઓ ડો. મોદીનુ પેપર "Mazdak, the Iranian Socialist', દસ્તુર હોશંગ મેમોરીઅલ વોલ્યુમમાં, પાના ૧૧૬-૧૩૧. ડો. મોદી મેમોરીઅલ વોલ્યુમમાં આર્થર ક્રીસ્ટેનસનનું પેપર "Two versions of Mazdak's History"; પ્રોફેસર બ્રાઉનની Literary History of Persia, Vol. I, તથા તબારીએ સાસાનીઆન, પાના ૨૭૭-૮૨; તેમજ Arthur Christensen ની ચોપડી "L'Iran sous Les Sassanides", પ્રકરણ સાતમું "Le Mouvement Mazdakite" પાના ૩૧૧-૩૫૭. Noldeke's Geschichte der Sassaniden des Tabari, Excurse 6, 'ueber Mazdak und die Mazdakiten, pages 455-467.

મઝદકીઓના કાવાદાવા-ઇરાનની પડતીનું એક કારણ.

સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતી તથા નાશનું ખરૂ કારણ આ છે કે મઝદકના પંથના ફેટલાકોએ છુપા કાવાદાવા કરી, અરબ દુશમનોને માર્ગ દેખાડી દેશને, રાજને બેવફા નીવડીઆ હતા. ખરા 'રાજદ્રોહી' તો આ મઝદકીઓ હતા. એ બાબે થોડુકપર તેહેરાન ખાતે એક વીદવાન ઇરાનીએ "દામ ગુસ્તરાને મઝદક" નામે ફારસીમાં બે વાલમમાં એક ચોપડી લખી પ્રગટ કરી છે, જેમાં ઘણીક નવી, કીંમતી વીગતો પુરાવા સાથે રજુ કરી છે.

પ્રકરણ ૭ મું.

પારકા લખનારાઓના તાસુબીભર્યા લખાણો.

આતો જાણીતી વાત છે કે પારકા લખનારાઓ, ખાસ કરીને દુશમન પ્રજાના લખનારાઓ, ઇરાનીઓ બાબે લખતાં ઘણી શહરાગાત, સચાઇથી વેગલી વાતો કરી ગયા છે. ગ્રીકો તથા રૂમીઓએ આમ કર્યું છે. હીરોડોટસ જેવા લખનારા પણ બીનતાસુબીથી તવારીખ લખી શકયા નથી, આથી ગીબન જેવો તવારીખનવેશ પણ દોરવાઇ ગયો છે. તેજ મુજબ અરબ તવારીખનવેશોએ તેમજ પાછલા મોહમેદન લખનારાઓએ ઘણીક વેલા ઇરાનીઓને ખોટી રીતે ખરાબ આકારમાંજ ચીતારીઆ છે, પણ તેથી પારસી વીદવાનો તેઓના લખાણોને કાંઇપણ તપાસ વગર ખરાં માની લે, અને ઇરાની લખનારાઓની તવારીખ તથા દંતકથાને હસી કાઢે, ખોટી માની લે, એતો ખચીત ભારે અફસોસની બીના છે.

એ બાબે પ્રો. રેહાટઝેકનો અભીપ્રાય.

પ્રોફેસર Edward Rehatzek એ B. B. R. A. Society સનમુખ તા. ૯ મી જનેવારી ૧૮૭૫ ને દીને "The Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems and the extinction of the

Sassanian dynasty" એ વિષય ઉપર એક પેપર વાંચીઉ હતું. (જુઓ Journal B. B. R. A. S. XI. pp. 147-218). તબરી, મીરખોન્દ તથા ઇબ્ન ખલદુનના લખાણોને આધારે તેવણે સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતીનો ચીતાર રજુ કર્યો હતો. રેહાટઝેક બોલું કબુલ કરે છે કે તેવણે જે સાધનોનો ઉપયોગ કર્યો હતો તે સાંધનો એકપક્ષી one sided હતાં, કારણ કે તે વેલાનો સતાધારી, authentic અહેવાલ ક્રોઇબી ઝોરાસ્ત્રીઅન ચોપડીઓમાં જલવાયલો રહયો હતો નહી. આ બાબે ટીકા કરતાં મરહુમ શમસુલઓલમા એરેવદ જીવનજી મોદી લખે છે કે:

"Apart from the generally accepted fact that a country wishes to sing more of its victories than of its defeats, it must be borne in mind that the Arabs would not tolerate any attempts on the part of the Zoroastrian Persians to chronicle an account of their wars with the Arabs from their point of view. The Arabs destroyed most of their ancient literature, and so, even if an account of the war had been written by a Persian, it would not have been allowed to continue because it would present a phase of the events which the Arabs would not like".

જુઓ "Review of Papers and Notes on Iranian Subjects, read at B. B. R. A. Society", page 70.

અફશીન.

મી. બેહરામગોરે, જરથોશતી જનરલ અફશીનની તપાસ વખતે એક મોબેદે અફશીન વીરૂધ જુબાની આપી હતી તેનો દાખલો રજુ કર્યો છે, પણ તેથી શું બધાજ મોબેદોને ધર્મદ્રોહી, બેવફા કહેવાનું અક્કલ પસંદ વાજબી કહી શકાય? એમ તો આ વીસમી ખ્રીસતી સદીમાં કેટલાક વીદવાન મોબેદોએ જરથોશતી ધર્મમાં પારકાઓને વટલાવવાના સવાલ બાબે હાઇ-કોરટમાં શાક્ષી આપી હતી; જોકે મોબેદોનો તમામ વર્ગ તો એ બાબદની વીરૂધ હતો.

પ્રકરણ ૮ મું.

ધર્માભીમાનની ઓટ-તે કોણને આવી છે?

મી. પારેખ જણાવે છે કે Sassanian empire was rotten to the core. ડો. તારાપોર પણ કહે છે કે "પ્રજામાં રાજ્યભક્તી, દેશપ્રેમ તથા ધર્માભીમાનની ઓટ આવી". હું તો કહું છું કે હાલના કેટલાક પારસી વીદ્વાનોમાં ધર્માભીમાનની ઓટ આવી છે, પણ તેથી ૨૧)મી સદીનો કોઇ તવારીખનવેશ એમ નહી લખી શકે કે વીસમી સદીના પારસીઓ 'ધર્મદ્રોહી' હતા.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા વળી જણાવે છે કે:

"નઉશીરવાનના મરણ પછી ઇરાનમાં પાછો ધર્મને નામે દુરાગ્રહ ચાલુ થયો. પ્રજામાં રાજ્ય તથા ધરમ પ્રત્યે છુપો યા ખુલ્લો દ્રોહ તથા ક્રોધ વસવા લાગ્યાં".

પણ ઇરાનની તવારીખમાંથી તો આ ડો. તારાપોરના દુરાગ્રહ તેમજ દ્રોહનો દાખલો આપણને મલતો નથી. શું અરબ, મોહમેદન લખનારાઓ, કે શું યુરોપ્યન લખનારાઓ, કોઇપણ આ ડાકટર સાહેબના દ્રોહ બાબે એક શબ્દ પણ લખી ગયા નથી. આ દ્રોહ તથા દુરાગ્રહની વાત કંઇજ નહી પણ ડોકટર સાહેબના ફલપદુપ ભેજાનુંજ પરીણામ છે. ડોકટર તારાપોરવાલાના આ આક્ષેપના સંબંધમાં તા. ૨૫-૧૧-૧૯૩૬ ના 'જામે-જમશેદ'માં 'સત્ય શોધક'ના તખલ્લુસ હેથલ મેં જે લખ્યું હતું તે અત્રે ટાંકીશ.

"આપણામાં હાલમાં જે પ્રમાણમાં રાજ્યભક્તી, દેશપ્રેમ તથા ધર્માભીમાન છે તે કરતાં વધુ મોટા પ્રમાણમાં એ સઘલા ગુણો સાસાની પ્રજામાં હતા, એમ ખુદ મુસલમાન તથા અરબ લખનારાઓના લખાણો ઉપરથી માલમ પડે છે".

સીસ્તાનના જરથોશતીઓની ધર્મ તરફની જાનફેશાની બાબે સર જાંગીર કોયાજીનું મત.

આપણી કોમના વીદ્વાન સર જાંગીર કોયાજી સીસતાનના ઇરાનીઓની જરથોશતી ધર્મ પ્રત્યેની જાનફેશાનીનો દાખલો આપે છે તેજ હું અત્રે ટાંકીશ.

"But if the Seistan legends contanied in the Shahnamah are far from exhausting the historical interest of the province, they do perfect justice to the stubborn bravery, spirit of independence and religious devotion of its inhabitants. These three virtues are excellently exemplified in the person of Rustom and in the history of his province. They were fully manifested in the long struggle for independence which Seistan carried or for a long time against the Arab invaders.

(જુઓ "Humata", ડીસેમબર ૧૯૩૮ નો અંક, pp. 60-61)

What is Truth ?

મી. બહેરામગોર truth સચાઇને વલગી રહેવા જણાવે છે. સાચી વાત છે. જુની તવારીખ વિષે બોલવું યા લખવું ઘણુંજ મુશકેલ કામ છે, અને તે માટે તો એક ઠેકાણેથી નહી પણ સો ઠેકાણેથી શોધ કરી સચાઇ તારવી કાઢવી જોઇએ.

મરહુમ મી. જી. કે. નરીમાન પણ આપણને એમજ કહે છે કે "Let us be loyal to Truth"; અને પછી તુરત સાસાની અમલ દરમ્યાન Polygamy અને Concubinage ની વાત લાવે છે. આ વીદ્વાનો પોતાનેજ સાચા માને છે, સામી પક્ષની દલીલો સાંભલવા જેવું તેઓમાં tolerance નથી.

પ્રકરણ ૯ મું.

ઇરાનીઓએ રાજીખુશીથી ઇસ્લામ સ્વીકારવાની વાહીઆત વાત; અને તેનો રદીઓ.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલાના જણાવવા મુજબ ઇસ્લામના ધરમના ફરમાન સાદાં, સરલ તથા સહજ સમજાય તેવાં હોવાથી જ્યારે આરબો ચઢાઇ લાવ્યા ત્યારે બેદીલ થયલી ઇરાની પ્રજાને મન તો તેમના તારણહાર આવ્યા. પણ તવારીખ તો જુદુંજ કહે છે. આરબોએ કાંઇ એકદમ ઇરાન જીત્યું ન હતું. અનેક ખુનખાર લડાઇઓ થઇ હતી, ઇરાનીઓ ઘણીજ બહાદુરીથી લડયા હતા, અનેક લડાઇઓમાં અરબોએ શીકસ્ત મેલવી હતી, પણ મેં ઉપર જણાવ્યું તેમ મઝદકી દેશદ્રોહીઓના દગાને લીધે, તેમજ ઇરાનીઓનો સીતારો બરગસ્તે થવાનો સરજાયલો હોવાથી કુદરતના તત્વો પણ તેમની વીરૂધમાં હતાં, અને તેથી આરબોએ ઇરાન જીત્યું હતું, પણ તેઓએ ઇરાનનું અંતકરણ તો કદીપણ જીત્યું ન હતું, એ બાબે ડીરદોશી ઘણી સુંદર રીતે લખે છે.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા આગલ ચાલતાં જણાવે છે કે "ધરમ બદલવા માટે ઇરાની પ્રજા પર કશી પણ જોર-જબરી કરવાની આવશયકતા હતીજ નહી. ખલીફા ઓમર માટેની બધી પ્રચલીત કથાઓ સાવ ખોટી છે".

ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગે કરેલી ધર્મ પુસ્તકો તથા સાહીત્યની જાલવણી તથા બચાવ.

ખલીફ ઓમરે જરથોશ્તી ધર્મ પુસ્તકો બાલી નખાવી તેનો નાશ કર્યો હતો, એ વાત ખરી છે. જરથોશ્તી દીનની ખોલ કરનારી મંડલીની એક સભામાં ખુદ મી. બહેરામગોરે વટીક એ વાત ખરી કહી છે. જે સાહીત્ય બચ્યુ હતું તથા જલવાયુ હતું તે પેલા ઘણા વગોવાયલા મોબેદ વર્ગનેજ આભારી હતું. અરબી સાહીત્યના અઠંગ રશીઅન વીદવાન એમ. ઇનોસ્ટ્રાનઝેવ જણાવે છે કે:—

"Iranian tradition was maintained and developed orally as well as in a written form, by the Parsi priesthood. The most competent of Persian historians employing Arabic turned to the Parsi clergy for information. They frequently remark 'the mobed so and so told me'; 'the mobedan-mobed told me'. In their quest for ancient Persian books, too, Arab authors searched for them among the Parsi priesthood and it was only there that thay found them". જુઓ એમ. ધનેસ્ટ્રાનજેવની ચોપડીનો મી. જી. કે. નરીમાને કરેલો તરજુમો "Iranian influence on Moslem Literature", પ્રકરણ ૨) જુ "Parsi Clergy Preserve Tradition." પાનું ૨૫.,

જો આરબોએ જોરજબરીથી ઇરાનીઓને વટલાવ્યા ન હોય તો કરોડોની સંખ્યામાં ગણાતી ઇરાની જરથોશતીઓની સંખ્યા કયાં ગઇ. સાદી અક્કલ સવાલ પુછે છે. જો આરબોનો જુલમ ન હતે, તો ઇરાનીઓને હીંદુસ્તાન નાસી આવવાની આવશ્યકતા શું કામ રહેતે. હીંદભુમીએ આપણને આશરો આપ્યો, આપણને ધાર્મીક છુટાપણું આપ્યું, અને તેથી આપણની સંખ્યા વધી છે, હાલત સુધરી છે. જ્યારે ઇરાનમાં આરબોની જીત પછી ફક્ત થોડીજ સદીમાં જરથોશતીઓની કરોડોની સંખ્યા હજારોની થઇ તેઓની હાલત ઘણીજ ખરાબ આવી પડી હતી, એતો જગજાહેર તવારીખી બીના છે.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા જણાવે છે કે "ઇરાની પ્રજાના મોટા ભાગે રાજીખુશીથી ધર્મપલ્ટો સ્વીકાર્યો". ઇરાની શહેનશાહતની હજારો વરસોની જાહોજલાલીભરી તવારીખમાં કદી એવો દાખલો નોંધાયો નથી કે જેમાં ઇરાની પ્રજાના મોટા ભાગે ધર્મપલ્ટો રાજીખુશીથી સ્વીકાર્યો હોય. ઇરાની પ્રજાનો એવો ગુણજ નથી. પોતાના બોલવાના ટેકામાં ડોકટર સાહેબ કશી પણ શાહદત, પુરાવો રજુ કરતા નથી.

જો એમનું કહેવું ખરૂંજ હોય તો, મેં જેમ તા. ૨૫-૧૧-૧૯૩૬ ના 'જામે'ના અંકમાં ડો. તારાપોરવાલાના ભાષણની લીધેલી ઉડતી તપાસમાં જણાવ્યું તેમ, તેરસો વરસોની વાત ઉપર વસ્તા આપણા જરથોશતી વડવાઓ હાલના હીંદુ અલબત્તે, હરીજનો કરતાં પણ વધુ નબેતર કહેવાય, કારણ કે

અંત્યજોએ ગમે એવા તેઓ પ્રત્યેના 'દુરાગ્રહ' તથા 'દ્વેર' છતાં, તથા અન્ય પક્ષો તરફથી આપવામાં આવેલી લાલચો છતાં, પોતાનો બાપીકો હીંદુ ધર્મ રાજીખુશીથી તજ્યો નથી.

ઇરાનીઓએ રાજીખુશીથી કરેલા કહેવાતા ધર્મપલ્ટા બાબતના તોલા વિષે ગંભીર રીતે ડો. તારાપોરવાલા જો ગોર કરશે તો આપણે ખાત્રીથી વધી રાખી શકયે કે એમનો પોતાનો હૃદયપલ્ટો થાય.

પ્રકરણ ૧૦ મું.

ઇરાનના જરથોશતીઓ ઉપરના જુલમો તેમના પોતાના ઇરાની ભાઇઓ, વટલેલા ઇરાનીઓએ મોટે ભાગે ગુજારેલા હોવા બાબતનો ડો. તારાપોરવાળાનો આક્ષેપ-આ આક્ષેપનો એવણ સાહેબે આપેલો રદીઓ.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા વધુ જણાવે છે કે "ઇરાનના જરથોશતીઓ ઉપર જે જુલમો થયા તે મોટે ભાગે તેમના પોતાના ઇરાની ભાઇઓને હાથે થયા". આ કલ્પીત આક્ષેપનો રદીઓ, અજમ જેવી રીતે, એવણ પોતેજ આગલ ચાલતાં આપે છે.

ખોરાસાનનો હાકેમ, "નીશાપુરના અમીર" અબદુલ્લા બીન તાહેરે (ઇ. સ. ૮૨૪-૮૪૪) ઇરાનના જરથોશતીઓના તમામ પુસ્તકો બાલી નાખવાની તવારીખમાં પ્રખ્યાત થયલી બીના ડો. તારાપોરવાલા પોતે જણાવે છે. હવે આ હાકેમ જાતે ઇસ્લામી હતો, અને નહી કે વટલેલ જરથોશતી. આ રીતે ડોકટર સાહેબે પોતેજ, પોતાને મોઢેથીજ, પોતાના ઉપલા આક્ષેપને 'સાવ ખોટો' પાડે છે.

આ દાખલો તેમજ ખલીફ અલમુતવક્કીલનો દાખલો એતો ફક્ત ઘણાજ જાણીતા બે દાખલાઓ છે. આવા જુલ્મોના તો સેંકડો બીજા દાખલાઓ મોજુદ છે, અને તેમાં વલી મુસલમાન લખનારાઓએ નોંધ્યા છે, અને તે છતા ડા. તારાપોરવાલા આપણને નવીજ તવારીખ શીખવવા માગે છે કે એ બધા જુલમો તો વટલેલ ઇરાની જરથોશતીઓએ ગુજારીઆ હતા.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા જણાવે છે કે:

"ખલીફા પોતે બગદાદમાં આ પ્રકારે ધર્માન્ધ દુરાગ્રહમાં મચ્યા રહેતા, ત્યારે તેમનું અનુકરણ તેમના હાથ નીચેના સુબાઓ કરતા. ખાસ કરીને કોઇ નવો મુસલમાન થયો હોય તો પોતાનો ઉત્સાહ દાખવવા અથવા તો પોતાની ધર્મનીષ્ઠા પ્રત્યેનો શક દુર થાય એ મતલબથી તે ગેરમુસ્લીમો પર વધારે અત્યાચાર કરતો. આ રીતે ઇરાનના જરથોશતીઓ ઉપર જે જુલમ થયા તે મોટે ભાગે તેમના પોતાના ઇરાની ભાઇઓ-વટલેલા મુસલમાનોને હાથે થયા હતા". (જુઓ સર હોરમસજીનું જીવન ચીત્ર).

હવે સાદી સમજ, common sense ને આધારે સવાલ ઉભો થાય છે કે ડો. તારાપોરવાલાના જણાવવા મુજબ જો ઇરાની પ્રજાનો મોટો ભાગે, જબરદસ્તીને લીધે નહી, પણ રાજીખુશીથી, ઇસ્લામ આકર્ષક લાગવાથી ઇસ્લામમાં ધર્મપલ્ટો સ્વીકાર્યો હોય તો પછી ડો. તારાપોર જણાવે છે તેમ તે વટલેલ ઇરાનીઓને ધર્મનીષ્ઠા પ્રત્યેનો શક દુર કરવાની જરૂરજ શી હોય? અને પોતાના જાત ભાઇઓ ઉપર જુલમ ગુજારવાની અવશ્યકતાજ શાની રહે?

ડો. તારાપોરવાલાને આપણે સવાલ કરીશું કે શું સત્તા, શાહદતને આધારે તેવણ આમ બોલે છે. જો તેવણ એ બાબે દાખલા દલીલો શાહદતો રજુ કરશે તો આપણે ખુશી થઇશું. મારા તા. ૨૫-૧૧-૧૯૩૬ના 'જામે'માં આપેલા ટુંક લખાણમાં મે ડો. તારાપોરવાલાને વીનંતી કરી હતી કે તેવણ પોતાની દલીલોના પુરાવા, શાહદતો રજુ કરે, તેવણે તેમ કર્યું નહી. મારૂં ભાષણ જે ગયા ડીસેમબરના પહેલા week માં 'જામે'માં સંપુર્ણ છપાયું છે, ત્યાર પછીથી ડોકટર સાહેબે કશો ખોલાસો કર્યો નથી. આથી આ છેલ્લી વેલા હું તેવણને પોતાના બોલવાના, લખવાના ટેકામાં પુરાવાઓ રજુ કરવા અરજ કરૂં છું. જો તેવણ તેમ ન કરશે તો તેવણના બોલવાને લખવાને શું વજન આપવું તે વાંચનાર પોતેજ તોલ કરી લેશે.

પ્રકરણ ૧૧ મું.

આરબ જુલમનો સૌથી જાણવાજોગ દાખલો-ઇબ્ન મુકફ્ફાનો કરપીણ ખુન.

આરબ જુલમનો સૌથી જાણવાજોગ દાખલો તો ઇબ્ન મુકફ્ફાનો કમકમાતભર્યો ખુનનો છે. મુકફ્ફા એક જરથોશતી ઇરાની હતો તેનું અસલ ઇરાની નામ 'દાદએહ' હતું; જેને જોકે બીજા જરથોશતીઓ ભેગાં જબરદસ્તીથી વતલાવવામાં આવેલો હોવા છતાં તેની લાગણી જરથોશતી ધર્મ તથા સાહીત્ય તરફ અંદરખાનેથી હતી. તેણે 'કલીલ-વ-દમન', 'ખોદાઇ નામુ', 'આઇન નામુ', વગેરે પેહેલવી પુસ્તકોનો અરબીમાં તરજુમો કર્યો હતો.

મી. સોહરાબ હી. બાટલીવાલાએ ૧૯૩૮ ના "સાંજ-વર્તમાન પતેતી અંક"માં (પાના ૧૯૮-૧૯૯) "પારસીઓ અને પુરાણું અરબી સાહીત્ય" બાબે એક ઘણો જાણવાજોગ લેખ લખ્યો છે, જેમાં "એક મહાન લેખકની સેવા"વાલા નાનાં મથાલાં હેઠલ દાદએહ યાને મોકફ્ફાના તરજુમાઓ તથા પુસ્તકો માટે એક આખી કોલમ ભરી લંબાણ ખોલાસો કર્યો છે.

મુકફ્ફા એક encylopaedic લખનાર હતો, અને સૌથી જાણીતો વીદવાન હતો, અને અરબી સાહીત્યની ખીલવણીમાં તેણે આગેવાન ભાગ ભજવ્યો હતો. જુઓ "Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature"; તથા "L'Iran Sous Les Sassanides" par Arthur Christensen, Introdution, pp. 54, 59, 63. તેમજ R. A. Nicholson's "Literary History of the Arabs", page 346; Noldeke's "Geschichte der Sassaniden" Einleitung, pp. XX-XXIII; તથા "Das Iranischen Nationalepos"-Trans. L. Bogdanov "Iranian National Epic", pp. 24-26. આમ છતાં પોતાના બાપીકા વતન ઇરાન માટે,

તથા તેના બુલંદ ધર્મ માટેના પ્યારને ખાતર તેનો જીવ ગયો હતો. ખલીફ મનસુરના કાકા ઇસા બીન અલીના હોકમથી મુકફ્ફાને કરપીણ રીતે મારી નાખવામાં આવ્યો હતો, તેના શરીરના ટુકડે-ટુકડા કરી બલતી ભઠ્ઠીમાં નાખી સલગાવી દેવામાં આવ્યા હતા. આ બનાવ હીજરી ૧૩૯ માં, યાને ઇરાનની પડતી પછી એક સદીના ઐયામમાં બન્યો હતો. જીઓ આગા પુરે દાઉદે ૧૯૩૪ માં કામા ઓરીએનટલ ઇનસ્ટીટયુટ ખાતે ગવરનમેંટ ફ્રેલોશીપ લેકચરર તરીકે આપેલું છેલ્લુ છઠ્ઠું ભાષણ 'A Brief Review of Iranian History' Journal of K. R. Cama Oriental Institute No. 28, page 117.

પ્રકરણ ૧૨ મું.

સત્યનું તથા તવારીખનું આ તે કેવું ખુન!-ના, દંતકથાનું, સાદી સમજનું વટીક ખુન!

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા કહે છે કે "જ્યારે ખલીફા ઓમરે ઇરાનને ઇસ્લામી સામ્રાજ્યમાં જોડી દીધું ત્યારે પ્રજાના મોટા ભાગે ઇસ્લામી ધર્મ રાજીખુશીથી સ્વીકાર્યો. જરથોશતી ધર્મગુરૂઓના દુરાગ્રહથી કચડાયલી પ્રજાને સરલ તથા ભ્રાતૃભાવ શીખવાડતો ઇસ્લામી ધર્મ વધારે આકર્ષક લાગીઓ".

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા જ્યારે આમ કહે છે, ત્યારે તવારીખનું ખુન થાય છે, દંતકથાનું તેવણ ખુન કરે છે, એટલુંજ નહી પણ સાદી સમજનું તથા વ્યવહારૂ જ્ઞાનનું પણ ખુન થાય છે.

ડોકટર સાહેબ આગલ ચાલતાં જણાવે છે કે "આરબો જ્યારે ચઢાઇ લાવ્યા ત્યારે બેદીલ થયલી ઇરાની પ્રજાને મન તો તેમના તારણહાર આવ્યા".

આમ કહીને એવણ સાહેબ ગોયા નગ્ન સત્યનુંજ ખુન કરે છે, એટલુંજ નહી, પણ આપણું ધર્મભીમાન, જે આપણને આપણા વડવાઓ તરફથી વારસામાં મલ્યું છે તેનું પણ તેવણ અપમાન કરે છે.

વલી "ધર્મગુરૂઓના દુરાગ્રહ"થી "કચડાયલી" ઇરાની પ્રજાને ઇસ્લામી ધર્મ આકર્ષક લાગવાનું બીજું કારણ તે ધર્મનો ભ્રાતૃભાવ, યાને ભાઇચારો હોવાનું એવણ જણાવે છે. એ બાબે મારાં તા. ૨૫-૧૧-૧૯૩૬ ના 'જામે'ના લખાણમાંથી હું અત્રે ફકરો ટાંકીશ.

"આમ કહીને પોતાના હીંદુ પ્રેક્ષકો તથા હીંદુ તથા અન્ય વીદ્વાનો તથા આમ વર્ગના મન ઉપર તેવણ (ડો. તારાપોરવાલા) એવું ઠસાવવા માગે છે કે જરથોશતી ધર્મ જાણે brotherhood ભાઇચારો શીખવતો નહી હોય".

પ્રકરણ ૧૩ મું.

આરબોએ ઇરાનીઓ ઉપર ગુજારેલા અણહદ અત્યાચાર જુલમો, તેમજ તેમના ધર્મપુસ્તકો, ધર્મસ્થલો, વગેરેનો નાશ કરવા આખેની મુસ્તકીમ શાહદતો તથા પુરાવાઓ.

ઇરાનીઓએ પોતાના દેશ તથા ધર્મ માટે આરબો સામે કેવી સખત લડત ચલાવી હતી તેનું તલોતલીક વર્ણન મી. પાલનજી દેશાઇ પોતાની "સાસાની શાહનામુ"માં ફીરદોસી તથા મીરખુન્દને આધારે આપે છે. (પાના ૨૦૦-૩૨).

ઇરાની શહેનશાહતની પડતી પછી પાંચ સદી સુધી તબરીસ્તાન ખાતે જરથોશતી હાકેમો સ્વતંત્ર સત્તા ધરાવતા હતા. જુઓ ઇબ્ન અસ્ફંદીઆરની લખેલી 'તારીખે તબરીસ્તાન'નો પ્રોફેસર બ્રાઉને કરેલો તરજુમો 'History of Tabaristan'. આજ દેખાડે છે કે દેશ તથા ધર્મ પ્રત્યે ઇરાનીઓને કેટલી દાઝ હતી.

ઇરાનીઓની કતલ અને આતશકદેહોનો નાશ.

જે ભ્રાતૃભાવનો આદર્શ, ડો. તારાપોરવાલા કહે છે તેમ અરબ જીવનમાં અક્ષરશઃ જલવાયલો હતે, તો આરબ જુલમને માટે મી. પારેખને પણ કશુંયે કહેવું ન પડતે. એવણ પોતે કહે છે કે જરથોશતીઓ સામે ૮૫૦ ઇસ્વીમાં સખત કાયદાઓ ઘડાયા હતા. ખલીફ અલમુતવક્કીલે આતશકદેહોનો નાશ કરાવ્યો હતો, અને ઇરાની જરથોશતીઓની કતલ ચલાવી હતી. જોકે મેં જણાવ્યું તેમ એ જુલમ તો આરબોની જીત પછીથીજ શરૂ થઇ ચુકયો હતો.

તે બાબે કરઝન તથા આકેટીલના અહેવાલો.

Lord Curzon પોતાની પ્રખ્યાત ચોપડી "Persia"ના બીજા વોલ્યમમાં આ ઇરાની જરથોશતીઓ ઉપરના જુલમોનું સવીસ્તર બ્યાન આપે છે.

સાસાની શેહેનશાહતની પડતી પછી આરબોના જુલમ તથા Persecution ને લીધે તે વેલા ઇરાનમાં વસતા કેટલાક ખ્રીસ્તીઓને વટીક ઇરાનથી નાસીને હીંદ આવવું પડીઉ હતું. જુઓ આંકેટીલ-દુ-પેરોંનું પુસ્તક Zend Avesta, Tome I, Part I, page 79, note.

આજથી હજાર વરસ ઉપર આવા નાસી આવેલા ખ્રીસ્તીઓએ મદરાસ ઇલાકામાં એક દેવલના cross ઉપર એક પેહલવી લેખ લખેલો હજી મોજુદ છે. જુઓ એ બાબે Sir J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume માં દસ્તુર દારાબ સંજાણાનો લેખ.

આરબોએ ઇરાનીઓ ઉપર ગુજારેલા હદ વગરના સીતમો.

રાગોઝીનનો મત.

The Story of the Nations સીરીઝના "Media, Babylonia and Persia" વાલા પુસ્તકમાં જરથોશતીઓને આરબોએ શી

હદે દુઃખ દેઇ persecute કરી, તેમના ધર્મનો, ધર્મસ્થલોનો, ધર્મ પુસ્તકોનો કેમ નાશ કર્યો હતો તેનું વર્ણન કરતાં તેનો કર્તા રાગેઝીન લખે છે કે:—

"It was in the year 641 A. D. that the Arab invaders turned its (Iran's) people into a conquered, enslaved, and for a long time ruthlessly oppressed and illtreated population. It was but natural that the religion of the vanquished should be the first object of persecution at the hands of victors whose wars and conquests were all prompted by religious fanaticism. The Persian clergy were persecuted, their temples desecrated and destroyed, their sacred books likewise, and the faithful followers of the ancient national creed subjected to so many indignities and extortions as to make existence not only burdensome, but well-nigh impossible. ..... Their property, their lives, their honour thus were completely at the mercy of the insolent and grasping foreign rulers. But even at the time of the conversion of the country to Islamism, which was an accomplished fact in less than two hundred years after the conquest, great numbers preferred every hardship to apostacy". (pages 2-5).

પોતાના પ્યારા મજહબને ખાતર ઇરાનીઓએ ખમેલા અસહ્ય જુલમો.

મી. નાનાભાઇ ફ. મામા, સોલીસીટર, જેવણે આપણા જરથોશતી સાહીત્ય, તવારીખના સંબંધમાં પવીત્ર કોરાનનો તથા બીજા મહમદીઆન તથા યુરોપીઅન લખનારાઓનો ઉંડો અભ્યાસ કર્યો છે, તેવણે જાણીતાં અઠવાડીક અંગ્રેજી પત્ર Bombay Mail ના ડીસેમબર ૧૯૩૫ થી માર્ચ ૧૯૩૬ સુધીના અનેક અંકોમાં From Iran to India—How and Why?" ના મથાલાં હેથલ, અનેક દાખલા, દલીલો, પુરાવાઓ સહીત આરબોનાં જરથોશતીઓ ઉપરના જુલમની વાત સ્પષ્ટ કરી છે. હું તેવણનાજ શબ્દો અત્રે રજુ કરીશ.

"The oppressions of the new comers, their savage bigotry and their almost inhuman treatment of the Iranians would make a gruesome narrative. All attempts to guild the melancholy aspect have failed. Whether this treatment was bearable or not, the factor is that it was borne. And why? For the love of their faith and their fire. (જુઓ 'Bombay Mail, of 2-2-1936).

અંતમાં મી. મામા, પોતે લખે છે કે:—

"How the new comers had made life impossible for the sons of the soil has sufficiently been described".

(જુઓ તા. ૨૯ મી. માર્ચ ૧૯૩૬ નું Bombay Mail પત્ર.)

આતશકદેહો, ધર્મપુસ્તકો, તથા ધર્મગુરૂઓનો નાશ.

પીગટનો મત.

જાણીતો લેખક John Piggot પણ આરબોએ આપણા ધર્મનો, ધર્મપુસ્તકોનો, તેના સાહીત્યનો, તેમજ આતશકદેહોનો નાશ કર્યો હતો તે તે બાબે લખે છે. તેના શબ્દો આ છે:—

"The Mahomedans did not crush the Magian faith without a severe struggle; but they determined to stamp it out effectully. They not only destroyed their temples, but slew the priests, and burnt all the books upon which they could lay their hands, in which were preserved the science, history and religion of the conquered. It is owing to this latter circumstance that we know so little of ancient Persian history, literature and science. The followers of Mohammed only saw in these works means to keep up the creed of Zoroaster, and destroyed them accordingly. We have only to glance at Arabian popular tales to show what they thought of fire-worshippers; almost every vile deed there chronicled is assigned to one of these people".

(જુઓ Persia–Ancient and Modern, by John Piggot, F. S. A., F. G. S., F. R. G. S., પાનું ૧૨૯).

પીગટ વલી એજ પુસ્તકમાં એ બાબે નીચે મુજબ લખે છે:—

"The followers of the prophet delighted to destroy the literary works of any country they conquered, saying, there was only one work worthy to be studied, and that of course was their Koran.

(ઉપલી ચોપડી, પાનું 178).

continued and energetic proselytism– ફ્રેંચ વીદ્વાન હુઆર્ટનો મત.

પ્રખ્યાત ફ્રેંચ વીદ્વાન Clement Huart પોતાની ચોપડી "Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilisetion"માં, ૧૩૭ માં પાના ઉપર નીચે મુજબ લખે છે.

"Persia ceased to exist as a state. At the same time she lost her national religion, which under the assaults of continued and energetic proselytism finally disappeared almost entirely".

મીરખોન્દ, તબરી તથા બીજા મોહમેદન લખનારાઓ.

જાણીતો ફારસી તવારીખનવેશ મીરખોન્દ પોતાની પ્રખ્યાત ચોપડી "રોઝત ઉસસફા"માં સાસાની શહેનશાહત બાબે કેટલુંક જાણવા જોગ લખે છે; જોકે તેમાનું ઘણું શહરાગાતી તથા પક્ષપાતી છે. પ્રોફેસર E. Rehatzek એ મીરખોન્દની આ ચોપડીનો અંગ્રેજીમાં તરજુમો કર્યો છે, જે F. F. Arbuthnot તરફથી પ્રગટ થયલી Oriental Translation Fund New Series માં સાત વાલ્યમમાં છપાયો છે. ખાસ કરીને જુઓ "Rouzat-us-Safa" or "Garden of Purity" Part I, Volume II, તથા Part II, Volume III.

એજ પ્રમાણે હસન બીન મોહમદ બીન ખાફી શીરાઝીએ અકબરનાં વખતમાં શરૂ કરેલી તથા જાંહગીરના અમલમાં પુરી કરેલી પોતાની પ્રખ્યાત

ચોપડી "મુન્તખ્બ ઉત તવારીખ"માં, તેમજ ફઝલુલ્લાહ હુસેન કાઝવીનીની 'તારીખે મુઅજ્જમ"માં તથા શરીફ અમીર નાસેર ઉદ્દીનની લખેલી "લુબ્બ ઉત તવારીખમાં"માં મીરખોન્દની માફકજ, પણ ટુંકમાં આવી બીનભરોસાપાત્ર કેટલીક હકીકત સાસાનીઓ માટે લખેલી છે.

અત્રે મારે જણાવવું જોઇએ કે સાસાની અમલ માટે પ્રખ્યાત અરબ લખનાર તબરીની તવારીખ આ ઉપલા લખનારાઓ કરતાં વધુ ભરોસાપાત્ર હોઇ કીંમતી વીગતો પુરી પાડે છે. જુઓ Noldeke નો જર્મન તરજુમો "Geschichte der Perser und Araber Zur Zeit der Sassaniden aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari".

નવમી સદીમાં ધર્મશાસ્ત્રો બચવા બાબેનો રદીઓ.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા, મી. બહેરામગોર, વગેરે વીદ્વાનો દીનકર્દના આઠમા તથા નવમાં પુસ્તકમાં સમાવેલી નુસ્કાની summary આધારે કહે છે કે આપણાં ધર્મશાસ્ત્રો તો છેક ઇસ્વી નવમી સદી સુધી બચ્યાં હતાં. આમ જણાવી તેઓ એવું દેખાડવા માગે છે કે અરબોએ આપણા સાહીત્યનો, ઇરાન જીતવા સાથે નાશ કર્યો ન હતો. પણ આ સાહેબો એક સાદી વાત ભુલી જાય છે. વીદ્વાન મી. સોરાબજી ન. કાંગાએ મારા ભાષણને પ્રમુખ-પદેથી જણાવ્યું તેમ એક મહાન શહેનશાહતનો નાશ થાય તો તે વેલા જાનમાલની સાથે સાહીત્યનો, ધર્મપુસ્તકોનો નાશ થાય એ કાંઇ અસાધારણ વાત નથી. દરેક મોટી લડાઇ વેલા અસલથી એમ થતું આવ્યું છે. છેલ્લી World War વેલા Louvain ની પ્રખ્યાત લાઇબ્રેરી નાશ પામી હતી.

તો હવે અસલ ધર્મપુસ્તકો તો બચેજ કયાંથી. મોબેદોએ, મે ઉપર દેખાડીઉ તેમ, પોતાની યાદદાશત શક્તીથી કેટલુંક સાહીત્ય જાલવ્યું હતું. અને આ જે નવમી સદીમાં ધર્મ પુસ્તકો બચેલાં હતાં, તે ડો. ફરામરોઝ ચીનીવાલા ઘણીજ સુંદર રીતે સમજાવે છે તેમ અસલ નહી હતાં, પણ અસલની થયલી summary ઉપરી ફક્ત ટુંક નોધો સમાન થયલાં લખાણો હતાં, કે જે પણ પછીથી નાશ પામ્યાં હતાં.

ધર્મપુસ્તકોનો નાશ બાબે પહેલવી દીનકર્દનું સતાવારી લખાણ.

પહેલવી દીનકર્દનું આઠમું તથા નવમું પુસ્તક, જેમાં આપણા ૨૧) નુસ્કાનું સાંકલ્યું તથા કંઇક સાર આપ્યો છે, તેનો ડો. ઇ. ડબલ્યુ. વેસ્ટે Sacred Books of the East Series ના Volume XXXVII- "Pahlavi Texts, Part IV, Contents of the Nsaks" માં તરજુમો આપ્યો છે. આ નવમા પુસ્તકની સેવટે દીનકર્દનો છેલ્લો compile કરનાર આદરબાદ હીમીદ આપણા ધર્મપુસ્તકોના અરબ અમલ દરમ્યાન થયલા નાશ બાબે જે જાણવાજોગ પહેલવીમાં લખાણ કરે છે, તેનો તરજુમો Dr. West ના શબ્દોમાંજ હું અત્રે રજુ કરીશ:—

"And after the ruin and devastation that came from the Arabs, even to the Archives and treasures of the realm the saintly Atur Farnbag, son of Farukhzad, who became the leader of the orthodox, brought those copies which were scattered on all sides and new sources back from dispersion into union with the archives of his residence.....Through the awful displeasure and ruin that happened to Zaratusht, son of Atur Farnbug, who became the leader of the orthodox, even those archives came to devastation, that scripture to dilapidation and dispersion, and the statements also to obsoleteness, perversion and corruption".

(જુઓ ઉપલી ચોપડી, Introdution, પાના, XXXI-XXXII).

ડો. વેસ્ટના જણાવવા મુજબ ધર્મપુસ્તકોના નાશ માટે ઇરાનીઓ ઘણે દરજ્જે જોખમદાર હતા. આના જવાબમાં ડો. જીવનજી મોદી સવાલ કરે છે કે દીનકર્દના compilers ના વખતમાં જે એકવીસ નુસ્કા મોજુદ હતાં, તો પછી તે નુસ્કાનું સાંકલ્યું બનાવવાની જરૂરજ શું હતી? વલી જ્યારે સાહીત્ય જલવવાની ઉલટથી આ compilers એ કામ કીધું તો ફકત સાંકલ્યું જલવવાનીજ મતલબથી કાંય કીધું? તેઓએ તો આખાં સાહીત્યની નકલો કરી તે વહેંચવી હતી.

દાદેસ્તાને દીનીનું લખાણ.

દસ્તુર માનુશચેહેર ગોશનજમ, જેવણ બાબે હું અગાઉ લખી ગયેા છું તેવણ 'દાદેસ્તાને દીની'ના દીબાચામાં લખે છે કે:

"કેમકે દીનદાર લેાકેા ઉપર દરજની સખત દુશમની અને ભારી ધીટનેા અને જુલમ આવી પડેલેા છે".

(જુએા મરહુમેા એરવદેા શેરીઆરજી ભરૂચા તથા તેહમુરસ્પ અંકલેસરીઆએ દાદેસ્તાને દીનીનેા કરેલેા તરજુમેા-છપાવી પ્રગટ કરનાર હેાશંગ અંકલેસરીઆ; પાનું ૪).

બુનદેહશન કેટાબની મજબુત શાહદત.

પહેલવી બુનદહેશન કેટાબની એક નકલમાં આરબ જુલમ બાબે કરવામાં આવેલા બુરા બશારા સંબંધમાં મરહુમ જીવનજી મેાદીએ ૧૨-૨-૧૯૦૨ ના Times of India માં કરેલું લખાણ અગત્યનું હેાવાથી તે હેથલ રજુ કરૂં છું. આ હસ્તલેખમાંથી ડેા. મેાદી નીચે મુજબ તરજુમેા આપે છે:—

"When the sovereignty came to Yezdegerd.....then the Arabs rushed into the country of Iran in great multitude. ... .The country of Iran remained with the Arabs, and their own irreligious law was propagated by them..... The religion of Mazdayasnians was weakened. From the original creation until this day, evil more grievous than this has not happened; for through evil deeds-on account of want, foreign habits, hostile acts, bad decrees and bad religion-ruin, want and other evils have taken lodgement".

(જુએા "Ancient Persia and the Pârsis"-J. B. Sanjana, page 562).

ડેા. મેાદી વલી જમાસ્પી, દીનકર્દ પુસ્તક ૭, તથા માનુશચેહેરના પત્રેામાંથી બીજા બશારાએા રજુ કરે છે.

શાહ યઝદેગર્દ પેાતે તુસના હાકેમ ઉપર લખેલા પત્રમાં તે જણાવે છે કે આતશકદેહેામાનેા આતશ બુજાવી દેવામાં આવ્યેા છે.

મો. કલેમેંટ હુઆર્ટના જણાવવા પ્રમાણે ખલીફાએ ગેરમુસ્લીમો માટે જીંદગી એટલી તો troublesome તથા intolerable બનાવી દીધી કે કે તેઓ મોટી સંખ્યામાં નવા ધર્મમાં વટલ્યા.

દસ્તુરજી રૂસ્તમજી સંજાણા શું કહે છે?

મહાન સાસાની શહેનશાહતની કીર્તી તથા જાહોજલાલી બાબે દસ્તુર રૂસ્તમજી એદલજી સંજાણા બી. એ. પોતાની ચોપડી "Zarathushtra and Zarathushtrianism માં, ત્રીજા પ્રકરણમાં Religious History of Iran બાબે લખતાં નીચે મુજબ કહે છે:—

"The Sassanian period is without question the most brilliant period in the history of Zarathushtrianism. During its four hundred years the Zarathushtrian religion, the Zarathushtrian priesthood and the Zarathushtrian nation grew continuously and reached the highest pinnacle of power and prosperity".

(જુઓ ઉપલી ચોપડી, પાનાં 84-85).

આ પછી આગલ ચાલતાં, આરબોએ ઇરાનીઓને જબરદસ્તીથી વટલાવી તેઓ ઉપર જુલમ ગુજારી, તેઓની કતલ કરી, તેઓના પુસ્તકોનો નાશ કર્યો હતો તે બાબે દસ્તુરજી નીચે મુજબ લખે છે.

"But the end of the Zarathushtrian Sorareignty was soon followed by the wholesale persecution and destruction of the followers of Zarathushtra. Their Arab conquerors hated and persecuted them terribly. Their sacred books were torn to pieces and burnt".

(જુઓ ઉપલી ચોપડી, પાનું 85).

એક વીદ્વાન ઇસ્લામી ગ્રહસ્થનો અભીપ્રાય.

એક વીદ્વાન ઇસ્લામી ગ્રહસ્થ મી. તાહેર રેઝવી એમ. એ. એ અનેક ફારસી, અરબી પુસ્તકો તથા યુરોપ્યન સ્કોલરોના લખાણોનો આધાર લેઇ "Persia: A People of the Book" નામની ચોપડી રચી છે,

તેમાં શમશુલ ઓલમાં શીબલી નોમાનીના 'રસાયલ', તથા રેઝા કુલી ખાનની રચેલી 'મજમુલ ફસાહ' માના લખાણની સરખામણી કરી જરથોશતી ધર્મસાહીત્યના અરબોને હાથે થયલા નાશ બાબે નીચે મુજબ લખે છે :—

"Still to add to the misfortunes which the sacred records met at the hands of Alexander the great, even the remnants of the literature met nearly a similar fate during the confusion which followed the downfall of the Sassanian Empire".

(જુઓ ઉપલી ચોપડી, પાનું ૨૮).

વલી જરથોશતીઓને હીંદમાં આવવા માટેના કારણમાં આ વીદ્વાન લેખકના જાણવાજોગ શબ્દો આ છે :—

"The exodus of the Parsis from their motherland to India, which is pointed out in connection with the cruel treatment of the conquered nations under Moslems must have happened partly owing to the fact that orthodoxy of the extreme type, and bigotry prevailed everywhere in Persia and Arabia (cf. Arnold 'Preaching of Islam, p. 179) when all non-Moslems despite their being the "followers of Books" were looked upon as infidels and "Kafirs".

(જુઓ ઉપલી ચોપડી, પાના ૧૬૮-૬૯).

બ્રાઉન અને સાઇકસનો હવાલો ટાંકી મી. રેઝવી લખે છે કે ઇરાન સંપુર્ણ રીતે જીતાયા પછી પણ ઇરાનીઓ મજબુત સામનો કરતા હતા. ઉમયદ વંશ (૬૬૧-૭૪૯ ઇસ્વી)ની શરૂઆતથીજ "Imperialism and racial prejudices" નો અમલ ચાલુ થયો હતો. ઇસ્વી ૭૦૦ માં ઇરાની ઓધેદારોને નોકરીઓથી કાઢી મેલી, અરબી ભાષા દાખલ કરવામાં આવી. ખલીફ વલીદના અમલ દરમ્યાન, ઇસ્વી ૭૧૨ માં, આતશકદેહોનો નાશ કરી, ઇરાનીઓની કતલ ચલાવવામાં આવી હતી.

(જુઓ ઉપલી ચોપડી, પાના ૧૭૨-૭૩)

પ્રકરણ ૧૪ મું.

તલવારની અણી વડે ઇસ્લામનો ઇરાનમાં ફેલાવો– જાણીતા વીદવાનોના મતો.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા કહે છે કે "પારસીઓમાં તેમજ બીજા લોકોમાં એવી માન્યતા જડ ઘાલી બેઠી છે કે મુસલમાનોએ ઇરાન જીત્યુ તે સાથેજ એક હાથમાં કુરાન અને બીજા હાથમાં તલવાર ધરીને ઇરાનના પુરાતન જરથોશતી ધર્મને જડમુળથી ઉખેડી નાખવાનો પ્રયાસ કર્યો હતો, પરંતુ વસ્તુસ્થીતી જુદીજ હતી". ડોકટર સાહેબ આ માન્યતા ખોટી કહીને પેલી 'દોર', 'દુરાગ્રહ', 'ધર્મદ્રોહ' તથા 'રાજદ્રોહ'ની ખોટી વાત કરી આપણા નયાગાનોનું, હાલની પારસી કોમનું તથા જરથોશતી ધર્મનું હડહડતું અપમાન, libel કરે છે. ઉપલી માન્યતા ખોટી નથી, પણ બીલકુલ ખરી છે.

એ બાબતના સંબંધમાં ડો. તારાપોરવાલાને તા. ૨૫-૧૧-૧૯૩૬ ના 'જામે'માં મેં જે જવાબ આપ્યો હતો, તેમાંથી ઉતારો કરવાનું યોગ્ય થઇ પડશે.

"ખચીત જો આ બધી કથાઓ, વાતો, 'જડ ઘાલી બેઠેલી માન્યતાઓ' 'સાવ ખોટી' હોય, તો ડો. તારાપોરવાલાજ એકલા 'સાવ ખરા' કહેવાય. પણ એવણ સાહેબ તો દુખે કયાં ને ડાંભે કયાં તે વાલી વાત કરે છે".

ખુદ ખલીફાના વખતના આરબ લખનારાઓ મસુદી, તબરી, જેઓના તવારીખી લખાણોની સચાઇને ખુદ ઇસ્લામી લખનારાઓ તથા વીદવાનો માન સાથે કબુલ રાખે છે, તેઓએ વટીક આ 'પ્રચલીત કથાઓ'ને ખોટી જણાવી નથી. મસુદીની 'મઅરૂજ ઉઝ ઝહબ' કેટાબ જેનો Sprenger એ તરજુમો કરી "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gemes" એ મથાલાં હેઠલ છપાવી છે, તેમાં કેટલી ડો. તારાપોરના કલ્પીત અનુમાનોને ટેકો આપનારો એક શબ્દ વટીક નથી.

વલી તબરીની તવારીખવાલા અરબી પુસ્તકનો અબુ અલી મોહમદ બેલ્લામીએ ફારસીમાં તરજુમો કર્યો હતો, જેમાંથી M. Hermann Zotenberg એ ફ્રેંચમાં તરજુમો કરી 'Chronique de Tabari'ના ચાર વાલ્યમ પ્રગટ કર્યાં છે, તેમાંથી ડો. તારાપોરના કહેવા મુજબનું કશુંજ લખાણ નથી.

અરબી સાહીત્યના અઠંગ જર્મન વીદવાન ગોલ્ડઝીહરનું મત.

Goldziher નામનો અરબી સાહીત્યનો અઠંગ વીદવાન, જેણે Muhamedanische Studien નામની પ્રખ્યાત ચોપડી રચી છે, અને જેની તારીફમાં મી. જી. કે. નરીમાન કહે છે કે:

Goldziher was a master of Arabic literature. Nobody could have guided the Parsi community with more extensive knowledge, (જુઓ Persia and Parsis Part I. Introduction.) તે જર્મન વીદવાન તો ખુલ્લું કહે છે કે આરબોએ એક હાથમાં તલવાર અને બીજા હાથમાં કોરાન ધરીને ઇસ્લામ ઇરાનમાં ફેલાવ્યો હતો. ગોલ્ડઝીહરના શબ્દો આ છે:—

"The action of the Persian element on the religious formation was very far reaching as soon as Islam had established itself in the geographical regions of ancient Parsism, and had carried to the worshippers of Zoroaster with the aid of the sword the faith of the Prophet of Mecca and Medina". જુઓ 'Persia and Parsis' માં The Influence of Parsism on Islam એ મથાલાવાલાં પ્રકરણ હેઠલ ગોલ્ડઝીહરનો મી. નરીમાને કરેલો તરજુમો પાનું ૪૪; તથા ડચ વીદવાન Tiele ની ચોપડીનો મી. જી. કે. નરીમાને કરેલો તરજુમો "Religion of the Iranian Peoples" (પાનું ૧૬૬).

આગાપુરે દાઉદનો મત.

વલી આગાપુરે દાઉદ પવીત્ર ગાથાના પોતે કરેલા ફારસી તરજુમાની પ્રસ્તાવનામાં, ખુદ મુસલમાન લોકોના ફારસી ઇતીહાસના આધારે કહે છે

કે આરબોએ બાદશાહી ખાનદાનની ઇરાનની શાહજાદીઓને પકડી મદીનાના બજારમાં ગોલામડીઓ તરીકે વેચી હતી, અને ઇરાનીઓના રીત રીવાજોનો નાશ કર્યો હતો. તેવણના શબ્દો આ છે :—

"In historical works Persian authors expressed joy and rendered thanks to the Almighty for the fact that the hostile Arab hordes overran Iran, pillaged land of our forefathers, and took the ladies of our Royal House of Sassan into captivity, and bought and sold them as slaves in the market place of Medina. They expressed joy at the extinction of ways and customs of our forefathers whom they called fire worshippers". (જુઓ "Introduction to the Holy Gathas", Preface, 1-2.)

ડો. ફરામરોઝ ચીનીવાલા શું કહે છે ?

ડો. ફરામરોઝ સો. ચીનીવાલા જેવણે ક્તુમને લગતાં અનેક લખાણો કરી કીંમતી પુસ્તકો લખીઆ છે, તેવણે "ઇરાનની પડતી અને નાશનાં ખરાં કારણો" બાબે એક અતી બાહોશીભર્યું, દાખલા દલીલો ભરપુર ૧૧૬ પાનાનું લખાણ "ક્રુશોગર્દ સીલ્વર જુબીલી મેમોરીઅલ વોલ્યુમ"માં કર્યું છે, તથા જે વધારો નં. ૧ Appendix No. 1 તરીકે એ વાલમમાં પ્રગટ થયું છે. ડો. ચીનીવાલા જણાવે છે કે આવાં આવાં, યાને અરબોના જુલમના અનેક લખાણો છે, જેમાં કહે છે કે આરબો શહેરને લેતાંનેવાર શહેરના ધર્મસ્થલોનો નાશ કરતા, અને શહેરીઓને તલવારને નોકે વટલાવતા હતા. જેઓ વટલતા નહી તેઓને ઉઘાડે માથેના, ઉઘાડે પગના કરતા કેમ કે જરથોશતીઓમાં જેઓ ઉઘાડુ માથુ રાખે તેઓ ગુલામ કહેવાય એમ માન્યતા હતી. એમ ઉઘાડે માથે તેઓને ખલીફ પાસે લઇ જતા, કે જેથી તેઓ ખલીફના ગુલામ છે એમ સીધ થાય. સપર પહેલાં આવોજ મામલો અરબો ઉભો કરતા. આથી લોકો ઘરબાર મુકી ચાલી જતા, પણ આખરે વાંધાના માર્યા મુસ્લીમ થઇ જતા. એમ જ્યારે આરબોએ અસહય ત્રાસ પાડયો, અને તે ત્રાસથી બચવાનું કંઇ સાધન રહીઉ નહી, ત્યારે પશ્ચોમ ઇરાનના જરથોશતીઓએ હાલ તુરત તો સદરો-કુસ્તી કાઢવામાં છેલ્લો બચાવ જોયો, એટલે પછી તેઓને તે નવો ધર્મ લીધા વીના છુટકો રહયો નહી. (જુઓ ઉપલું પુસ્તક, પાનું ૧૨).

ડારમેસ્ટેટે તથા ડો. દસ્તુર ધાલાના મતો.

ડારમેસ્ટેટે પોતે 'New creed of Islam forced on Iran' આમે લખે છે. (Persia and Parsis, પાનું ૩૭). ખલીફેાએ ઇરાની બોલાતી તથા લખાતી ભાષા બંધ કરાવી હતી. " The Khalifs attempted to stifle in Persia the national tongue. The Pahlvi script was proscribed.".

(ઉપલી ચોપડી પાનું ૨૩).

આટલું કરવા છતાં, જેમ શમસુલ બોલામાં દસ્તુર ડો. ધાલાએ તા. ૨૩-૧૨-૧૯૩૮ ને દીને સર કાવસજી જેહાંગીર હોલમાં જ્ઞાન પ્રસારક મંડલી તરફથી " Our heritage of Indo Iranian Languages " આમે કરેલાં પોતાનાં ભાષણમાં જણાવ્યુ તેમ, આરબો પોતાની ભાષા ઇરાનમાં વાપરવા, વપરાવવામાં નીષ્ફલ નીવડીઆ હતા.

તવારીખનવેશ કરાકાના સ્પષ્ટ શબ્દો.

મી. ડોસાભાઇ ફરામજી કરાકા પોતાની " The Parsis; Their History, Manners, Customs and Religion " (London, 1858) માં Historical Skesch વાલાં પહેલાં પ્રકરણમાં (પાના ૪-૫) નીચે મુજબ લખે છે :—

" History has faithfully drawn the character of the Mahomedan conquerors wherever they have appeared, and has traced their footsteps in characters of blood. Toleration in religion is unknown to the haughty uncivilized barbarian believers in the Koran. Bigotry is the highest virtue demanded of the Mahomedan; and one which secures for him favour in the eyes of the prophet and his God, and takes him by the shortest route to a place in Heaven. Thus on the conquest of Persia, the Mahomedan soldiers of the Caliphat of Baghdad traversed the length and breadth of the country, presenting the alternative of death or the Koran, and compelling the conqured nation to accept the one or the other.

By these oppresive and cruel means, a hundred thousand persons are said to have daily abjured the faith of their forefathers; and the fire-temples and other sacred places were destroyed or converted into mosques. Under such rulers, almost the whole Zoroastrian population of Persia embraced the faith of Islam, and nearly every trace of the religion of Zoroaster was obliterated".

સર જોન માલકમનું મત.

વલી માલકમ, પોતાની History of Persia, Vol. I. chapter VIII, page 277, માં લખે છે કે:—

"After the flight of Yezdijird the leaders of the armies of the Caliph soon overran the whole of Persia from the Euphrates to the Oxus, destroying with bigot fury all that was useful, grand or sacred in that unhappy country".

એનસાઇકલોપીડીઆ બ્રીટેનીકા.

Profeser Andrew Seth, એનસાઇકલોપીડીઆ બ્રીટાનીકાની નવમી આવૃતીના ૧૭ માં વાલ્યમમાં mysticism વાલી આરટીકલ લખતાં, ૧૩૦ માં પાના ઉપર લખે છે કે:

"it (sufism) is doubtless to be regarded as a revival of ancient habits of thought and feeling among a people who had adopted the Koran not by affinity, but by compulsion".

ફ્રેંચ મુસાફર શારદીનનો મત.

શારદીન પોતાની ઇરાનની મુસાફરીની ચોપડી "Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse", 2nd Eetition, 1811, Volume 10, page 242 માં જણાવે છે કે:

"These ancient inhabitants of Persia faithful to the religion of their fathers, have been exterminated by fanatic Musalmans".

સર રોબર્ટ કેર પોર્ટર.

એજ મુજબ સર રોબર્ટ કેર પોર્ટર પોતાની મુસાફરીની ચોપડી "Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c." 1812, Volume II, pages 45-47 માં ઇરાની જરથોશતીઓ ઉપર પડેલા જુલમો તથા હાદેસાઓ બાબે અસરકારક રીતે લખે છે.

શમશુલ ઓલમાં દસ્તુર ડોકટર ધાલા, તથા સર જાંગીર કોયાજી શું જણાવે છે?

શમશુલ ઓલમા દસ્તુર ડો. ધાલાએ તા. ૧૨-૧૨-૩૮ ને દીને સર કાવસજી હોલમાં "આજનો જમાનો અને જરથોશતી ધર્મ" ઉપર એક કીંમતી ભાષણ કર્યું હતું, જેની સેવટે ઘણીજ highly poetic vein માં બોલતાં ઇરાન ખાતે આપણા વડવાઓ પર પડેલા જુલમોનો ઇશારો કરી તેઓએ પોતાના ધર્મ ખાતર હીંદ તરફ આશરો લીધો તે બાબે જણાવી આપણે પણ આપણા ન્યાગાનોને પગલે ચાલીએ એવી દુઆ ઇચ્છી હતી. પ્રમુખ સર જાંગીર કોયાજીએ તે પછી જણાવ્યું કે ઇરાનીઓ ઉપરના અસહ્ય જુલમોની અસરના પરીણમે ઉમર ખયામ જેવા વીદવાન તથા ફીલસુફે નીરાશાવાદ pessimisn ના ઉદગારો કાઢીઆ હતા. તા. ૧૩-૧૨-૩૮ ના "જમે-જમશેદ" પત્રમાં ડો. ધાલાનું આખું ભાષણ છપાયું છે, તેમાં દસ્તુરજીએ "પોતાને અને આજની કીરતીવંત પારસી કોમને બનાવનાર વડવાઓને પગલે ચાલવાનો આગ્રહ" કર્યો હતો, તે વિષેનું એક sub-heading પેટા મથલું કર્યું છે.

ઇરાનીઓની બાહદુરી તથા ધર્મભીમાન બાબે કવી થોમર મુરે Lalla Rookh માં કરેલું વર્ણન.

પ્રખ્યાત કવી Thomas Moore એ પોતાની જાણીતી કવીતા "Lalla Rookh" માં આરબ છતે વેલા ઇરાનીઓ પર પડેલા જુલમો છતાં તેઓની બહાદુરી, ધર્મ તરફ જાનફેશાનીની બહુજ સુંદર ભાષામાં તારીફ કરી છે. મી. નસરવાનજી માણેકજી કુપરે 'લાલારૂખ'માં આવેલી ઇરાની સરદાર હાફેદ તથા અરબ ઉમરાવજાદી હીન્દાના કરણજનક પ્યારની

વાર્તાને સરસ ઇંગ્રેજી ઇબારતમાં રચી "For God and Iran" એ મથાળાં હેઠલ તે પ્રગટ કરી છે. મી. કુપર પોતાના Preface માં શું કહે છે તે એવણનાજ બોલોમાં ટાંકીશ:—

"The noble story of the sufferings of the Zoroastrians of Persia when an alien faith was propagated at the edge of the sword as told in the pages of Moore's Lalla Rookh, is far less known to the Parsee community than it should be. One cause of this neglect of a stirring account of endurance unto death for the ancient faith of Iran is that the tragedy of the love of Hafed, the Gheber chieftain, and Hinda, the daughter of the Arab conqueror, is told with other stories.....A thrilling story of Zoroastrian deovtion and heroism".

પ્રખ્યાત અંગ્રેજ વીદ્વાન સર પરસી સાઇકસનું મત.

Sir Percy Sykes પોતાની પ્રખ્યાત ચોપડી "History of Persia", Vol. I. માં "Islam under First Four Caliphs" વાલાં પ્રકરણમાં, આરબોએ ઇરાન જીત્યા પછીના ફક્ત ત્રીસ વરસનાજ અરસામાં, પહેલા ચાર ખલીફાના અમલ દરમ્યાન ઇરાનીઓને વટલાવવા તથા તેઓ ઉપર થતા જુલમ, તીરસ્કાર બાબે નીચે મુજબ લખે છે:—

"But even conversion brought no true equality, and in order to secure their lives and property, the Persian nobles had to humble their pride, and become clients of the Arabs. The contempt which the conquerors displayed towards the people they subdued, stronger than that of the Normans for the conquered Saxons, is exemplified in their bitter saying: "Three things only stop prayer; the passing of a client, an ass or a dog". The contemptuous treatment of the Persians was persisted in for many generations".

(પાનું ૫૩૬-૩૭)

વલી હીજરી ૯૩ (ઇસ્વી ૭૧૨)માં આરબોએ જ્યારે સમરકંદ લીધું ત્યારે ત્યાંનાં આતશકદેહોનો નાશ કીધો હતો.

(જુઓ Sykes, History of Persia, Vol. I. page 550).

ઉમયદ ખલીફાના અમલ દરમ્યાન શી હદનો ઇરાનીઓ ઉપર જુલમ હતો તે બાબે Sykes નીચે મુજબ લખે છે :—

"In a period of universal tyranny and oppression, when tyrants like Hajjaj represented the Caliph, it is certain that the Persian people were worse treated than under the first four Caliphs". (page 556, "History of Persia" Vol. I).

વીદ્વાન નોલડેકે શું જણાવે છે.

પ્રખ્યાત જર્મન વીદ્વાન નોલડેકે પણ આરબ લખનારાઓના આધાર ઉપરથી જે જણાવે છે તેની મતલબ એ છે કે ઇસ્લામનો ફેલાવો શરૂઆતમાં તેના અનુયાયીઓને તલવારની અણી વડે કરવાની ફરજ પડી હતી.

(જુઓ Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur zeit der Sassaniden aus der Arabischen chronik des Tabari, Excurse, 3.)

ઇરાનીઓની કતલ અને જરથોશતી ધર્મનો નાશ—બેનજામીન.

The Story of the Nations સીરીઝના "Persia" પુસ્તકની ત્રીજી આવૃત્તીમાં તેના કર્તા Benjamin લખે છે કે :

"The Arabs carried their religion wherever they carried their victorious arms; and thus after frequent outbreaks in various parts of Persia, and violent persecutions, they succeeded in crushing Zoroastrianism as a national faith". (પાનું 283).

પોતાની ચોપડી "Persian Women and their Ways"માં (પાનું ૨૬) C. Colliver Rice નીચે મુજબ લખે છે :—

"When the creed of the prophet was forced upon the country, many had no choice but to accept it. Others unwilling to change their faith, left their native land and settled in India".

આર્નલ્ડ પોતે આડકતરી રીતે શું કબુલે છે.

લંડનની યુનીવરસીટી કોલેજ ખાતેનો અરબીનો પ્રોફેસર T. W. Arnold, જેણે "Preaching of Islam" નામની ચોપડી લખી છે, તે જોકે ડૉ. તારાપોરવાલા માફક ઇરાનીઓ રાજીખુશીથી ઇસ્લામ સ્વીકારવાની દલીલ કરે છે, છતાં આરબોએ જબરદસ્તીથી વટલાવવાની, violent conversion ની બીના તેને પણ કબુલવી પડી છે. તેના શબ્દો આ છે:—

"In the face of such facts, it is surely impossible to attribute the decay of Zoroastrianism entirely to violent conversions made by the Muslim conquerors." ("Preaching of Islam", page 210). મતલબ કે સઘલો નહી તો થોડોપણ ભાગ violent conversion એ ભજવ્યો હતો.

એનસાઇકલોપીડીઆ બ્રીટેનીકાનું લખાણ.

Encyclopaedia Britannica ની ૧૧ મી આવૃતીના ૨૧ માં વોલ્યમમાં "Persia–Transition Period" વાલી આરટીકલનો લખનાર ૨૨૪ માં પાને નીચે મુજબ લખે છે:—

"At the battle of Kadisiyah the fate of the Sassanian empire was decided. .....The country passed under a succession of alien rulers who cared nothing for its ancient institutions or its religion. For about 150 years it was governed by officers of the Mahomedan Caliphs, whose principal aim it was to destroy the old nationality by the suppression of its religion".

આ સઘલું અરબ જુલમની વાત સ્પષ્ટ કરે છે, અને છતાં ખરૂ જોતાં ઇરાન ઇસ્લામી કદી બન્યુ નથી. મતલબ કે ગમે એટલા વંશો બદલાયા છતાં ઇરાનમાં અસલી ઇરાનના ધર્મ સાહીત્યનો સ્પીરીટ સચવાઇ રહયો છે. એ બાબે ડારમેસ્ટેટે બરાબર કહે છે કે:

"The national element has disappeared more on the surface than from the interior or the heart. It has not been

said without reason that for the bulk of the Muslim world Persia is outside of Islam". (Persia and Parsis, પાનું ૧૭).

અસહ્ય જુલમો છતાંથી ફરજ્યાત વટલાએલા ઇરાનીઓ અંદરખાનેથી તો બાપીકા ધર્મ તરફજ પ્યાર રાખતા. ખુદ ઇસ્લામમાં જરથોશતી તત્વ તેઓએ દાખલ કર્યું. દારમેસ્ટેટે કહે છે કે "Islam indeed as practised in Persia is no Islam at all. It is the ancient religion of Persia clothed in Mussalman formulas. (પાનું ૧૭).

પ્રોફેસર આઇ. ગોલ્ડઝીહર કહે છે કે સાસાની civilisation એ તે વેળાની આખી દુન્યા ઉપર એટલી બધી તો અસર કરી હતી કે જર્મન ભાષા, કળા, સાહીત્યમાં ઇરાની તત્વો હજી માલમ પડે છે. (જુઓ ગોલ્ડઝીહરનો નીબંધ "Influence of Persian on Islam" મી. નરીમાનની ચોપડી Persia and Parsis (પાનું ૪૨).

આ સઘલાં statements ઉપરથી આ સીધ થાય છે કે ઇરાન દેશની કીર્તી વધારવા, તેના બુલંદ ધર્મને ચુસ્તપણે વલગી રહી તેના ફરમાનો પાલી, પલાવી, સાસાની ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગે તે વેલાના ઇરાનીઓની, તેમજ હાલનાં પારસીઓની તથા જરથોશતી ધર્મની કાંઇ જેવી તેવી સેવા બજાવી નથી. પોતાના ધર્મને વલગી રહી, મુશકેલ અૈયામમાં પણ ઇરાનનો છેલ્લો કમનસીબ શાહ યઝદેજર્દ ધાર્મીક તરીકત પાલવાને ચુકયો ન હતો. આ ઉપરથી હાલના પારસી વીદવાનોએ 'ધમદ્રોહ'ની વાત કરતા અટકવું જોઇએ.

તલવાર અને આગ વડે નાશ.

શુમારે પચાસ વરસની વાત ઉપર પ્રોફેસર ડારમેસ્ટેટેએ મુંબઇમાં "Parseeism: its place in History" બાબે ભાષણ આપતાં નીચે મુજબ જણાવ્યું હતું :—

"A great religion never dies: even when annihilated by sword and fire it still lives on and unrecognised, in many hearts that ignore it. Persia could burn the Avesta, recite

the Koran, forget the name of Zoroaster and Ormazd for the name of Mohamed and Allah, and the twenty one words of the Honaver to the eight words of the Kalima, still the inner soul of the popular religion remained unchanged".

(જુઓ "Ancient Persia and the Parsis" by Jehangir B. Sanjana, page 556.)

કાઉન્ટ ગોબીનોનો અભીપ્રાય.

ખીલારોફી લખાણો વાંચવાની રૂઢી બાબે પ્રખ્યાત ફ્રેંચ વીદવાન કાઉન્ટ ગોબીનોએ લખેલો વીદવતાભર્યો લેખ, જેનો મરહુમ મી. 'મનસુખ' એ અંગ્રેજી તથા ગુજરાતીમાં તરજુમો કર્યો છે, તેમાં ખુદ ઇરાની ભાષાનો નાશ કરવા માટેની આરબોની જીહાદ બાબે એ વીદવાન નીચે મુજબ લખે છે :—

"The Arab invaders had resorted to the most extreme harshness not only against the Persian race, but directly against its language, which they endeavonred to destroy entirely; and although they were actuated or instigated by the most violent religious feeling, still they did not succeed in their attempt".

(જુઓ "Method of Reading Cuneiform Texts" by Comte A. De Gobinean-translated by Muncherjee Cowasji, page 7).

ડો. હાઉગનો મત.

જાણીતા વીદવાન ડો. માર્ટીન હાઉગ લખે છે કે :—

"The Sassanian Kings were able to collect a large proportion of the old writings;.....and it is therefore to the later ravages and persecutions occasioned by the Mohamedans that we must attribute the final loss of most of the writings".

(જુઓ "Essays on the Sacred Language, writings and Religion of the Parsis", by martin Haug, 2nd Edition, by Dr. West, Essay III, page 125).

મી. જી. કે. નરીમાન.

અર્વાચીન પારસી ભાષાશાસ્ત્રી, મરહુમ મી. જી. કે. નરીમાન નીચે મુજબ લખે છે:—

"The cause of the decadence of the Iranian people was the democratisation which was brought in the train of Islam. What the Mazdakites could not achive the Zealots of the Koran accomplished".

(જુઓ "Writings of G. K. N.", page 92).

મી. બહેરામગોર અંકલેસરીઆનો અભીપ્રાય.

તા. ૩૧-૧-૧૯૩૯ ને દીને ગાથા સોસાયટી સમક્ષ 'ફસલી સાલની ગણત્રી' બાબે મી. બહેરામગોર અંકલેસરીઆએ ભાષણ કર્યું હતું. તે દરમ્યાન તેવણે જણાવ્યું હતું કે ઇરાન અરબોના હાથમાં ગયા પછી અરબી સાહીત્યના જેબી લખાણો થયાં, જેબી અરબીમાં પુસ્તકો લખાયાં તે મોટે ભાગે, સેંકડે એંસી ટકા યા તેથીબી વધુ, ઇરાનીઓએ, યાને કે જે ઇરાનીઓને ઇસ્લામમાં વટલાવવામાં આવ્યા હતા તેઓએ તથા તેમના વંશજોએ લખ્યાં હતાં. આ લખાણો ફારસી ભાષામાં, પોતાની માદર ઝબાનમાં નહી કરતાં અરબીમાં કરવાનું કારણ, મી. બહેરામગોરના જણાવવા મુજબ આ હતું કે જો કોઇબી લખનાર—અને કુદરતી રીતે તે લખનાર જાતે ઇરાનીજ હોય-ફારસીમાં કાંઇ પુસ્તક લખતો, અને જો ખલીફને તેની ખબર પડતી તો તે ઇરાની લખનારને મારી નાખવામાં આવતો. આજ કારણને લીધે પ્રખ્યાત લખનાર અલબીરૂની, જે જાતે ઇરાની હતો, તેને પોતાનું કેટલુંક ફારસીમાં લખેલું લખાણ છુપાવી રાખવાની ફરજ પડી હતી, નહી તો કે તેનો પણ જીવ જોખમમાં આવી પડે.

મી. બહેરામગોરનો ઉપલો અભીપ્રાય શું દેખાડે છે? તે આજ કે અરબોએ ઇરાનીઓને જબરદસ્તીથી વટલાવવાથી નહી ધરાતાં, તેઓએ તેમની ભાષા પણ proscribe કરી હતી. યાને કે કોઇથી ઇરાની ભાષા લખાતી નહી, યા બોલાતી પણ નહી. અરબોનો જુલમ શી તરેહનો હતો તેનો આ કરતાં વધુ મુસ્તકીમ પુરાવો બીજો શું હોઇ શકે.

પ્રકરણ ૧૫ મું.

Tradition માં સમાયલી સચ્ચાઇ.

આરબોના જુલમ, ત્રાસની આ માન્યતા, આ પ્રચલીત કથાને ભલે ડા. તારાપોર ખોટી કહે, પણ આખા ઇરાનમાં તે ખરી મનાય છે; અને ડા. ચીનીવાલા કહે છે તેમ, ઇરાનમાં જો કોઇ કહે કે એ માન્યતા ખોટી છે તો તે બોલનારને દીવાનો કહે છે.

માન્યતાઓ, beliefs, traditions કાંઇ જુકાણું ઉપર રચાતાં નથી. બાપદાદેથી મોઢેથી ઉતરી આવેલી આ માન્યતાઓમાં સત્યજ હોય છે. તબરી જેવા લખનારે આવી દંતકથાઓનો કેટલોક આધાર લઇ અરદેશર બાબેગાનની બહોલી શહેનશાહત વિષે લખાણ કર્યું છે. તેમાંના અમુક લખાણને Noeldeke નામનો જરમન વીદ્વાન શહરાગાતવાલું તેમજ contradictory ગણે છે; પણ પ્રોફેસર હરઝફેલ્ડ નામનો એક બીજો જરમન વીદ્વાન, જેણે પાયકુલી બાતે બોદકામ તથા શોધબોલ કરી ત્યાંથી મલેલી વસ્તુઓ ઉપરના પહેલવી લેખોના ફોટાઓ, તેના વાંચણ, અંગ્રેજી તરજુમો તથા નોંધ સાથના બે ગંજવર યાદગાર ગ્રંથો છપાવી પ્રગટ કર્યા છે. તે Paikuli ના ગ્રંથમાં સીક્કાઓ, કોતરકામોની શોધને આધારે હરઝફેલ્ડ બોલુ જણાવે છે કે તબરી ખરો છે, (Vol. I page 37), અને નોલડકે, લેટીન લખનારાઓ ઉપર બોટી રીતે આધાર રાખે છે. "Latin writers were ignorant of contemporaneous events". "We can prove that Noldeke's argument does not hold good".

આ પ્રમાણે હર્ઝફેલ્ડ વગેરે traditions, માન્યતા, દંતકથાને માન આપવાનું શીખવે છે. એ બાબેના ખોલાસા માટે જુઓ ડો. ચીનીવાલાનો સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતીના ખરાં કારણો વિષેનો લેખ, પાના ૧૨-૧૬.

અનેક વેલા જુના સીક્કાઓ ઉપરથી નવુ જ જાણવાનું મલે છે, કાંઇક શકો દુર થાય છે, અને કેટલાક લખાણોની સત્યતા પુરવાર થાય છે, તથા tradition ખરી ઠરે છે. મી. ફરદુનજી પારેખે ભારી શ્રમ ઉઠાવી "Sassanian Coins" નામનું જે કીંમતી પુસ્તક રચ્યું છે, તેમાંથી સાસાનીઓની જહોજલાલીભરી શહેનશાહતનો આપણને કાંઇક ખ્યાલ આવે છે.

તબરીસ્તાનના સ્વતંત્ર જરથોશતી સેપાહબદો અને હાકેમો બાબે હું આગાઉ જણાવી ગયો છું. એ બાબે ડો. જમશેદ માણેકજી ઉનવાલાએ પોતે તબરીસ્તાનના કેટલાક સીક્કાઓની શોધ કરી, તે મેલવી, મુંબઇમાં કેટલાંક ભાષણો કર્યાં હતાં. પોતાની આ કીંમતી શોધખોલને આધારે તેવણે ૧૯૩૮ માં પેરીસ ખાતે "Coins of Tabaristan" નામનું પુસ્તક પ્રગટ કર્યું છે, જેમાં ડો. ઉનવાલાએ તબરીસ્તાનની જરથોશતી હકુમતની ટુંકમાં તવારીખ પણ રજુ કરી છે. આ સીક્કાઓની શોધે ઇરાનીઓના ઉંચ ગુણો જેવા કે દેશ, ધર્મ તરફ વફાદારી, બાહદુરી વગેરેની માન્યતા, tradition ને સાચી ઠેડવી આપી છે, તેમજ ડો. તારાપોરવાલાને મુંગો જવાબ આપ્યો છે.

પ્રકરણ ૧૬ મું.

ઇરાન ઉપર હુમલો કરી ખલીફ ઉમરે તોડેલી પોતાના નબીની વસ્યત.

ખલીફ ઓમર માટેની પ્રચલીત કથાઓ ખોટી હોવાના ટેકામાં ડો. તારાપોરવાલા જણાવે છે કે "બલકે એકવાર તેના અરબ સરદારો તેને સલાહ આપવા ગયા કે બધા ઇરાની જરથોસ્તીઓને ઇસ્લામમાં જબર-

દસ્તીથી વટલાવી સવાબ હાંસલ કરવું, ત્યારે એમરે તેમ કરવા સાફ ના પાડી, અને તેના ટેકામાં બે કારણ દરશાવેલાં; પહેલું એ જે ખુદ નબી મહોમદ સાહેબે ફરમાન આપ્યું હતું કે જરથોશતીઓને કોઇબી પ્રકારે હેરાન ન કરવા, કારણ એ ધર્મ ઇશ્વર પ્રેરીત (God-inspired) છે. બીજું કારણ એ હતું કે ઇસ્લામી કાનુન મુજબ મુસલમાનો કોઇપણ પ્રકારના કરથી મુક્ત હતા, અને જે આખું ઇરાન ઇસ્લામ સ્વીકારે તો સામ્રાજ્ય ચલાવવા માટે જોઇતો ખરચ કયાંથી લાવે".

જ્યારે અરબ સરદારો ઇરાનને જબરદસ્તીથી વટલાવવા માગતા હતા, તે ઉપરથી તો બોલ્લુ પુરવાર થાય છે કે ઇરાનીઓ પોતાનો ધર્મ બદલવા માગતા હતા નહી. તો પછી ડો. તારાપોરવાલાએ ઇરાનીઓ બાબે 'રાજ-દ્રોહી' તથા 'ધર્મદ્રોહી' ના કરેલા આક્ષેપો, તથા બેદીલ ઇરાનીઓના આરબ તારણહાર આવવાની હવાઇ વાત, તથા પ્રજાના મોટા ભાગે ઇસ્લામ રાજીખુશીથી સ્વકારવાની નાપાએદાર હકીકત, તેમજ ઇસ્લામ ઇરાનીઓને આકર્ષક લાગવાની કલ્પીત કથા, તથા ધરમ બદલવા માટે જોરજબરી થઇજ ન હતી એવી એવી બોટી વાતોનો રદીઓ દાકટર સાહેબ પોતેજ પોતાને મોઢેથી આપે છે.

અરબ લશકરે તો જે રીતે ઇસ્લામની શરીઅત તે સમજતું હતું તેની રૂએજ તલવારની નોકથીજ ઇરાનમાં ઇસ્લામ ફેલાવ્યો હતો, કે જેમ તેઓએ મકકામાં કરી મુરતીઓ તોડી અરબોને ઇસ્લામમાં વટલાવ્યા હતા.

જ્યારે જરથોશતીઓનો ધર્મ ઇશ્વર પ્રેરીત હતો, અને તેઓને હેરાન કરવાનું હઝરત મોહમદે ફરમાન આપેલું, ત્યારે તો ઇરાન પર હુમલો લઇ જઇ, તેના ધર્મનો, સાહીત્યનો નાશ કરી, ઉમરે પોતાના પેગામબરની વસીઅત તોડી હતી. આ સંબંધમાં ડો. ચીનીવાલા ઘણીજ વીદવતાભરી રીતે દલીલ કરતાં કહે છે કે "નબીનો કે શરીઅતનો કે કુરાનનો હોકમ હતોજ નહી કે ઇરાનના ધર્મને કે ઇરાનને હાથ લગાડવો". જે ઉમર જેવો ખલીફ, તથા હઝરત મહમદના અસહાબો યાને સોહોબતીઓ companions માંનો એક જેવો પોતાના પેગામબરના ફરમાનને તોડે તો લડાઇએ ચઢેલા, ઝનુનમાં આવેલા અરબો તે ફરમાન શરીઅતના અંજાણપણામાં તોડે તેમાં શી નવાઇ. ડો. ચીનીવાલા જણાવે છે તેમ ઉમરને બીહક લાગી કે ઇરાન જો જબર રહેવા પામે તો ઇસ્લામ કદી આગલ વધે નહી. તેથી તેણે નબીનું ફરમાન તોડયું, પણ તેણે એક મોટી political

તેમજ ધાર્મીક blunder કરી ઇરાનનો નાશ કર્યો. અને તે સાથે ઇસ્લામને પણ નુકસાન કીધું.

આ મુજબ ઉમર માટેની પ્રચલીત માન્યતા કંઇ ખોટી નથી. જેમ આરબો ઇરાનનો ઉતરનો કોહીસ્તાનનો ભાગ સદીઓ સુધી જીતી શકયા નહી, તેમજ પુર્વના ખોરાસાનમાં વસતા કરોડો ઇરાનીઓને તેઓ સહેલાઇથી વટલાવી શકયા નહી. ઇરાની ધર્મ, સાહીત્ય, નીતીરીતી વગેરેની અસર ઉલટુ ઇસ્લામ પર થઇ. વટલેલ જરથોશતીઓ ખસ ઇસ્લામી ન હતા.

મી. બહેરામગોર અંકલેસરીઆનું વજનદાર મત.

નવેમ્બર ૧૯૩૬ માં જરથોશતી દીનની ખોલ કરનારી મંડલીની એક સભા, જેમાં સરનશીન મી. મનચેરજી પે. ભરેગાટ, ડો. માણેકજી દાવર તથા બીજા વીદ્વાન સભાસદો હાજર હતા, તે વેલા અમુક બાબદ વિષે વાદવીવાદ થતાં તે સંબંધમાં મેં જણાવ્યું કે ડો. તારાપોરવાલા તો આરબ જુલમની વાત, તેમજ ખલીફ ઉમર માંટેની દંતકથા તદન ખોટી કહે છે. મને પુછવામાં આવતાં મેં ડાકટર સાહેબના અમદાવાદમાં કરેલાં ભાષણ બાબે ખોલાસો કર્યો. આ સાંભલી સરનશીન સુધાં બીજા સાહેબો હસી પડીઆ. મી. બહેરામગોર તે વેલા બોલીઆ કે ખલીફ ઉમરે આપણાં ધર્મપુસ્તકોનો નાશ કર્યો હતો, એ સાચી વાત છે, અને અરબ જુલમના તો અનેક દાખલાઓ છે.

આ પછી શુમારે બે વરસ પછી ગાથા સોસાયટી સમક્ષ કરેલાં એક ભાષણમાં મી. બેહરામગોરે જણાવ્યું હતું કે ખલીફ ઉમરે જરથોશતી ધર્મપુસ્તકોનો નાશ કરવાની તજવીજ કરી હતી. જરથોશતી ધર્મસાહીત્યનો બચાવ તથા જાલવણી મોબેદ વર્ગે કરી હતી. તા. ૨૯-૧૧-૧૯૩૮ ના દીનના ગાથા સોસાયટી સનમુખના મારાં ભાષણની પહેલાં ઓનરરી સેક્રેટરીએ મી. બહેરામગોરના એ ભાષણની વાંચી સંભલાવેલી મીનીટમાં મી. બહેરામગોરના ઉપલા વીચારો જણાવ્યા હતાં.

પ્રકરણ ૧૭ મું.

ઇરાનીઝમની ઇસ્લામ ઉપર ભારી અસર.

પ્રોફેસર જેમ્સ ડારમેસ્ટેટે પોતાના "A Historical and Literary Sketch of Persia" માં મહાન સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતીના કારણોમાં despotism and intolerance જણાવ્યાં છે. (જુઓ Persia and Parsis, પાનું ૧૪). આ કારણોનો આપણે વીગતથી રદીઓ આપીઓ છે. આમ છતા ડારમેસ્ટેટે જેવો કબુલ કરે છે કે "On the morrow of its defeat Persia was proselytised 'en masse' owing to diverse reasons, which resolved themselves into two cardinal ones. Firstly, Islam was the religion of the masters, and secondly Persia had little hold on the ancient state religion". (પાનું ૧૮).

આ પ્રમાણે એ વીદ્વાનના જણાવવા મુજબ ઇસ્લામની ઇરાન ઉપરની સાહેબીથી, પક્ષથી, લાગવગથી, ફેલાયલી વાતાવરણથી ઇસ્લામ જુની જરથોશતી દીનના ભોગે પથરાતો ગયો. વટલેલાઓએ જુની દીનની તરીકતો, ક્રિયાઓ, રસમો નવી દીનમાં આમેઝ કરી. આ બાબદ ડો. ચીનીવાલાએ આર્યોલોજીના સીધ્ધાંતને અનુસરીને, સાયંસની શાહદત ટાંકીને ઘણી સુંદર રીતે સમજાવી છે, અને ડો. તારાપોરવાલાની વાહીઆત વાતનો masterly તથા brilliant રીતે રદીઓ આપ્યો છે.

ઇરાનનું જોર તેના બુલંદ ધર્મને લીધે હતું, એમ ડારમેસ્ટેટે, ગોલ્ડઝીહર પણ કહે છે.

ઇરાની સાહીત્યે આરબો મારફતે છેક યુરપમાં પણ અસર કરી જ્ઞાનનો ફેલાવો કર્યો હતો. સ્પેન ખાતેની અરબ યુનીવરસીટીઓ વીદ્યાના મુખ્ય મથકો તરીકે કામ બજાવતી હતી.

(જુઓ Dr. Modi's Anthropological Papers, Part III, pages 50-51).

સાઇકસ જણાવે છે તેમ ઇરાને આખી દુનીઆની તવારીખ ઉપર ભારી અસર કરી છે.

(જુઓ Universal History of the World, Volume IV, pp. 230–37).

સર જ્યોર્જ બર્ડવુડ કહે છે તેમ યુરપમાં ખ્રીસ્તી ધર્મની સ્થાપના કોઇક રીતે જરથોશતી ધર્મને આભારી છે.

(જુઓ Asiatic Papers–Part II, by Dr. Modi, page 509).

એટો રોથફીલ્ડ લખે છે કે અરબી સાહીત્યનો મોટો ભાગ ઇરાની ગ્રંથકર્તાઓએ લખ્યો હતો.

(જુઓ "The Value of Persian Literature", a paper by Otto Rothfield, in Dr. Modi Memorial Volume, page 643).

ઉમયદ વંશના ખલીફ સુલેમાને ઇરાનીઓ બાબે નીચે મુજબ ઉંચું મત દર્શાવ્યું હતું :—

"I am amazed at the Persians. They have ruled one thousand years and never needed us for a moment; while we have reigned for one hundred years, and not even for a moment have been able to do without them".

(જુઓ "Maulana Shibli and Umar Khayyam" by R. P. Bhajiwalla; Dr. Modi's Foreword, page XLI).

મરહુમ મી. જી. કે. નરીમાને અનેક કીંમતી પુસ્તકો પ્રગટ કરી આપણા ઇરાની સાહીત્યની કીંમતી સેવા બજાવી છે, જોકે સાસાન્યન સોસાયટી, તથા સ્ત્રી જાતી બાબેના તેવણના કેટલાક વીચારોથી આપણે જુદા પડીએ છીએ, અને તે બાબે હું આગલ ખોલાસો કરી ગયો છું. છતાં Sassanian Civilisation બાબેના તેવણના લેખો જે અગાઉ Journal of Iranian Association ના ૧૯૧૮–૧૯ ના અંકોમાં છપાયા હતા, તે અસલી ઇરાન દેશની વ્યવસ્થા, વહીવટ વગેરેનો સુંદર

ખ્યાલ આપે છે. હાલમાં મી. આર. બી. પેમાસ્તરે મી. નરીમાનના કેટલાંક લખાણોની એક ચોપડી પ્રગટ કરી છે, જેનું નામ "Writings of G.K. Nariman" છે, તેના પાના ૧-૬૨ માં આ લેખ સમાવ્યો છે.

મી. નરીમાન સાસાનીઓમાં ઘણી બાયડી કરવાના રીવાજ બાબે લખે છે, પણ આ રીવાજ ઇરાનીઓમાં નહી, પણ અરબોમાં હતો એતો જગજાહેર વાત છે. આમ છતાં મી. નરીમાન કબુલે છે કે:

"Still women among the Zarathushtrians occupied a position of greater honour than anywhere else in the orient."

(જુઓ "Writings of G. K. N.-page 46).

પણ એક બાબદ મી. નરીમાન સાફ જણાવે છે. ઇરાની સાહીત્ય, કળા, વીદ્યા, હુન્નર, જ્ઞાન, રાજ્યવહીવટ એ બધાંએ આરબો ઉપર અને અરબી સાહીત્ય ઉપર ભારે અસર કરી હતી. કારણ કે ફીરદુસી કહે છે તેમ આરબો તદન જંગલી બાસ્યતના હતા. આ અસર બાબે મી. નરીમાનનો લેખ "Parsi History in Arabic Works" વાંચવા લાયક છે.

(જુઓ "Writings of G. K. N." pages 126-47).

મી. આર. બી. પેમાસ્તરની એક નવી તવારીખી શોધ!!

ઉપલી 'Writings of G. K. N.' ચોપડીમાં મી. જી. કે. નરીમાનનો Life Sketch આપતાં મી. આર. બી. પેમાસ્તર એ મરહુમ વીદ્વાન માટે લખે છે કે:

"He never hesitated for fear of incurring popular displeasure to announce blunt truth from the house-top, however unpalatable it might be".

આના દાખલામાં, આરબોના coercion or oppression નહીં હોવા બાબેની દલીલોને તેવણ 'incontrovertible arguments and evidence in support of that historical fact' તરીકે વર્ણવે છે. (pages ii-iii).

એક બાજુ, પોતાની ઉપલી ચોપડીના Preface માં મી. પેમાસ્તર કહે છે કે 'Truth is many-sided; ત્યારે બીજી બાજુ, મી. નરીમાનની ડો. તારાપોરવાલાની બાફકની દલીલોને તેવણ નગ્ન સત્ય, fact કહીને તેના બીજા facets જોઇ શકતા નથી, એ અજબ જેવું છે.

અરબોના જુલમ, વગેરેની પારસી દંતકથાને મી. પેમાસ્તર unfounded beliefs જણાવે છે. (page iii).

પણ મી. પેમાસ્તર તો મરહુમ મી. નરીમાનની પણ એક કદમ આગલ વધી ડફાંસ હાંકે છે કે:

"One need hardly observe that to-day barring a few die-hards no student of ancient history of Iran seriously countenances the story of Arab tyranny and intolerance wiping the ancient Zoroastrian culture out of existence". (page iv.)

મતલબ કે થોડાક 'ડાઇ-હારડો' સીવાય અરબ જુલમની વાત કોઇ ખરી આજે ગણતું નથી. એટલે ડો. તારાપોરવાલાના જેવા વીચારો ધરાવનારા આંગલી ઉપર ગણાય તેટલા પારસી તવારીખના અભ્યાસીઓ બાદ કરતાં, બાકીના જે પારસી તથા યુરોપ્યન, તેમજ ઇરાની વીદ્વાનો, જેઓના અરબ જુલમ બાબેના સતાધારી મતો હું ટાંકી ગયો છું, તેઓ સઘલાને, તેમજ એવા વીચાર ધરાવનારા હજારો નહી પણ લાખો લોકોને મી. પેમાસ્તર તુચ્છ બીસાદમાં ગણી તેઓને 'die-hards'ની ઉપમા આપે છે. 'આ ડાઇ-હાડ' શબ્દ ઘણો અગત્યનો છે.

મી. પેમાસ્તર 'પારસી પ્રકાશ'ના કર્તા તરીકે જાણીતા છે, પણ તવારીખી છબરડાઓ કરવા માટે, તથા હવાઇ તોલા, ઓરંગાઓ ફેંકવા માટે તવારીખનવેશોમાં તથા વીદ્યાર્થી આલમમાં તેવણ વધુ જાણીતા છે.

"નવસારીનાં મોટા દસ્તુર દેશાઇ ખાનદાનોની દીસા-પોથી"ના કર્તા એર્વદ દારા સોહરાબજી દસ્તુરજી મેહરજીરાણાએ એ ચોપડીનો એક લંબાણ બહુજ વીદ્વતાભર્યો દિબાચો લખ્યો છે, તેમાં "પારસી પ્રકાશ"માં થયલી અનેક ભુલો સુધારવાની જરૂર"વાલાં મથાલાં હેથલ તેવણ લખે છે કે "પારસી પ્રકાશના હાલના કર્તા તરીકે મી. ફ. બ. પેમાસ્તર જે તવારીખી કચુબર કરે છે,—ગોયા કોઇવાર તવારીખનું ખુન કરે છે"..... (જુઓ પાનુ ૪૪).

વલી "મી. પેમાસ્તરે કરેલી ગાયકવાડી પારસીઓની ગંભીર બદનક્ષી"વાલાં મથાલાં હેથલનું લખાણ પણ મી. પેમાસ્તરનું તવારીખી ભડોલ દેખાડી આપે છે.

(જુઓ પાનાં ૬૨-૬૩).

અને પોતાની આવી તવારીખી અજ્ઞાનતા હોવા છતાં મી. પેમાસ્તર બીજા બધાઓને ઝનુની, એટલે, 'ડાઇ-હાર્ડ' જણાવે છે.

સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતીના ઐયામમાં થઇ ગયા પ્રખ્યાત સલમાને ફારસી તે કાંઇ દસ્તુર દીન્યાર નથી, એમ મી. પારેખ કહે છે. જોકે મી. નાનાભાઇ ફ. મામા એડવોકેટે તો દીન્યાર તથા સલમાન એકજ છે એમ દેખાડી આપ્યું છે.

હવે ત્યારે ઇરાનની પડતીના ખરાં કારણો આપણે જોયા છે. એ પડતી માટે ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગ, યા ઇરાની પ્રજાને દોષ દેવો, તથા વિશેષણો લગાડવાં, તેમાં દાનાઇ કે સચ્ચાઇ નથી. અરબોના અસહ્ય જુલમને લીધેજ આપણને હીંદ આવવું પડ્યું હતું એ બાબદ તો હવે પુરતી રીતે સાબેત થઇ છે.

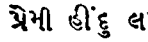
પ્રકરણ ૧૮ મું.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા જણાવે છે કે ઇરાનમાં પારસીઓએ ધર્મ પલટો સ્વીકાર્યો, અને હિંદમાં હીંદુ વસ્તીમાં ભળી ગયા.

હાલમાં મી. અંબેલાલ નારણજી જોશી, એડવોકેટે માનવંત સર હોરમસજી કાવસજી દીનશાહ એડનવાલાના જીવનચરીત્રની બીજી વધારા સાથની સુંદર આવૃતી બહાર પાડી છે, જેની પ્રસ્તાવનામાં અંતે તેમને 'કેટલીક માર્ગદર્શક સુચનાઓ કરવા બદલ', બીજા પારસી મીત્રોના નામ દેઇ, ડો. તારાપોરવાલાનો પણ તેવણે આભાર માન્યો છે. આ-

પુસ્તકના, "પારસીઓનું હિંદુસ્તાનમાં આગમન" વાલાં ૨)જાં પ્રકરણમાં પાના ૩૫ થી ૩૭ માં આ ભલા પ્રેમી હીંદુ લખનારે ડો. તારાપોરવાલાનું લખાણ quote કરી, તેવણનીજ નાપાએદાર દલીલો, જેનું આપણે પુરૂં ખંડન કર્યું છે તે દલીલો સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતીના કારણમાં તથા પારસીઓના હીંદમાં આગમનના કારણમાં રજુ કરી છે. અલબત એ માટે મી. જોશીનો આપણે જરાકબી કસુર કાઢી શકયે નહી, કારણ કે તેવણનાજ જણાવવા મુજબ તેવણને તેવણના મીત્ર ડા. તારાપોરવાલા તરફથી આવી કેટલીક માર્ગદર્શક સુચનાઓ થઇ હતી. મી. જોશીને સાચી રાહબરી, ખરો રસ્તો મલી શકયો નથી તે માટે આપણે ખચીતજ દલગીર છીએ.

પારસીઓ હીંદુ વસ્તીમાં ભળી જવાનો નવો ઓરંગો.



ઇરાનીઓનો બીજો ધર્મ પલ્ટો !!

જેમ ઇરાનના જરથોશતીઓએ રાજીખુશીથી ઇસ્લામમાં ધર્મપલ્ટો સ્વીકારવાની હસ્વા સરખી નાપાયદાર વાત ડો. તારાપોરવાલા કરે છે, તેજ મુજબ અત્રે હીંદમાં નાસી આવેલા પારસીઓ હીંદુ વસ્તીમાં ભળી જવાની તેવણ વાત કરે છે, અને તેને "બુધ્ધી પ્રકાશ"ના અધીપતી પોતાની નોંધમાં ટેકો આપે છે.

સર હોરમસજી ઓડનવાલાનું જીવનચરીત્ર લખનાર ઉપલાં ડો. તારાપોરવાલાના મતને આધારે લખે છે કે સંજાણમાં આવ્યા બાદ "ધર્મ તથા સંસકૃતીના સામ્યને લીધે પારસીઓ હીંદની હીંદુ પ્રજામાં સંપુર્ણ ભળી ગયા", પણ આ ભલા હીંદુ ગ્રંથકર્તાને પાછળથી ખરો ખ્યાલ આવેલો હોય યા ખરી માહીતી મલી હોય તે કારણે, ઉપલું લખ્યા પછી તુરતજ તેવણ જણાવે છે કે "હિંદમાં આવ્યા બાદ પારસીઓ પોતાના અનેક આકર્ષક ગુણોને લઇને લોકપ્રિય થઇ પડયા છતાં પારસી કોમ–પારસી પ્રજા–તરીકે પોતાની અનન્ય વિશિષ્ટતા જાળવી શકયા"; જુઓ સર હોરમસજીનું જીવનચરીત્ર, પ્રકરણ ૨ જું, પાના ૪૦–૪૧.

મી. અંબેલાલ જોશીના આ લખાણની અસરથી ડો. તારાપોરવાલા પણ વીચાર પલ્ટો લે છે, આથી તેવણ નવીજ તર્ક કરે છે; મી. જોશીને તેવણ નીચે મુજબ "માર્ગદર્શક સૂચના" કરે છે:—

ડો. તારાપોરવાલાના અનેક છબરડાઓ તથા ઇતિહાસની 'સાવ' અજ્ઞાનતા.

"ત્યારે પારસીઓ અલગ રહેવા કેમ પામ્યા? અગર પારસીઓ દીવ બંદરથી પાછા સમુદ્ર માર્ગે સંજાણ આવવાને બદલે કાઠીઆવાડનાં રણ ઓળંગી પાટણ અથવા ગુજરાતી હિંદુ સંસ્કૃતીના કોઇ મોટાં કેનદ્રસ્થાને ગયા હોત તો જરૂરજ જેમ બીજા ઇરાનીઓ ભળી ગયા તેમ પારસીઓ પણ અત્યારે હિંદુ પ્રજાનાં એક અંગ બની ગયા હોત. પરંતુ ઇશ્વરેચ્છા જુદીજ હતી. તેને અનુસાર હિંદુ સંસ્કૃતીથી ભરપુર મોટાં નગરોમાં ન જતાં પારસીઓ સંજાન જેવા નાના ગામડાંમાં આવી વસ્યા. ત્યાંની વસ્તી મુખ્યત્વે દુબળા, કાળી ઇત્યાદી વર્ણોની હતી. તેઓ અલબત ઇરાનનાં પ્રતિભા-સંપન્ન પારસીઓ સાથ સરખાવતાં જંગલી તથા અસંસ્કારી ગણાય, તેથીજ પારસીઓ પોતાનું પારસીપણું જાળવી શકયા. જ્યારે બે-ત્રણ સૈકાઓ પછી તેઓ ગુજરાતનાં મોટાં શહેરો સુરત, નવસારી, ભરૂચ સુધી પહોંચ્યા, ત્યારે ગુજરાતમાં ઇસ્લામી અમલનો આરંભ થઇ ચુકયો હતો. ત્યારબાદ ભળી જવું અશકય હતું".

ડો. તારાપોરવાલાના હિંદના ઇતિહાસના જ્ઞાન માટે આપણને દયા ઉપજે છે. પારસીઓ સંજાન આવ્યા તે વેળા સંજાન કાંઇ નાનું ગામડું ન હતું. ત્યાં તો એક ભલો હીંદુ રાજા રાજ કરતો હતો. સંજાન તો રાજયનગર હતું. વલી, ભલે હાલમાં ત્યાં કોળી, દુબળાં વસતાં હોય, પણ બારસો વરસો પર તો ત્યાં ક્ષત્રિય જ્ઞાતિની વસ્તી મોટી હતી, રાજા પોતે ક્ષત્રિય હતા, અને આ જ્ઞાતિ સંસ્કાર પામેલી, સંસ્કૃતીવાલી હતી. સંજાનના રહીશો તે વેળા ડાકટર સાહેબના કહેવા પ્રમાણે જંગલી ન હતા. વલી સુરત, નવસારી ખાતે ઇસ્લામના આરંભનો અમલ તો છેક પાછલથી થયો હતો.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા પોતાના માની લીધેલાં મતને કલ્પીત ટેકા આપવા જતા થું ગંભીર છબરડા કરે છે તેનું તેવણને ભાન થયલું જણાતું નથી.

પ્રકરણ ૧૯ મું.

પારસીઓને તેમના સાસાની વડવાઓ તરફથી વારસામાં મલેલું ઉચ્ચ ચારીત્ર–તે બાબેના પુરાવાઓ તથા અલીપ્રાયે.

પારસીઓ હાલમાં લંડન જેવાં શહેરમાં વસવા છતાં પોતાનું પારસીપણું જાલવી શકયા છે. બારસો વરસ ઉપર હીંદના આપણા વડવાઓ આપણા કરતાં હજાર ધણા દરજ્જે વધુ ધર્માભીમાની હતા. આ 'ભણી જવાની વાત' તો ફક્ત ડો. તારાપોરવાલાજ એકલા કરે છે. ખુદ મી. અંબેલાલ જેશી પારસીઓને "હીંદના સર્વ દેશીય જીવનમાં સર્વતોમુખી પ્રગતી કરનાર તરીકે, માર્ગદર્શક, પહેલ કરનાર" કહે છે (ઉપલી ચોપડી, પાનું ૪૭). તેવણ વલી પારસીપણું જાલવી રાખનારા પારસી સદગુણો બાબેના જાણીતા પારસીઓ, જેવા કે મી. એમ. એમ. મર્ઝબાન, સર ઇસ્તમ વકીલ, સર દીનશાહ વાચ્છા, સર દીનશાહ મુલ્લાં, સર પીરોઝશાહ મેહતા, સર હોરમસજી મહેતા વગેરેના મતો ટાંકે છે.

(જુઓ ઉપલી ચોપડી, પાના ૪૩–૫૫ ની ફુટનોટો).

ડોકટર તારાપોરવાલાને જુની તવારીખના જાણીતા વીદવાન તથા લેખનાર મી. જે. આર. બી. જીજીભાઇનો સચોટ જવાબ.

જુની પારસી તવારીખના શોખીન તથા અભ્યાસી જાણીતા મી. જે. આર. બી. જીજીભાઇના મતો તો જગેજગ મી. જેશી ટાંકે છે. મી. Jeejeebhoy ની ટાંકેલી નીચલી લીટીઓ, 'ધર્મદ્રોહ' 'દેશદ્રોહ'ની હવાઇ વાતો કરનારા ડો. તારાપોરવાલાને જવાબ આપવા પુરતી થઇ પડશે. તે આ છે:—

"The King of Sanjan was at first attracted with the demeanour of the refugees martial in body, heroic in mind, heroic even in their terrific decline and downfall, loyal to their Prophet, loyal to their ancestors, loyal to their name and loyal to their religion.". (પાનું ૩૮).

પ્રખ્યાત સોલ સંસ્કૃત શ્લોકો.

પ્રખ્યાત સોલ સંસ્કૃત શ્લોકો, જે સંજાનના રાજા સનમુખ પારસી વડા ધર્મગુરૂએ કહી સંભલાવ્યા હતા, તેમાં હીંદના નવા આવનારા જરથોશતીઓના સદગુરૂનું ટુંકમાં અસરકારક ચીત્ર રજુ કર્યું છે. જુઓ (૧) મી. આર. બી. પેમાસ્તરની ચોપડી, "કીસ્સે સંજાણ" છેલ્લાં પાના ૧-૧૫; (૨) Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume માં મી. શાપુરજી કા. હોડીવાલાનું પેપર "The Sixteen Sanskrit Shlokas recited before King Jadi Rana", (pages 70–94); (૩) એરવદ શેરીઆરજી ભરૂચાની રચેલી તથા એડીત કરેલી "Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis", Part VI,–Shōdasā Shlokās, જેમાં મી. મંચેરજી પી. ખરેઘાટે વીદવતાભર્યા Preface, notes તથા appendix આપ્યાં છે. (pages vi–vii, તથા ૨૦-૪૩); (૪) મી. બહેરામ પીરોજશાહ ભરૂચાની ચોપડી, "હાલની પારસી કોમ", પાના ૮૯-૧૧૧; (૫) જેહાંગીર દેશાઇની "પારસિકા", વિભાગ ૨ જો, "ઇતિહાસની આરસી", પાનાં ૧૨૮-૧૩૩.

ડા. તારાપોરવાલાના 'રાજદ્રોહ'ની બાબદ માટે લખતાં મી. જેશી હાલના પારસીઓ માટે શું કહે છે તે જુઓ. "પારસીઓ રાજકારણમાં અમુક ચોકસ વીચારો ધરાવે છે, અને તેટલા ખાતર તેમને રાજદ્રોહી કહેવા એ યોગ્ય નથી".

(સર હોરમસજીનું જીવનચરીત્ર, પાનું 49).

પારકા મુલકમાં વટીક રાજ પ્રત્યે, દેશ પ્રત્યે વફાદારીના સૌથી જાણીતા દાખલા-તે માટેની જાંહગીર દેશાઇની સુંદર કવીતાઓ.

રાજ તરફ વફાદારીનો અચુક પુરાવો ખુદ અત્રે હીંદ આવ્યા પછી, સંજાણની અલફખાનની ચઢાઇ વેલા પારસીઓએ બાહદુરીથી લડી પોતાના જીવો આપ્યા હતા તે તવારીખ પુરો પાડે છે. જુઓ (1) A few

Events in the Early History of the Parsis, with their dates.–Dr. J. J. Modi; (2) Studies in Parsi History–Prof. Shapursha Hodiwala, pages 37–117. (3) ફારસે સંજાણ–ફ. બ. પેમાસ્તર. સંજાણની લડાઇ વેલા પારસીઓની બાહદુરી તથા વફાદારી બાબે બ્યાલો રચાયા છે, કવીતાઓ રચાઇ છે, જેમાં સૌથી સરસ મી. જેહાંગીર દેશાઇની છે. મી. જેહાંગીર માણેકજી દેશાઇ, એમ.એ., એમ. આર. એ. એસ. એ "ચમકારા" નામનું એક કવિતાનું પુસ્તક પ્રગટ કર્યું છે, જેની ભાષા વિષે બનારસ હીંદુ યુનીવરસીટીના પ્રો. વાઇસ ચેનસેલર પ્રો. એ. બી. ધ્રુવ આ પુસ્તકની પ્રસ્તાવનામાં નીચે મુજબ લખે છે :—

"હિન્દુ ભાઇઓને પણ ભાષા શુધ્ધીનો આદર્શ બતાવે એવી રા. બબરદારની કૃતીઓ છે, એ જાણીતુ છે, અને અમને આજ લખતાં આનંદ થાય છે કે રા. જેહાંગીર દેશાઇનું આ પુસ્તક ભાષા શુધ્ધીની કસોટીએ રા. બબરદારની કૃતીઓથી ઉતરતું નથી".

કવિ દેશાઇની ઉંચ કવીતા શક્તી માટે આજ વીદવાન લખે છે કે :

"આ સંગ્રહમાં પ્રસીધ્ધ થયલાં કેટલાક કાવ્યો ઉંચ પ્રકારનાં છે, અને ગુજરાતના કોઇપણ કવિની કલમને શોભાવે એવાં છે એમ કહેવામાં હરકત નથી".

મી. દેશાઇએ સંજાણ સંગ્રામને 'હિંદમાં પારસી કીર્તીનો અત્યંત ઝલકતો સફો' કહી તે બાબે "ગરજો વીર! ગરજો વીર!" વાલી લગભગ દોઢસો લીટીઓની એક સુંદર કવીતા (પાના ૬૧–૬૮) લખી છે. ખુદ મી. ધ્રુવ આ 'ગરજો વીર' વાલી કવીતાને તેમજ જંગે વરીઆવમાં પારસી બાનુઓના અદભુત પરાક્રમ વિષેની મી. દેશાઇની કવિતા "ધન વીર નાર! ધન વીર નાર! ("ચમકારા", પાના ૧૩૬–૧૩૮) ને 'પ્રથમ પંક્તીની' જણાવે છે.

પારસીઓ જ્યારે પારકા મુલકમાં ત્યાંના દેશને તથા રાજાને વફાદાર નીવડયા છે, તો તેઓ ખુદ પોતાના વતન પ્રત્યે 'રાજદ્રોહી' હતા એમ કહેવું તદન હસવા સરખું છે.

ફરજ અને ધર્મ તરફની પારસીઓની જાનફેશાની-આ સદગુણને લીધેજ પારસીઓ આ દેશમાં જીવતા રહયા છે-સર કાવસજી જાંહગીરે પારસી ચારીત્રની કરેલી તારીફ.

શમશુલઓલમાં દસ્તુર ડો. ધાલાએ સર કાવસજી જાંહગીર હોલમાં તા. ૪-૧-૧૯૩૯ ને દીને કરેલાં એક ભાષણ બાદ સભાના પ્રમુખ સર કાવસજી જાંહગીરે પારસીઓના સદગુણો બાબે જે જણાવ્યું હતું તે તા. ૫-૧-૧૯૩૯ ના 'જામે'માંથી હું નીચે રજુ કરૂં છું. ઉપલું મથાલું પણ એજ પત્રમાંથી મેં લીધું છે.

"એક નાની કોમ તરીકે આજે આપણે પારસીઓ આ વીશાલ દેશમાં આવીને ટકી રહયા છીએ તે આપણી ફેરેકટરને આભારી છે. આપણા બાલકોમાં પણ આપણા વડવાઓના આ આશા અને હીંમતના ગુણો ઉતરશેજ. ૧૨૦૦) વરસ પહેલી હજી આપણે એક પરાયા મુલકમાં જીવ્યે છીએ, કારણ કે અમર આશાથી અને એક ખરા જરથોશતી બચાને છાજતી હીંમતથી આપણે આપણા બાપદાદાના ધર્મને હજી વલગી રહયા છીએ.....આજે આપણે જીવ્યે છીએ તે આપણા ધર્મ પરની આરથાનેજ આભારી છે. ડા. ધાલા પણ કબુલ રાખશે કે આપણે મુઠીભર પારસીઓ આ દેશમાં જીવતા રહીઆ છીએ તે આપણા ધર્મના સીધાંતોને વલગી રહેવાને આભારી છે".

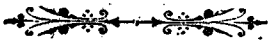
'જામે-જમશેદ'ના તા. ૭-૧-૧૯૩૯ ના અંકમાં સર કાવસજીને આપણા બુલંદ જરથોશતી મજહબ પ્રત્યેની પોતાની અથાગ વફાદારી તથા ફીદાગીરી જાહેર કરવા માટે વાજબી રીતેજ શાબાશી આપતાં એ પત્રના અધીપતી જણાવે છે કે "જો આપણા માહાન નામાકીત ન્યાગાનોએ પોતાના પ્યારા જનોના ભોગેથી, આપણા પવીત્ર ધર્મનું અને તેના ઉમદા સીધાંતોનું રક્ષણ કર્યું ન હતે, તો આપણી મુઠીભર કોમ કયે દીવસ બીજી મોટી કોમોમાં ભેલાઇ જઇ નાબુદ થઇ ગઇ હતે".

ધર્મની જલવણી અર્થે આપણા વડવાઓએ ઉઠાવેલી અનેક જેહમતો તથા ખમેલા ઘણાક હાદેસાઓ– સર કાવસજી જેહાંગીર.

વળી તા. ૨૨–૧–૧૯૩૯ ને દીને સેંટ ઝેવીઅરસ કોલેજના પારસી યુન્યન તરફના થયલા મેલાવડાના પ્રમુખપદેથી આપણા માનવંત અકાબર સર કાવસજી જેહાંગીરે વીવેચન કરતાં હાલના જુવાનીઆઓને આપણા બાપદાદાઓની ત્રેડીશનો જલવી રાખવાની સલાહ આપતાં બોલીઆ હતા કે :

"તમારા બાપદાદાઓએ પોતાના ધરમની જલવણી અરથે જેહમતો ઉઠાવી છે. તમારે તો ફક્ત તે તમારા બાપદાદાના ધરમને હઈડે રાખીને તેની યાદ જરી રાખવાની છે. ખુદાએ તમને એક સારામાં સારો પવીત્ર ધરમ બક્ષ્યો છે. તેની બરકકતથીજ તમારા બાપદાદાઓ કાંઇક હાદેશાઓ ખમવા છતાં આ દેશમાં આવીને ઠરીઠામ થયા. તેની બરકકતથીજ આજે આપણે નામના કાઢી.....આજે જેજે પારસીઓ હજીબી હીંદમાં કાંઇક નામના જલવી રાખી શકયા હશે તે હમારા ત્રેડીશનો અને ધરમ તરફની ફીદાગીરીથીજ હમે જલવી શકયા છીએ".

(જુઓ જામે–જમશેદ, તા. ૨૪–૧–૧૯૩૮).



પ્રકરણ ૨૦ મું.

ઇરાનની પડતીના તથા જરથોશતીઓના હીંદમાં આગમનનાં ખરાં કારણો.

ડો. તારાપોરવાલા એક બાજુ, આપણે તપાસી ગયા તેમ જણાવે છે કે ઇરાનીઓએ ઇસ્લામ રાજીખુશીથી સ્વીકાર્યો, જ્યારે બીજી બાજુ, તેવણ જણાવે છે કે "અલબત ધર્મપલ્ટાની પાછલ ઘણીવાર સ્વાર્થ છુપાયલો હતો, કારણ કે ઇસ્લામ સ્વીકાર્યાથી અનેક પ્રકારના લાભ થતા હતા". આ બને ઉલટાસુલટી, contradictory સ્ટેટમેંટો છે.

ડો. ફરામરોઝ ચીનીવાલા જણાવે છે, અને તે પણ ઘણીજ વીદ્વતા પુર્વક દલીલો તથા દાખલાઓ આપી જણાવે છે કે આ સ્વાર્થ તથા લાભની વાત બીલકુલજ નાપાયદાર છે.

આરબોના જીવનનો ભ્રાતૃભાવ કેવો હતો તે તો ખુદ ઇસ્લામની આગલી તવારીખ આપણને બોલું દેખાડી આપે છે.

જો ઇસ્લામના ફરમાન 'સાદા' હતાં, શીહા ધર્મ જો તદનજ 'સરલ' હતો તો પહેલા અબ્બાસાઇડ ખલીફે સુન્ની ધર્મ શા માટે ઉભો કીધો?

યુરોપ્યન વીદ્વાનોએ સુધારેલી પોતાની ભુલો.

ડારમેસ્ટેટે, જેણે ઝંદ અવસ્તાનો અંગ્રેજી તથા ફ્રેંચમાં તરજુમો કરી આહોશ લેખો લખી કીંમતી સેવા બજાવી છે, તેણે હાલના જડવાદી વીચારોને લીધે, જરથોશતી ધર્મની તરીકતો નહી સમજવાના પરીણામે, તથા મેજાઇ ધર્મને બહારનો, a foreign importation ભુલ ભરી રીતે ગણવાના પરીણામે તેને સાસાની ધર્મગુરૂઓએ impracticable, ridiculous તથા odious બનાવેલો ભુલભરી રીતે જણાવ્યો છે. આથી તેવણ intolerance તથા despotism ને પડતીના કારણો જણાવે છે, જેની દલીલો આપણે તપાસી. પણ ડારમેસ્ટેટે પોતે ભુલી જાય છે કે મધ્યકાલમાં ખુદ યુરપમાં શી પ્રકારનું ધાર્મીક intolerance, ઝનુન ફેલાયલું હતું. Inquisition ની રૂઢીઓથી આપણે અજાણ નથી. ખુદ ફ્રેંચ રેવોલ્યુશન દરમ્યાન ફ્રેંચ પ્રજા માણસાઇ ખાસ્યત જાણે ભુલી ગઇ હતી.

મી. બેનજામીન પોતાના પુસ્તક "Persia"–Story of Nations series માં લખે છે કે :—

"For almost from the outset, intolerance of any belief but their own has been the practice of the various Christian Sects, enforced as we know for many ages by fire, and torture and the sword". (page 177).

મોહમેદન તથા અરબ લખનારાઓ આ કહેવાતાં ધર્માંધપણા બાબે એક શબ્દ વટીક લખી ગયા નથી, એમ ઇન્સાફને ખાતર જણાવવું પડે છે. વલી ઇરાનીઓએ રાજીખુશીથી ઇસ્લામ સ્વીકાર્યો એવું પણ તેઓ જણાવતા નથી.

સાસાની શાહોની આપખુદ સત્તા માટે દારમેસ્ટેટે જેવા લખે છે, પણ આજના સુધરેલા જમાનામાં, આ વીસમી સદીમાં, છુટાપણું ભોગવવાનો દાવો કરતી યુરોપ્યન પ્રજાઓમાં પણ despotism કયાં નથી હોતું? જર્મની, ઇટલી જેવા મુલકોમાં despotism નહી તો શું બીજું ચાલી રહયું છે? ખુદ યુરપના ફ્રાંસ, ઇગ્લંડ જેવા democratic દેશોમાં પણ ખરી રીતે તો અંદરખાનેથી આપખુદ રીતેજ રાજ્યવહીવટ ચાલે છે.

મરહુમ મી. જી. કે. નરીમાનનો લેખ "Parsis and Early Islam", જે મી. પેમાસ્તરે પ્રગટ કરેલાં "Writings of G. K. N". વાલાં પુસ્તક (પાના ૧૬૩-૨૦૧)માં છાપ્યો છે, તેમાં તેણ ડો. તારાપોર-વાલા માફક જણાવે છે કે ઇરાનીઓએ ઇસ્લામ રાજીખુશીથી સ્વીકાર્યો હતો, કાંઇ જબરદસ્તી થઇ ન હતી, અને ઇરાનીઓ ઉપર જેબી ક્રાંઇ જુલમો થયા તે તો ઇસ્લામમાં વટલેલા ઇરાનીઓએજ કર્યા હતા. આ બાબદનો સ્દીઓ અત્યાર આગમજ આપણે આપ્યો છે. મી. નરીમાન અરબ લખનાર બલાધોરીનો આધાર લે છે. પણ આ લખનાર, ધર્માંધ ખલીફ મુતવક્કીલની કોર્ટનો ખાસ companion હોવાથી તે ઇરાનીઓને હલકા ચીતારે તેમાં શી નવાઇ. મી. નરીમાન સવાલ કરે છે કે "કોણ કહેશે કે 'Baladhori and his sources are indulging in furious romancing'?" અને આમ છતાં મી. નરીમાને રજુ કરેલું બલાધોરીનું કેટલુંક લખાણ વાંચતાંને સાથ બેહુંદુ લાગે છે.

વલી અરબ લખનારાઓ વારંવાર ફરીઆદ કરતાં લખે છે ઇરાનીઓ પોતાનો કોલ, વચન પાલતા હતા નહી, અને તેથી અરબોને ઇરાનીઓ ઉપર જુલમ કરવો પડતો.

(જુઓ Writings of G. K. N., page 172).

સચાઇ માટે, કોલ વચન પાલવા માટે તવારીખમાં મશહુર થયલા ઇરાનીઓ પોતાની જાતી ખાસ્યત આમ એકદમ ગુમાવી દે, એતો કાંઇ ધ્યાનમાં ઉતરતું નથી. પણ અરબ લખનારાઓના પોતાના લખાણો કયાં બધાં સચાઇથી ભરપુર છે?

વલી ઉપલાં લખાણ ઉપરથી તો અરબ જુલમની વાત સ્પષ્ટ થાય છે. Religious persecution એ મી. નરીમાન કહે છે તેમ myth

નથી. તે એક fact છે. There was coercion for surrender to Islam. મી. નરીમાન Islam ની impartiality, તથા spirit of tolerance આમે લખે છે. તે ભલે હોય, પણ અત્રે મુદ્દો આ છે કે ઇસ્લામના ઉંચ ફરમાન પ્રમાણે અમલ થયો હતો કે? દલગીરી સાથે જણાવવું પડે છે કે ખચીત નહી.

આમ છતાં દારમેસ્ટેટે બીજી રીતે ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગની, ઇરાનીઓની, તથા સાસાની શહેનશાહતની વાજબી રીતે તારીફ કરે છે. ગોલ્ડઝીહરે તો એક શબ્દ વટીક ખોટી રીતે ઇરાનીઓ બાબે લખ્યો નથી. બારથોલોમીએ પણ પોતાના ચેલા માફક, sweeping, insulting, fanatic, સ્ટેટમેંટો કર્યાં નથી, ઉલટું પાછલથી તેવણે પોતાની ભુલ જોઇ છે.

ઇરાનની પડતીના ખરાં કારણો તો ત્યારે વટલેલ ખ્રીસ્તી આરબીન્યનો, તથા દેશદ્રોહી મઝદકીઓ હતા. ડો. ચીનીવાલા કહે છે તેમ "અરબને પાછા હઠાવવાનું કામ મુશકેલ હતું નહી, પણ મઝદકીઓના દગાની સામે અને પ્લેગની આફતની સામે ટકાયું નહી".

ડો. ફરામરોઝ ચીનીવાલાનો કીંમતી લેખ.

ડો. ફરામરોઝ ચીનીવાલાએ "ઇરાનની પડતી અને નાશનાં ખરાં કારણો"વાલો કીંમતી લેખ ફ્રશોગર્દ સીલ્વર જુબીલી મેમોરીઅલ વાલમમાં છપાવીને, ડાકટર તારાપોર તથા તેવણના જેવા વીચાર ધરાવનારાઓને સચોટ રદીઓ આપવા ઉપરાંત, આપણના અશો ન્યાગાનોને વાજબી ઇનસાફ આપવા સાથ, જરથોશતી ધર્મ તથા સાહીત્યની તથા પારસી કોમની પ્રશંસાપાત્ર સેવા બજાવી છે. આ લેખ અલાહેદા આકારમાં છુટો છપાવી ફેલાવો પામવો જોઇએ.

કાદીસીયા ખાતે ઇરાનીઓની બાહદુર લડત.

એનજામીન વાજબી રીતેજ લખે છે કે કાદીસીયા ખાતે ઇરાનીઓ હારીઆ તે કાંઇ હીચકારાપણાને લીધે ન હતું.

"In the desperate and protracted conflict of Kadisiyeh, we see a battle worthy of a great empire; if she was destined to fall, she fell covered with glory; as a later general has said 'All was lost but honour'. The tide of the battle was turned by the sandstorm, and not for lack of generalship or heroism. જુઓ, ("Persia", page 278).

એક કમનસીબ પણ બાહદુર ખરો જરથોશતી પાદશાહ યઝદેગર્દ.

ઘણાક યુરોપ્યન લખનારાઓ ઇરાનની પડતી માટે શાહ યઝદેગર્દને બદનામ કરી તેનો કસુર કાઢે છે. પણ આ કમનસીબ શાહનો કસુર કાઢવો વાજબી નથી. સઘલા ઉલટા સંજોગોની સામે, ખુદ કુદરતના કેહેરની સામે, આ બાહદુર જરથોશતી શાહે લડત ચલાવી પોતાના ધર્મની તરીકતને બારીક સમયે પણ ન તજવાથી તે શાહ દગાખોરોનો ભોગ થઇ પડીઓ હતો.

Benjamin લખે છે કે

"It must be admitted that this unfortunate monarch showed himself a worthy descendant of the house of Sassan". ("Persia" page 280).

રોલીનસન પણ તવારીખનવેશોના ગેરવાજબી ટીકાઓ સામે આ કમનસીબ શાહનો બચાવ કરે છે.

આ લખનાર કહે છે તેમ કાદીસીયાના ખુનખાર જંગમાં ઇરાનીઓએ એક મહાન શહેનશાહને છાજતી મરદાનગીથી સખત લડાઇ કરી હતી. ઇરાનીઓ હાર્યા, પણ તે એક કીર્તીવંત હાર હતી. ઇરાનીઓમાં બાહદુરીની કોટાહી નહી હતી. વલી રૂસ્તમ જેવો તેમનો બાહદુર, લાયક સરદાર હતો. લડાઇનું પાસું ઇરાનીઓની હારમાં ફેરવાઇ ગયું તે સખત રેતીના તોફાનને કારણે હતું, અને તેને લીધેજ ઇરાની સરદાર માર્યો જઇ લશકર પણ બાહદુરીથી લડતાં પરાગંદે થયું હતું.

ઇરાનમાં સખત પ્લેગે વર્તાવેલો કેહેર.

પાદશાહ શીરોય અથવા કોબાદ બીજાના અમલ દરમ્યાન સખત પ્લેગ ફાટી નીકલ્યો હતો. આ પ્લેગ યા મરકીનો કેહેર એટલો બધો હતો કે ખુદ અરબ લખનારાઓના જણાવવા મુજબ ઇરાનની વસ્તીનો ત્રીજો ભાગ, ઘણાકોના જણાવવા મુજબ અરધો અરધ ભાગ નાશ પામ્યો હતો. આ જાલીમ રોગે ઇરાનીઓનો કચડઘાણ કાઢયો હતો. ખુદ શીરોય વટીક પ્લેગથી મરી ગયો હતો એમ ખ્રીસ્તી લખનારાઓ કહે છે.

સાસાનીઓના અમલ દરમ્યાન ઇરાનમાં એક વેલા સાત વરસ સુધી સખત દુકાલ પડીઓ હતો, પણ તે છતાં દેશની કલદુપ સ્થીતીને લીધે,

તેમજ પાદશાહની તથા રાજ્યની આ વેલાની દીલસોઝ વલણ તથા બંદોબસ્તને લીધે, એક માણસ તો શું, પણ એક જનવર પણ દુકાલના સબબથી મરણ પામ્યું ન હતું.

આ પ્રમાણે ત્યારે શહેનશાહતની પડતીના કારણમાં આ કુદરતી આફતે, મરકાએ કાંઇ જેવો તેવો, ભાગ લીધો ન હતો.

કુદરતી આફતો, ઇરાનીઓનો બરગસ્તે સેતારો.

વલી છેલ્લાં પાદશાહ કમનસીબ યઝદેગર્દે ઘણી બાહદુરીથી આરબો સામે લડત ચલાવી હતી, પણ કાદસીયાની લડાઇમાં પશ્ચીમથી સખત પવન ધુંકી વંટોલીઓ થઇ આવી તેની જોડે બારીક રેતી ઉડવાથી ઇરાની લશકર ગોયા આંધલું બની ગયું. આરબ લશકર સામી બાજુ હોવાથી તેને કાંઇ નુકસાન થયું નહી.

Benjamin લખે છે કે:—

"Here again in a critical period of Persia's history we find the elements conspiring to aid her overthrow".

જુઓ ("Persia" page 276).

ખરેખર ઇરાનીઓનો દાહડો એવો બરગસ્તે બેઠો હતો કે રૂસ્તમે પોતાના ભાઇ પર લખેલા પત્રમાં બલાપો કરી જણાવ્યું તેમ ઇરાનીઓની તલવારના જખમો આરબોની નાગી ચામડી પર અસર કરતા નહી. ઇરાનીઓના ફેંકેલા તીરો જેમ ચુકી ભલતીજ દીશાએ જતા. ફીરદુસીના જણાવવા પ્રમાણે ઇરાની સરદાર રૂસ્તમને સેતારાની ચાલ ઉપરથી ઇરાનની પડતીની આગાહી થવાથી તેણે પોતાના ભાઇ ઉપર જે નામુ લખ્યું હતું તેમાં જણાવ્યું હતું કે

'ઇરાનીઓના હાલ ઉપર રડવા વગર રહેવાતું નથી, અને સાસાનીઓની જાહોજલાલી, અને તેમના તાજે તખ્ત ઉપર અફસોસ કરતાં જીગર બલી જાય છે'. આ ઉપરાંત આ નામામાં બીજું ઘણું લખાણ હતું: રૂસ્તમે તે બાદ બીજું નામુ આરબ સરદાર સઅદ વકકાસ પર મોકલ્યું. જેણે પોતાના એક એલચીને રૂસ્તમ આગલ મોકલ્યો. આ એલચીએ રૂસ્તમને કહ્યું, કે તું જો હમારી દીન કબુલ કરે તો હું તુંને 'અલેકુમ સલામ'

કરૂં. આ સાંભલી ફ્રસ્તમે જે જવાબ આપ્યો તે હું અત્રે ટાંકી બતાવીશ કે જેથી ઇરાનીઓએ 'રાજીખુશીથી', ઇસ્લામ આકર્ષક લાગવાથી' 'ધર્મ-પલ્ટો' સ્વીકારવાની જેઓ વાહીઆત વાતો કરે છે તેઓની ખાત્રી થાય કે ઇરાનીઓ કેવા બાહદુર, તથા દેશ તથા ધર્મ માટે જાન આપનાર હતા.

"જોકે હું કહી નથી શકતો કે બદ સેતારાની ચાલથી હવે પછી કેવો આફતનો વખત આવશે, તોપણ હમારી જુની દીન છોડીને હમો નવી દીન કબુલ કરવાના નથી, માટે સાઆદને જઇને તું એવું કહેજે કે તારી બેહુંદી માગણી કબુલ કરવા કરતાં તો હમારૂં નામ જાલવી રાખવા સારૂં લડાઇમાં મરી જઇએ તે ભલું".

ફીરદોસી ઉપરાંત સઘલા મુસલમાન તવારીખનવેશો ઉપર મુજબ અહેવાલ આપે છે.

કાદીસીઆનું ખુનખાર જંગ.

કાદીસીઆનું ખુનખાર જંગ ત્રણ દીવસ ચાલ્યું હતું. મીરખુન્દ પ્રમાણે ચાર દીવસ અને રાત આ લડાઇ ચાલી હતી. આ લડાઇમાં પ્રથમ તો ઇરાનીઓનીજ જીત થઇ હતી એમ મીરખુન્દ વટીક જણાવે છે. ત્રણ દીવસ સુધી તો ઇરાનીઓ ફતેહમંદ હતા. મીરખોન્દ પ્રમાણે તલવાર નહી વાપરવાનો બંને પક્ષે પ્રથમ કોલ કર્યો હતો, જે કરારનો આરબોએ ભંગ કર્યો હતો. ઇમી તવારીખવેશો માફક આરબ લખનારા આ લડાઇમાં માર્યા ગયલા ઇરાનીઓ તથા આરબોની સંખ્યા બાબે શહરાગાતી, એકપક્ષી, તેમજ હેરફેર અહેવાલ આપે છે.

ચોથા દીવસની બપોર પછી લડાઇનો રંગ બદલાયો. મરહુમો બરન્જેરજી તથા પાહલનજી દેશાઇ લખે છે તેમ એ રંગ આરબોની હીંમત તથા હીકમતથી નહી, પણ કુદરતના ક્રુર હાથથી બદલાયો હતો. જાણીતો મુસાફર તથા તવારીખનવેશ George Rawlinson પોતાની ચોપડી "Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy" માં (પાનું ૫૬૨) પણ એજ મુજબ લખે છે. પશ્ચીમ તરફથી એક તોફાની પવન શરૂ થયો, અને ઝીણી રેતી એટલી ઉડી કે જાણે મધ્ય બપોરે અંધકાર થયો. આરબોની તુફાન તરફ પીઠ હોવાથી તેઓ બચી ગયા, જ્યારે ઇરાનીઓની આંખમાં રેતી જવાથી તેઓ ગોયા આંધલા બની ગયા. આ તોફાનથી ઇરાનીઓનેજ ખમવું

પડીઉ, જેનો પ્રથમ ભોગ સરદાર રૂસ્તમ થઇ પડયો હતો. ફીરદોસી પ્રમાણે સઅદ વકાસ તથા રૂસ્તમ બંને લડતા હતા, જ્યારે રૂસ્તમે સઅદને તથા તેના ઘોડાને જખ્મી કર્યો હતો, અને રૂસ્તમ તેનું માથું કાપવા જાય તેટલામાં વચ્ચેથી થઇ આવવાથી રૂસ્તમને કંઇ દેખાયું નહી; આ ટકનો લાભ લઇ વકકાસે રૂસ્તમને બે ફટકા લગાવીઆથી રૂસ્તમ માર્યો ગયો હતો. મીરખુન્દ રૂસ્તમના મરણનો અહેવાલ જુદોજ આપે છે, કે જે તબરી તથા મસુદીના અહેવાલને મલતો છે. સખ્ત તોફાનને લીધે લડાઇ બંધ થઇ. રૂસ્તમ થાક, ગરમી, તરસથી કંટાલેલો, તથા પોતાની આંખો સાફ કરવા પોતાના તંબુમાં ગયો. ચઢી આવેલા તોફાનનો બીજો મોટો સપાટો આવ્યો, અને રૂસ્તમનો તંબુ ઉખડી ઉડી ગયો. રૂસ્તમે ખજનાથી લાદેલાં એક ઉંટના છાયા તલે આશરો લીધો. જોકે લડાઇ બંધ હતી, છતાં આરબોએ લુટ ચલાવવા માંડી, જેમાં પેલા ખજનાવાલાં ઉંટ પરનો ખજનો લુટતાં એક ભારી થેલી રૂસ્તમ, જે નીચે સુતેલો હતો, તેની પર પડતાં તેની કમર ભાંગી ગઇ. રૂસ્તમ જાગી ઉઠતાં તેણે દુશમનોને લુટ ચલાવતા પોતાની આસપાસ જોયા. સંખ્યાબંધ દુશમનો સામે લડવામાં ડહાપણ નહી ધારી રૂસ્તમે પાસેની નેહેરમાં નખાવી દીધું, પણ એક આરબ લુટારાએ લુટની લાલચે રૂસ્તમ પુઠે જઇ, તેને પકડી બહાર કાઢી કતલ કર્યો. પોતાના સપેહસાલારના માર્યા જવાથી, જોકે ઇરાનીઓમાં દર પેઠો, તોપણ દશ હજાર ઇરાનીઓએ પોતાની જગા છોડી નહી. તેઓ દુશમનો સામે બાહદુરીથી લડીઆ, અને મસુદી જણાવે છે તેમ, આ શુરા ઇરાનીઓએ ૬૦૦૦) આરબોને કાપી નાખીને પોતામાંના એકેએકે બાહદુર કપાઇ મુઓ ત્યાંસુધી તેઓ લડયા. ઇરાનીઓની આ હાર, રોલીનસન જણાવે છે તેમ, ઇરાનીઓની બાહદુરીની કોટાહીથી નહી, પણ કુદરતી તોફાન અને ઇરાની સપેહસાલારના અકસ્માતીક મરણથી થઇ હતી. એતો સઘલા અરબ તથા પાછલા મોહમેદન લખનારાઓ કબુલ કરે છે.

આ કાદીસીઆની લડાઇનાં અહેવાલ બાબે જુઓ મરહુમો બરજોરજી તથા પાહલનજી દેશાઇની "તવારીખે સાસાનીઆન" (પાના ૪૪૩-૫૫), તથા "સાસાની શાહનામું" (પાના ૨૦૦-૦૫, ૨૧૬-૨૬); Rawlinson's "Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy", (pp. 552-62); Mirkhond's Rouzat-us-safa, trans, by Rehatzek, Part II, Vol. III, pages 95-108. પ્રખ્યાત ફ્રેંચ વીદવાન મોહલનો

શાહનામાનો તરજુમો "Le Livre des Rois", Tome VII, pages 349–65; કુતાર ખીરાદરેનું શાહનામું વાલ્યમ ૧૦, પાના ૧૪૩–૫૧; Chronique de Tabri–Zotenberg, Tome III, pages 385–400, chapter 41.

ઉપલો લંબાણ ખોલાસો કરવાની મતલબ આ કે ઇરાનની પડતીના કારણો નીચલાં છે :—

૧ મઝદકીઓના કાવાદાવા તથા દગલબાજી, દેશદ્રોહીપણું.

૨ ખ્રીસ્તી તથા માનીના ધર્મનો પગપેસારો.

૩ રૂમીઓ સાથની ચાલુ લડાઇઓ; તથા અરમાનીઓ, ખ્રીસ્તીઓ વગેરેની બેવફાઇ.

૪ સખત પ્લેગનો કેહેર; તથા સાત વરસનો દુકાલ.

૫ રેતીના તોફાણ, વગેરે કુદરતી તત્વોનો ભાગ.

વલી અનેક દાખલા, દલીલો, શાહદતો વડે મેં દેખાડી આપ્યું તેમ આરબોના અણહદ, અસહ્ય જુલમ, ત્રાસને લીધેજ આપણા વડવાઓને ઇરાન છોડી, દુખી, દર્દી ગમભરેલાં દીલે તથા જીગરે, પોતાના વ્હાલાં પ્યારાં વતનને છેલ્લી સલામ કરી હીંદ સરજમીનનો આશરો લેવાની ફરજ પડી હતી.

બાહદુર ઇરાની શાહઝાદી ગુલશીરીના.

કાદીસીઆ તથા નેહાવંદની હાર પછી પણ, યઝદગર્દના ખુન બાદ પણ ઇરાનીઓ કાંઇ હીંમત હાર્યા હતા નહી. યઝદેગર્દની બેટી શાહઝાદી ગુલશીરીનાને ગાદી પર બેસાડી પાછી ઇરાની શેહનશાહત બરપા કરવાની તેઓ ઉમેદ ધરાવતા. આથી તેઓએ અનેક ખુનખાર લડાઇઓ જીવ પર આવી બરબો સાથે કરી હતી, જેનો અહેવાલ શાયર રૂસ્તમ ઇરાનીએ રચેલી ઇતિહાસીક નવલકથા "ગુલશીરીના–ઇરાનની છેલ્લી શાહજાદી"માં સવીસ્તર આપવામાં આવ્યો છે.

વલી ઉધરતા પ્રખ્યાત પારસી કવી મી. જેહાંગીર દેશાઇએ પોતાની હાલમાંજ બહાર પાડેલી "પારસીકા" કાવ્યગ્રંથના ૨જા બીભાગ "ઇતિહાસની આરસી"માં, પાંચસોથી વધુ સુંદર, અસરકારક કવીતાની

લીટીઓમાં ગુલશીરીના તથા દસ્તુર દાદની સરદારી તથા રાહબરી હેથલ ઇરાનીઓએ દેખાડેલી અદભુત બાહદુરી બાબે જે કાવ્ય લખ્યું છે તે દરેક દરેક જરથોશતીએ વાંચવા લાયક છે.

(જુઓ ઉપલી ચોપડી, પાના ૧૦૨–૧૨૨–'ગુલશીરીના યાને પારસીઓનો છેલ્લો પાસો' વાલું કાવ્ય, બિરદાવળી છંદમાં).

મારે અત્રે જણાવવું જોઇએ કે ભાઇ જેહાંગીર દેશાઇ ફક્ત એક કવી તરીકેજ પ્રખ્યાત છે એટલુંજ નહી, પણ તેવણ અવસ્તા, પહલવી, ફારસી ભાષાઓ જાણે છે, અને આપણા ધર્મ તથા ધર્મસાહીત્યના એક શરમાલ, એકમાર્ગી સ્કોલર છે.

માઇસોરવાલા પ્રોફેસર એમ. એ. શુસ્તરીએ "ઇરાન લીગ" ત્રીમાસીકના ૧૯૩૬ ના અંકોમાં "ઇરાન નામેહ" નામે ફારસીમાં લેખ લખી સાસાની અમલ દરમ્યાન ઇરાનની જાહોજલાલી બાબે ખોલાસો કર્યો છે. આ વીદવાને વલી એજ ત્રીમાસીકના ઉપલાજ અંકોમાં "Christianity in Iran" નામનો એક બહુજ વીદવતાભર્યો લેખ અંગ્રેજીમાં લખ્યો છે. તેવણ પણ રેહાટેકેક માફક લખે છે કે સાસાની શાહો પોતાના તાબા હેથલની ખ્રીસ્તી પ્રજા પ્રત્યે દીલસોજી તથા ઇનસાફથી વર્તતા હતા, પણ જ્યારે પહેલા રૂમી ખ્રીસ્તી શહેનશાહ કોનસતનટાઇને ઇરાનના ખ્રીસ્તીઓ ઉપર પોતાની હકુમતનો દાવો રજુ કર્યો, ત્યારે ઇરાની શાહને સખત થયું પડીઉ. વલી ઘણીક વેલા આ ઇરાનના ખ્રીસ્તીઓ રોમના ખ્રીસ્તી શાહ તરફથી ઇરાન સામે કાવતરૂ રચતાં પકડાયા હતા. આ તેમની બેવફાઇના કારણમાં તેમનું persecution થયું હતું જે બાબે મી. પારેખે ઇશારો કર્યો હતો.

(જુઓ The Iran League Quarterly, Volume VII, nos. 2, 3, 4.).

પ્રખ્યાત સ્કોલર મરહુમ મી. જી. કે. નરીમાન પણ એવીજ મતલબનું જણાવે છે:—

"Very often the Christians of the Persian empire called over their own heads the misfortunes by their own fanaticism, their bad ways and their sympathies with the hereditary

enemies of the Persians. .....Cruel persecutions were after all rare, and for the most part the Christians lived under the Persian rule in tranquility".

(જુઓ "Writings of G. K. N."-compiled by R. B. Paymaster, p. 59).

પ્રકરણ ૨૧ મું.

પારસી કોમના વહવાએાનું તથા તેમના ધર્મનું થતું અપમાન, libel.

પારસી કોમની ખરેજ કમનસીબી છે કે વારંવાર એ કોમના વીદ્વાનો તરફથી પોતાના ધર્મ, પોતાના અશો પુર્વજોની નાલેશી, બદગોઇ, libel કરનારાં ભાષણો તથા લખાણો કોમ મુગેમોઢે ચલાવી લે છે. જો ઇસ્લામનું તથા ઇસ્લામીએાનું કોઇ એમ શરમજનક અપમાન કરે, તો તેવું કૃત્ય કરનારના શો હાલ થાય? ફક્ત હાલમાંજ લંડન જેવાં એક સુધરેલાં શહેરમાં શું બન્યું તે જુઓ. પ્રખ્યાત અંગ્રેજ લખનાર H. G. Wells ની ચોપડી "A Short History of the World" માં Islam બાબે કાંઇક વાંધાભર્યું લખાણ હોઇ, લંડનના સેંકડો મુસ્લીમો, જેમાં ડોકટરો, વેપારીઓ, શીખેલા કેલવાયલાઓનો પણ સમાવેશ થાય છે, તેઓએ પ્રોટેસ્ટ દાખલ લંડનના મોહોલાઓમાં દેખાવો કર્યા. એક સરઘસના આકારમાં તેઓએ મોહોલાઓમાંથી કુચ કરી, "Down with Wells" વાલા લેખો સાથના વાવટાઓ ધરી, વેલ્સની ચોપડીને વખોડી કાઢી, અને પછી તે ચોપડીની હોલી સલગાવી દીધી.

આ બાબદમાં લંડનના પત્રોમાં, તથા બીજા જાહેર તથા ખાનગી ઠેકાણે જે મત ઉચારવામાં આવ્યું તે એકજ હતું, અને તે આ કે વેલ્સે જેવી રીતે લખ્યું તે તદન ખોટું હતું, અને મુસ્લીમો પોતાના વીચાર તથા વર્તણુંકમાં તદન વાજબી હતા.

ખુદ એમ. એન. રોયની ચોપડી "The Historic Role of Islam" બાબે મુસ્લીમોએ વાંધો લઇ સખત ચલવલ ચલાવી, એ ચોપડી જપત કરવાની માંગણી કરી છે.

વલી A. E. W. Mahon ની ચોપડી "The Drum" ની ફીલ્મે હીંદમાં ભારી ખલબલાટ ફેલાવ્યો હતો.

ખુદ હાલની સુધરેલા દેશોની સરકારો છાપાઓ, ચોપડીઓ ઉપર censorship રાખે છે. ઈંગ્લંડમાં યા બીજે, જો કોઇ મહાન વીદવાન પણ કાંઇ discreditable લખે છે યા બોલે છે, તો તુરત, જરાકબી શરમા શરમી વગર, બીજા વીદવાનો તથા લખનારાઓ, ભાષણકર્તાઓ તેની સખત રીતે ખબર લે છે.

જુઓ New Book Digest, Vol. 3, No. 5, November 1938. pages 11–12, published by F. D. B. Taraporwala Booksellers.

કમનસીબે આજ કેટલોક વખત થયો કેટલાક પારસી વીદવાનો પારસી કોમની લાગણી અનેક તરેહથી દુખવી રહ્યા છે. કરાંચીવાલા શમશુલ ઓલમા દસ્તુર ડા. ધાલાએ મુંબઇમાં ગયા ૧૯૩૮ ના સાલની આખેરીએ તથા ૧૯૩૯ ની શરૂઆતમાં કેટલાંક ભાષણો કર્યાં હતાં, જેમાંનું એક ભાષણ તા. ૩–૧–૧૯૩૯ ને દીને "આપણી બંદગીમાં માધ્યવાણીનું સ્થાન" આબે સર કા. જં. હોલમાં તેવણે આપ્યું હતું. આ ભાષણ મેં સંભાલ પુર્વક ધ્યાનથી સાંભલ્યું હતું, અને ભાષણકર્તાએ જે ઠઠ્ઠા, મશકરી કરી હતી તે સાંભલી મને અત્યંત દીલગીરી, નાસીપાસી, તથા દુખ ઉપજ્યું હતું. ડા. ધાલાના મજકુર ભાષણનો રદીઓ જાણીતા લખનાર "Cinzac" એ 'જામે–જમશેદ'ના તા. ૭, ૧૧, તથા ૧૪–૧–૧૯૩૯ ના અંકમાં આપ્યો છે, તેમાંથી આપણા વિષયને લગતો ફકરો અત્રે ટાંકવો બહેતર થઇ પડશે:—

"સાસાની જમાનાનાં જરથોશતી ધર્મગુરૂઓનું ડો. ધાલાએ કીધેલું અપમાન".

"ડો. ધાલાએ આગલ ચાલતાં ઉમેરીયું હતું કે આપણા ભણતરોમાં સાસાની જમાનાના ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગે કાંઇપણ જાતનો ફેરફાર કરવા દીધો હતો નહીં. આ એક જાતનો તેમનો દોર હતો, કેમકે તેઓ ધર્મની બાબતમાં ઘણી સખતાઇથી કામ લેતા હતા. જે પ્રમાણે ડો. એરચ તારાપોરવાલાએ 'સાસાની ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગના દોર અને ગુલમાતથીજ આપણી શહેનશાહતની

પડતી આવી હતી' એવો ઓરંગો ફેંકી આપણા ઇતિહાસનું ખુન કર્યું હતું, તેવુંજ કંઇ ડો. ધાલા પણ આપણને અહીં કહેવા માગે છે. શું ત્યારે દરેક દાયકા જેમજેમ પસાર થાય તેમતેમ ભણતરો અને ભણતરોના રીતરીવાજોમાં સઉને મનને ભાવતા ફેરફારો કરીઆ જવાનું છે? ધરમ તે શું કાંઇ પહેરવા ઓઢવાની ફેશન છે કે દર વરસે કે દાયકે તેનો ઘાટ-ઘટમ બદલ્યા કરીએ? સાસાની ધરમગુરૂ વરગને ધરમદ્રોહી ચીતારી જે અપમાન ડો. એરથ તારાપોરવાલાએ કરીઉ હતું, તેનો સચોટ રદીઓ અત્યાર અગાઉનો એરવદ જમશેદજી કાત્રકની કાબેલ કલમથી દાખલા દલીલો અને અનેક વીદ્વાનોના સત્તાધારી મતો સહીત લોકપ્રીય જામેની તા. ૩, ૫, અને ૭ મી ડીસેમ્બર ૧૯૩૮ ની ફટારોમાં છપાઇ ચુકયો છે. જેનો વલતો જવાબ કોઇપણ ધરમના અભ્યાસીએ આપવાનું હજી દરસ્ત વીચાર્યું નથી. આજ હેવાલ ફરી એકવાર વાંચી જવાની હું ડો. ધાલાને સખત ભલામણ કરીશ".

(જુઓ તા. ૧૧-૧-૧૯૩૯ નું જામે-જમશેદ).

criticism, ટીકાઓ બાબે કોઇપણ અભ્યાસીને વાંધો હોઇ શકે નહી. Milton કહે છે તેમ ટીકાઓ વડેજ આપણને નવું જાણવાનું, શીખવાનું મલે છે. પણ ટીકાઓ શુભનીષ્ઠાથી થયલી તેમજ રચનાત્મક constructive હોવી જોઇએ. ખાસ કરીને ધર્મને લગતી બાબતોમાં તો પાયા વગરના આક્ષેપો, વડવાઓ ઉપરના હુમલાઓ, destructive criticism ભારે નુકસાનકર્તા છે, એટલુંજ નહી, પણ તે હુમલો કરનારાની કેલવણી તથા વીદ્વતાને ઝાંખ લગાડનાર હોય છે; કારણ કે તે આપણા અશો નીઆગાનો માટે થતાં અપમાન, બદનક્ષી, defamation માટે તે ગુજરેલાંઓ કાંઇ જવાબ આપવા યા ફરીઆદ માંડવા અત્રે આવનાર નથી. ગુજરેલાંઓ માટે અણઘટતું, તેમજ અસત્ય બોલવું યા લખવું એ વીસમી સદીના સુધરેલા જમાનામાં એક વીદ્વાન માણસને માટે શોભા આપનારૂ મુદલજ નથી.

સાસાની જમાનામાં આપણનું રાજ હતું, અને તેથી ધારી લઇએ કે ધર્મગુરૂઓનો દોર હતો, પણ આજે વીસમી સદીમાં, ડો. ધાલા જણાવે તેમ સુધરેલા સાયંસના જમાનામાં, પારસી ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગનો દોર તો નથીજ.

સૌ સૌને મનને ગમતું કરે છે, સૌ સૌને મનને ભાવે તેવી રીતે જરથોશતી ધર્મ પાલે છે. ધર્મગુરૂઓ કાંઇ તેઓની આડે આવતા નથી. અને છતાં, જે વેલાએ ધર્મગુરૂઓનો કહેવાતો દોર, દુરાગ્રહ હતો, તે વેલાના જરથોશતીઓ હાલના છુટાપણાના જમાનામાં વસતા પારસીઓ કરતાં હજાર દરજજે સુખી હતા, ચઢીઆતા હતા, કે જે સઘલું ધર્મપ્રત્યેની ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગની તેમજ ઇરાની પ્રજાની જનફેશાનીને લીધેજ હતું.

આપણી એટલીજ દુવા છે કે સાસાની જમાનાની ઇરાનની જાહોજલાલી, તથા જરથોશતી મજહબની બુલંદી ફરી એકવાર સજીવન થાય.

આ ચોપડી લખવા માટે ઉપયોગમાં લીધેલા હસ્તલેખો, પુસ્તકો, ચોપાન્યાઓ, પત્રો વગેરેની ટીપ : Bibliography.

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૧. સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતીના ખરાં કારણો વિષેના ભાષણ બાબે.

જાણીતા લેખક Cinzac તા. ૧૦–૧૨–૧૯૩૮ના 'જામે–જમશેદ'માં "ફ્રામના ચોકસ ધર્મઅભ્યાસીઓના ફેટલાક બેવજુદ ફતવાઓ" એ મથાલાં હેથળ એક લખાણ કરતાં શરૂઆતમાં નીચે મુજબ લખે છે :—

"ગઇ તા. ૨૯ મી નવેમબરે ધી કે. આર–કામા ઇનસ્ટીટયુટનાં પહેલા માળના હોલમાં એરવદ જમશેદજી કા. કાત્રકનું "સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતીના ખરાં કારણો" વીષેનું ભાષણ, મી. સોરાબજી ન. કાંગાના સરનસીનપણા હેથળ અપાયું હતું. એરવદ કાત્રકના આ ભાષણ દરમ્યાન ઘણી સારી જરથોશતી નરનારીઓની સંખ્યા જોવામાં આવતી હતી. ભાષણ એકંદરે ઘણુંજ રસીલું, વીદવતાભરેલું, અને અનેક મુસ્તફીમ શાહદતોથી ભરપુર હોવે સર્વેને આનંદ તેમજ જ્ઞાન સાથની ગમત મળી હતી. ભાષણકર્તાએ ઘણીજ બાહોશીભરી રીતે દેખાડી આપ્યું હતું કે આજના ધર્મ અભયાસીઓ, જેઓ ઇરાનની અને ખાસ કરી સાસાની શહેનશાહતની પડતીના કારણોમાં ખાસ કારણ ધર્મગુરૂ વર્ગના ઝુલમ અને ધર્માંધપણા (fanaticism)ને અર્થે લેખે છે તેઓ પોતાનો ખરો રસ્તો ભુલ્યા હતા, એવી ચીમકી લગાવી હતી. આ વકતાએ ફ્રેંચ, જરમન અને રશીયન સાવાંઓના અનેક દાખલાઓ ટાંકી બતાવી આપ્યું હતું કે આ બાબદમાં ડો. એરચ તારાપોરવાલા (પ્રીનસીપલ, કામા ઓરીએનટાલ ઇનસ્ટીટયુટ); મી. ફરેદુન એસ. ચારખ અને છેવટે મી. બેરાંમગોર અંકલેશરયાના વીચારો તદનજ ભુલભરેલા અને સત્યથી વેગળા હતા."

૨. મુંબઇની ધી કે. આર. કામા ઓરીએંટલ ઇનસ્ટીટ્યુટ તરફથી મને ૧૯૨૦ માં મલેલી રીસર્ચ સ્કોલરશીપની રૂયે મેં જે કામ કર્યું હતું તે બાબે.

કામા ઇનસ્ટીટ્યુટના ઓનરરી સેક્રેટરી ડો. જીવનજી મોદી તા. ૮–૯–૧૯૨૨ ના દીનની લખેલી સરટીફીકેટમાં જણાવે છે કે :—

"His work has been found satisfactory and will be useful".

'નવસારી પ્રકાશ'ના તા. ૨૯–૧૨–૩૫ ના અંકમાં આ મારાં રીસર્ચ વર્ક માટે નીચે મુજબ નોંધ છે :—

"મુંબઇના ધી કે. આર. કામા ઓરીએંટલ ઇનસ્ટીટ્યુટે આ નોશાકરા અભ્યાસી ભાઇને આપેલી રીસર્ચ સ્કોલરશીપની રૂયે ઇ. સ. ૧૯૨૦ થી ૧૯૨૨ સુધીમાં એમણે ગુજરાતમાં વસતા પારસીઓના શહેરો અને ગામો જેવાં કે નવસારી, સુરત, ભરૂચ, અંકલેસ્વર, ઉદવાડા, વલસાડ, નારગોલ, સરોંડા, ગણદેવી, રાંડેર અને અડાજણ, ભાડા ખાતે જઇ લાંબા પારસીઓનાં ખાનગી કેતાબખાનાઓની તપાસ, હસ્ત લેખોનાં ઉકેલ, પુછપરછ કરી હતી અને આવા ૬૦૦ ઉપર હસ્તલેખોની શોધખોલ કરી મજકુર ઇનસ્ટીટ્યુટને રીપોર્ટ રજુ કર્યો હતો જે ત્રણ દફ્તરોમાં તેણે જલગ્યો છે. આ હસ્ત-લેખોમાંના ઘણા ખરા અવસ્તા, પહેલવી, પાજંદ, ફારસી, અસલ ગુજરાતી, સંસ્કૃત, હીંદી, હીંદુસ્તાની, અરેબી લીપીમાં હતા."

જુદા જુદા વીદ્વાનોએ મારા શોધખોલ માટેના રીપોર્ટો તપાસી જે અભિપ્રાયો દર્શાવ્યા હતા તે નીચે મુજબ છે :—

મી. જી. કે. નરીમાન જણાવે છે કે :

"Mr. Katrak's work is voluminous."

એરવદ બમનજી ધાભર જણાવે છે કે :

"Mr. Katrak's work is well-done."

શેઠ મંચેરજી ખરેગાટ જણાવે છે કે :

'On the whole I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Katrak's work is good and will be useful to future scholars."

વલી બાહાઉદીન કૉલેજના પ્રીનસીપૅલ પ્રોફેસર શાપુરશાહ હો. હોડીવાલાએ ૧૯૨૫ માં Parsi History બાબે કામા ઇનસ્ટીટયુટમાં જે ભાષણો આપ્યાં હતાં, તેમાં તેવણે મારા હસ્ત લેખીત રીપોર્ટોની મદદ લીધી હતી. એ માટેના ઇશારાઓ માટે જુઓ Journal of the K. R. Cama Orienta Institute, No. 8, pages 66, 67, 100, 127, 128, 129, તેમજ પાના 43, 63, 101, 126, ની ફુટનોટો.

તેજ પ્રમાણે મી. બેહરામગોર અંકલેસરીઆએ રચેલાં "મોબેદ ફસ્તમ પેશોતન હમજીઆરનું જરથોશતનામુ "વાલાં પુસ્તકમાં પણ તે રચવા માટે મારા હસ્તલેખીત રીપોર્ટ તથા તેને આધારે મલેલાં Mss. માટે ઇશારાઓ છે. જુઓ એ પુસ્તકની પ્રસ્તાવના, પાનું ૬; તથા દીબાચો, પાના ૩૪, ૫૫, ૧૦૦, ૧૦૧.

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૩. નાનાભાઇ પુજ્યાની તવારીખની ચોપડી બાબે.

દસ્તુર ડો. ધાલા કરાંચી ખાતેથી તા. ૩૦-૧૦-૧૯૩૫ ના પત્રમાં લખે છે કે :—

"સુરતના દાવર ખાનદાનના વડીલ નાનાભઇ પુજ્યાની તવારીખ "ની એક નકલ તમો ભાઇજીએ મોકલી તે માટે- માટે આભારી છુંજી. જે પુખ્ત અભ્યાસ અને ચોકસાઇથી વીગતો મેલવી એક શોધક સ્કોલરને શોભા આપે તેવી ફતેહથી તમોએ લેખ લખ્યો છે તેવી રીતે ઘણી ઘણી ઉપયોગી બાબતો ઉપર અજવાલુ પાડનારાં લખાણો લખી કોમ સેવા બજાવવાને દાદાર અહુરમજદ તમો ભાઇજીને શક્તીમાન કરે "

Iran League ત્રીમાસીકના વીદ્વાન અધીપતી મી. સોહરાબ જ. બલસારા એ પત્રના જનેવારી-એપ્રીલ ૧૯૩૬ ના અંકમાં મારી ચોપડીનો રીવ્યુ લેતાં લખે છે કે :—

"Nanabhai Punjiya belongs to one of the oldest Parsi Families. He was of considerable help to the English during their early struggles in india. Mr. Jamshed C. Katrak has gathered in this book valuable material about the life and work of Nanabhai, and has provided fascinating reading to all lovers of old Parsi History".

તા.. ૯-૧૦-૧૯૩૫ ના સાંજ-વર્તમાનના અંકમાં નીચે મુજબ નોંધ છે :—

સુરતના દાવર મોદી ખાનદાનના વડીલ નાનાભાઇ પુંજીઆની તવારીખ.

"આપણા અવસ્તા પહેલવીના એક સ્કોલર, અને મુંબઇનાં કે. આર. કામા ઓરીએંટલ ઇનસ્ટીટયુટના રીસર્ચ સ્કોલર તેમજ સર જમશેદજી જીજીભાઇ જરથોશતી મદ્રેસાની એમ. એ. સુધીની સરટીફીકેટ ધરાવનાર જાણીતા એરવદ સાહેબ જમશેદ કાવસજી કાત્રક બી. એ. એ સુરતના દાવર મોદી ખાનદાનના વડીલ નાનાભાઇ પુંજીઆની તવારીખ પુસ્તક આકારે પ્રગટ કરીને હાલમાં બહાર પાડી છે. તે ખરેજ વાંચવા લાયક અને પારસી પુર્વજોના ઇતીહાસ ઉપર ઘણુંજ અજવાળું ફેંકનારી છે.

નાનાભાઇ પુંજીઆ સુરતના પુરાતન દાવર કુટુંબના પુર્વજો હતા કે જે કુટુંબના સરદાર દાવરો આજ પર્યંત સુરતમાં અકાબરી કે મોટાઇ ભોગવી રહયા છે, તથા જેમ સરકારમાં તેમજ પ્રજામાં લાગવગ અને લાયકાત તેમજ વીશ્વાસ પામી રહયા છે. મજકુર નાનાભાઇના હાલના એક વંશજ સરદાર દાવર તહેમુરસ્પ કાવસજી મોદી બારીસ્ટર અને મુંબઇની ધારાસભાના એક સભ્ય છે, જેઓનાં કેતાબખાનામાં હજી પણ પુરાણા હસ્તલેખો પડેલા છે, જે ફારસી ભાષામાં લખાયલા છે. જેની આ પુસ્તકના કર્તાએ શોધખોળ કરીને પુસ્તકમાં એ કુટુંબને લગતી અનેક જાણવાજોગ તથા તવારીખી બીનાઓ રજુ કરી છે.

કર્તાએ પુસ્તક બનાવવાને ઘણો શ્રમ લીધો છે. જે પુસ્તકનો અભ્યાસ કરતા સ્પષ્ટ માલમ પડે છે. ખાસ કરીને નાનાભાઇ પુંજીઆએ સુરતમાં જે દેખમું આજથી ત્રણ સદીઓ ઉપર બંધાવ્યું જે આજે ખંડીયેર જેવું હસ્તીમાં છે. પણ તેની તખ્તી વીષે કોઇને કશી માહીતી હતી નહી, જે મળી આવવા સાથે કર્તાએ તે ઉપરના લેખની શોધખોળ કરીને પારસી પુરાતન ધારમીક સ્થળોને લગતી તવારીખમાં એક ઇતીહાસીક જાણવાજોગ બાબદનો ઉમેરો કરી ઉમદા સેવા બજાવી છે.

પુસ્તક લખવાને કર્તાને ઘણીક શોધખોળો કરવાને પુષ્કળ માથાકુટ કરી ઘણી જેહમત ખેંચવી પડી હશે એમ તેમાં રજુ થયલી બાબદો ઉપરથી સ્પષ્ટ માલમ પડે છે. પુસ્તકમાં નાનાભાઇ પુંજીઆના ખાનદાનનું મુળ, તેમના વડવાઓ વીષેની હકીકતો, વડવાઓના નામો, નાનાભાઇની ઓળખ, ધંધો, દરજ્જો, અસલ અટક, દાવરનો એલકાબ, સુરતનું સૌથી જુનું દેખમું, ઇરાન સાથે ચાલેલા પ્રત્યવહાર વગેરે વગેરે અનેક બાબદો પારસી કોમે ઘણી વાંચવા જેવી છે.

પુસ્તકમાં જે ખાસ બાબદો છે તે "રીસર્ચ"નાં ભારે જ્ઞાન, શોખ અને મહેનતને પરીણામે લખાયલી છે. તે પાછળ ઘણા વખતનો ભોગ આપવો પડયો હશે અને તેમ કરીને પણ એક જુનાં જરથોશતી કુટુંબનો ઇતીહાસ આવી સુંદર રીતે લખાયો છે તે માટે કર્તાને ખચીતજ ઘણો ધન્યવાદ ઘટે છે. વળી જોકે આ પુસ્તક સુરતનાં એક ઘણાં પુરાણાં કુટુંબને લગતું હોવા છતાં તે દરેક જરથોશતીને વાંચવાજોગ તેમજ ઉપયોગી છે, કારણ કે તેમાનો કેટલોક ભાગ અખંડ જરથોશતી કોમના ઇતીહાસ સાથે પણ ઘણો તાલુકો ધરાવનારો છે એટલે દરેક પારસી ઘરમાં પુસ્તક હોવું જોઇએ અને વંચાવું જોઇએ એવું એ અનુપમ છે.

પુસ્તકની કીંમત અત્રે એક રૂપીઓ છે, પણ કર્તાએ ખેંચેલા શ્રમ તરફ જોતાં કીંમત ઘણી ઓછી લેખાય, જે પુસ્તક ખરીદી આવા હમદીન ભણેલા અથોરનાન રીસર્ચ સ્કોલરને કોમે ઉત્તેજન આપવું ઘટે છે.

પુસ્તક કર્તાને ત્યાંથી ટાવર બીલ્ડીંગ, વાડયા ચોલ, લાલબાગ પરેલ મુંબઇ ૧૨ ખાતેથી મળી શકશે."

મી. એહરાંમ પી. ભરૂચા તા: ૨૭-૧૦-૧૯૩૫ ના ફયસરે હીંદમાં રીવ્યુ લેતાં નીચે મુજબ લખે છે :—

હીંદની પુરાણી પારસી તવારીખ ઉપર અજવાળું

ફેંકતી એક નવી ચોપડી.

"આપણી મુંબઇ યુનીવર્સીટીના એક ગ્રેજ્યુએ ટતથા અવસ્તા-પહેલવીના સ્કોલર એરવદ જમશેદ કાવસજી કાત્રક બી. એ., જેવણે ઇરાની ભાષાઓનો સંપુર્ણ અભ્યાસ કરી સર જમશેદજી જીજીભાઇ મદ્રેસાની એમ. એ.ની સ્પરટીફીકેટ મેળવી છે, તેવણે કામા ઓરીએંટલ ઇનસ્ટીટયુટના એક રીસર્ચ સ્કોલર તરીકે ઇસવી ૧૯૨૧ માં સુરત ખાતે કરેલી શોધખોળના આધારે તથા વધુ અભ્યાસ તથા તપાસને પરીણામે હાલમાં એક નાની કીંમતી તવારીખી ચોપડી રચી છપાવી છે, જેનું નામ "સુરતના દાવર મોદી આનદાનના વડીલ નાનાભાઇ પુંજીઆની તવારીખ" કરીને તેવણે આપ્યું છે. પુષ્કળ શ્રમ, મહેનત, તપાસ તથા ઉલટને પરીણામે આ ચોપડી લખાયલી સ્પષ્ટ જણાઇ આવે છે. સુમારે ત્રણસો વરસ ઉપર થઇ ગયલા સુરતના આ અકાબ્દરને લગતી અત્યાર સુધી પારસી પુસ્તકો અને પત્રોમાં જળવાયલી નોંધ બહુજ જુજ, બલકે નહી જેવી છે. ભાઇ કાત્રકે અનેક કીંમતી હસ્તલેખો, તથા છપાયલાં rare પુસ્તકોને આધારે નાનાભાઇના વડવાઓની નોંધ, તેવણનો ધંધો, દરજ્જો, ઓળખ વગેરેની હકીકત, તેવણના બંધાવેલાં દખમાને લગતી ચર્ચાને લગતી રેવાયતમાં આવેલી બીના આ પુસ્તકમાં આપી છે. સુરતના પુરાણા દખ્માઓને લગતી નોંધ અત્યાર સુધી કોઇબી પારસી પત્ર યા છાપામાં છપાઇ નથી. નાનાભાઇના દખ્માની તખ્તીની એરવદ કાત્રકે કરેલી શોધ, તથા તેના લેખને આધારે તેમજ બીજી શાહદતો સહીત નાનાભાઇના મરણનો ખરો સને નક્કી કરવા બાબેની વીગત વાંચવા લાયક છે. આ પુસ્તક જેમ અભ્યાસીઓને તેમજ સાધારણ વાંચનારને કીંમતી ખોરાક પુરો પાડશે. ચોપડી તદન સરળ સાદી હિંદમાં રચાઇ છે. અઢીસો વરસ ઉપર વપરાતી પારસી ગુજરાતી ભાષાના આ ચોપડીમાં આવેલા નમુના વાંચનારને કાંઇક ખ્યાલો આપશે."

તા. ૨૮-૧-૧૯૩૬ ના જામે-જમશેદમાં નીચે મુજબ લખાણ છે :—

સુરતના દાવર મોદી ખાનદાનના વડીલ નાનાભાઇ પુંજીઆની તવારીખ.

" અવસ્તા-પેહલવીના પ્રખ્યાત પારસી સ્કોલર મી. જમશેદજી કાવસજી કાત્રક બી. એ. એ લખીને પ્રગટ કર્યું છે. આ પુસ્તકનાં લેખકને મુંબઇની ધી કે. આર. કામા ઓરીએંટલ ઇનસ્ટીટયુટ મારફતે એક રીસર્ચ સ્કોલરશીપ મળી હતી, જેની રૂએ તેવણે ૧૬ મહીનાઓ સુધી ગુજરાતમાં વસ્તા પારસીઓ તથા ત્યાંના કેટલાંક નાનાં મોટાં શહેરો અને ગામોની મુલાકાત લીધી હતી. આ મુલાકાત દરમ્યાન મી. કાત્રકે નવસોથી વધુ હસ્તલેખોની શોધખોળ કીધી હતી અને સુરતનાં સારાના દરવાજા આગળ આવેલા સાત દોખમાઓની મુલાકાત લીધી હતી, કે જે દરમ્યાન મી. કાત્રકને નાનાભાઇ પુંજીઆનાં ખંડીયેરવાળાં દખ્માની તખ્તી હાથ લાગી હતી.

મરનાર નાનાભાઇ પુંજીઆ સુરત મધે ત્રણસો વરસો ઉપર થઇ ગયેલા એક જાણીતા પારસી અકાબર હતા. વળી, તે વખતે મોબેદ રૂસતમ પેશોતન નામના એક પ્રખ્યાત પારસી કવી પણ હતા, કે જેવણે ગુજરાતી કવીતામાં " જરથોસ્તનામું ", " સ્યાવક્ષનામું ", " અરદાવીરાફનામુ " તથા " અસ્પંદયારનામું " નામે ચાર પુસ્તકો લખ્યાં હતાં.

મી. કાત્રકે પોતાનાં આ વીષયને પાંચ પ્રકરણોમાં વહેંચી નાખેલો છે. પહેલાં પ્રકરણમાં નાનાભાઇ પુંજીઆના વડવાઓની મળી શકતી ટુંક નોંધ આપેલી છે, બીજા મધે નાનાભાઇની અસલ અટક, તેવણનો ધંધો, ધંધા ઉપરથી પડેલી તેવણની નવી અટક, તથા ઓળખ, મોદી શબ્દની ઉતપત્તી, અર્થ તથા આ ખાનદાન કયારથી મોદી તથા દાવર તરીકે ઓળખાવા લાગ્યું, તેની જુના દસ્તાવેજો તથા લખાણોનાં આધારે સમજણ આપેલી છે. ત્રીજા મધે સુરતનાં પુરાણા દોખ્માઓની યુરોપ્યન મુસાફરોના લખાણ તથા મી. કાત્રકની તપાસનાં આધારે રચેલી કેટલીક વીગતો આપેલી છે, ચોથાં પ્રકરણમાં નાનાભાઇનું દોખ્મું તથા તેની હાથ લાગેલી તખ્તી અને તેનાં લેખ બાબે ખુલાસો આપેલો છે, અને પાંચમામાં રેવાયને આધારે નાનાભાઇએ બંધાવેલા દોખ્માની વીગત, તેવણનું મરણ વીગેરે બીના દર્શાવી તેવણના ગુજરવાનો અને મુકરર કરેલો વખત દર્શાવવામાં આવેલો છે.

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